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THE BUDDHIST TANTRIC LITERATURE (SANSKRIT) OF BENGAL

Bj

S. K. DE

By far the most extensive literature which Bengal produced in the whole course of its literary history, and which has also an importance and interest of its own, concerns itself with the large number of Buddhist writers, whose works, however, are mostly lost in Sanskrit but are preserved in Tibetan translation in the *Bstan-hgyur*.¹ They flourished in Bengal under the Buddhist Pāla kings in the 10th and 11th centuries, or perhaps a little earlier. The works belong to the different Yānas which developed out of the Mahāyāna, and are loosely called Buddhist Tantra (*Rgyud*), as opposed to the Buddhist Sūtra (*Mdo*),² inasmuch as they teach esoteric doctrines, rites and practices in a highly obscure, and perhaps symbolic, language. That Bengal had been pre-eminently a land of Buddhism even before the 7th century³ is known to us from the testimony of the Chinese pilgrims, who refer to the existence of Buddhist monasteries as centres of later Buddhist culture; but neither Yuan Chwang nor Yi-tsing makes any reference to Buddhist Tantr-

1. Our account is chiefly based on P. CORDIER, *Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Bstan-hgyur I-LXX), Part 2, Rgyud Section), Paris 1908. It is not clear if the originals were all written in Sanskrit; some of them were obviously in the Vernacular, and some are described obscurely as written in the Indian Language. The locality of the author and the place of translation are not always given. A good index (barring a few slips) of this volume of the Catalogue is given in H. P. SHASTRI, *Bauddha-Gān O Dohā* (Calcutta 1916), Appendix.—We have also made use of the works of Tāranātha (1608 A.D.) and Sumpā Mkhan-po (1747 A.D.) cited below. Other authorities are given below. In matters of Tibetan sources we have received cordial assistance from Dr. Prabodh Chandra BAGCHI.

2. See L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Tantrism (Buddhist) in Hastings's Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, xii, p. 195-96.

3. The Tantra itself was probably of foreign origin (H. P. SHASTRI, *Nepal Catalogue* II, Preface, p. xviii; P. C. BAGCHI in *IHQ*, 1931, pp. 1f); and it appears to have found a luxuriant soil in the northern, southern and eastern frontiers of India, the Madhyadeśa having been the seat of orthodox Brahmanical culture from a very early period.

ism, which could not have developed so early.¹ Tāranātha tells us that during the reign of the Pāla kings there were many masters of magic, Mantra-Vajrācāryas, who being possessed of various Siddhis, performed miraculous feats; and his testimony of the prevalence of Buddhist Tantric culture is borne out by the hundreds of works produced on this subject, not a small part of which presumably belongs to Bengal. It was during this time that the monasteries of Nālanda, Vikramaśīla, Jagaddala, Somapurī and Pāṇḍubhūmi were renowned seats of Buddhist learning, with which the composition or translation of many of these Tantric works are associated. The second of the Vihāras named above, which is said to have been situated on the banks of the Ganges,³ most probably had its location, like that of Nālanda, in Magadha; but the other Vihāras, no less distinguished, were probably situated in some parts of Bengal, although their exact situation is a matter for speculation.

Many of these Vajrayānist writers and thaumaturgic Siddhācāryas of mediæval cults, whether directly Buddhist or indirectly of Buddhistic origin, belonged undoubtedly to the east and most probably to Bengal in these centuries. Some of them travelled beyond Bengal and were so transformed into deified or legendary figures that all trace of their place of origin and activity was obliterated. Although the descriptions are often insufficient or obscure, the Tibetan sources sometimes definitely mention the locality of some of these works and authors; and of them alone we can be reasonably certain that they belonged to Bengal. The question of chronology and provenance is further complicated by a curious conflict and confusion of traditions, both Indian and Tibetan. The chronology can in most cases be settled only roughly or relatively⁴; and with regard to the problem of authorship or the

1. The high antiquity claimed for the Buddhist Tantra by Benoytosh BHATTACHARYA in his various writings can hardly be substantiated. No serious student of early Buddhism will agree that the Buddha gave instructions on Mudrā and Maṇḍala and incorporated Tantric practices into his system of religion. The Tantric works are found in late Tibetan translations which assign some of them definitely to the Pāla period; this is confirmed by the two chroniclers of Tibetan tradition, Tāranātha and Sumpā Mkhan-po; and no such work was translated into Chinese at an early period (see M. WINTERNIITZ in *IHQ*, 1933, pp. 8f, and Prabodh Chandra BAGCHI in *IHQ*, 1930, pp. 576-77).

2. *Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, aus dem Tibetischen übersetzt von A. SCHIEFNER, St. Petersburg 1869, p. 201. Tāranātha's other work (trs. A. GRUNWEDEL, Petrograd 1914) is cited below as *Edelsteinmine*.

3. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 29. The site of this Vihāra has been a matter of much speculation; see CUNNINGHAM in *RASI*, viii, p. 75 (identified with Silao; six miles north of Rājgir); *JASB*, 1909, pp. 7-12 (identified with Pātharghātā in the Colgong range, about 30 miles from Bhagalpur.) We have evidence that it was patronised by the Pāla kings. On Somapurī, built by Devapāla, see Tāranātha, *Geschichte*, p. 209f.

4. A systematic chronology has been attempted by B. BHATTACHARYA in *JBORS*, 1928, pp. 341f, in *Tattva-saṃgraha*, pp. xv f and in *Sūdhanamālā*, ii, p. xliif; but the available evidence is slender, and there is no agreement of the traditions concerning spiritual succession of these teachers, or their relationship to one another.

identity of particular authors still greater uncertainty prevails. As most of these cults overlap in point of time as well as in respect of doctrine and practice, there has been a tendency towards an appropriation, and sometimes a mutual assimilation, of teachers and their teaching¹ through a curious syncretism of beliefs characteristic of mediæval popular faiths. Into these difficult problems our limited scope precludes us from entering in detail, but in the midst of such uncertainty and meagreness of decisive material it is necessary to present the question with a proper regard to the available data and avoid hasty conclusions and allegations on insufficient basis. In any case, the account we are presenting in the following pages should be taken as nothing more than tentative and necessarily imperfect.

For, apart from these handicaps, the available material is unfortunately too scanty for a full and systematic account of this literature. A glance at the catalogue of the Rgyud contained in *Bstan-hgyur* will show not only the variety but also the very large number of texts that were composed; but as they are preserved in Tibetan, they have been, so far, little studied, while even the very few which are available in Sanskrit have not all been published. Our knowledge of Vajra-yāna, as of other later Yānas, with which these works are concerned, is extremely limited.² To realise and restore these works from Tibetan, therefore, had been found neither an easy nor always a safe task. They were meant, again, for a limited sectarian purpose and possess

1 This is true not only between the Mahāyāna and Vajra-yāna (or Mantra-yāna) but also between Vajra-yāna and Sahaja-siddhi. As Mantra-yāna and Vajra-yāna grew out of Mahāyāna, the line of demarcation between a Mahāyānist and a Vajrayānist work is not fixed, for the former often contains Tantric ideas and practices of Vajra-yāna, while the latter includes topics essentially Mahāyānist. Thus, Śāntideva's *Śikṣā-samuccaya*, an undoubtedly Mahāyānist work, contains unreserved praise of the use of the *dhāraṇīs* (see ed. BENDALL, p. 140) and traces of other Tantric ideas (see WINTERNITZ, *op. cit.* ii, pp. 380, 387f). The Tibetan canon, no doubt distinguishes the Sūtra (*Mdo*) and the Tantra (*Rgyud*) and classifies texts under these heads; but the *Mdo* and *Rgyud* very often overlap. At the same time, it is generally certain that works properly Tantric are hardly to be found outside *Rgyud*. We have in our account here proceeded on this assumption, especially with reference to the question of identity of the authors. On Sahaja-siddhi and Nātha cult see below.

2. An account of the different Buddhist Tantras is scattered throughout in the two works of Tāranātha. For modern exposition, see H. P. SHASTRI, introd. to his ed. of *Advaṣa-vajra-saṃgraha*, GOS, x, Baroda 1927; B. BHATTACHARYA, introd. to his editions of *Sādhana-mālā*, vol. ii, GOS xli, Baroda 1928 and of *Guhya-samāna*, GOS liii, Baroda 1931, also his *Two Vajrayāna Works*, GOS xlv, Baroda 1929; his Origin and Development of Vajra-yāna in *IHQ*, 1927, pp. 733-46 and Glimpses of Vajra-yāna in *Proc. Third Oriental Conf.*, p. 133f; M. SHAHIDULLAH, *Les Chants mystique*, Paris 1928, pp. 10f; for a more critical interpretation see WINTERNITZ, *Hist. of Indian Lit.* (Revised English trs.), ii, pp. 375-401; L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, Tantrism (Buddhist) in *ERE*, xii, p. 193f (where some of the terms Sādhana, Vajra etc. are discussed), also his other works cited therein; P. C. BAGCHI in *IHQ*, 1930, pp. 567f and in his ed. of *Kaula-jñāna-nūṣya*, Calcutta 1934, pp. 33-59.

little that is of general or literary interest. Apart from their technical or esoteric terminology, they are often written with an entire disregard for grammatical or elegant expression. They never pretend to be academic, but declare¹ that their object is to be accessible without much grammatical or literary preparation. Most of these works consist either of Stotras of varying lengths to Tārā, Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and other personages of later Buddhist pantheon, or of theurgic texts, called Sādhana and Vidhis, of esoteric devotion, doctrine and practice. Some of them are also texts of magical ritual or completely dedicated to magic, even to black magic. Nevertheless, with their characteristic deities, Stotras and Saṃgītis, their Mantra, Mudrā and Maṇḍala, and their Dhāraṇī, Yoga and Samādhi, they present a phase of Buddhist Tantra, closely allied to the Brahmanical, which possesses considerable interest and importance in the history of mediæval religious cults. As such, they have not yet received as much recognition as they fully deserve in the history, at least, of the mediæval culture of Bengal.

It is necessary to point out in this connexion that our extremely inadequate knowledge of the Buddhist Tantra should not give us freedom in elucidating its doctrines or pronouncing hasty judgments on its spirit and outlook. Rajendra Lal MITRA² in the last century spoke of the Buddhist Tantra as reeking of "pestilent dogmas and practices"; and the opinion has ever since been repeated in various forms.³ It is not our intention to enter into the question here, but it must be said that, whatever may have been the state of affairs in later times and in certain writers of the left-hand school, there is nothing to support the view that the Vajra-yāna doctrines in their origin encouraged sexual rites and obscenities.⁴ Magic, mysticism and theurgy

1. An interesting passage, quoted by H. P. SHASTRI (*Descriptive Cat. of ASB Mss.* i, no. 67) from the Vimala-prabhā commentary on the *Kālacakra-yāna*, tells us that Buddhist writers deliberately laid aside all rules and conventions of Sanskrit grammar and prosody and wrote only with a view to the sense; and this is certainly true in the case of most of these Tantric writings in Sanskrit. The authors seem to take a pride in writing ungrammatical Sanskrit and ridicule those who are fastidious about grammatical accuracy.

2. *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Calcutta 1882, p. 261.

3. Haraprasad SHASTRI for instance, declares (*Descriptive Cat. of ASB Mss.* vol. i, preface) that the Tantra works discard asceticism and teach enjoyment of the senses; Benoytosh BHATTACHARYA (*Sādhana-mālā*, ii, p. xxii, and also in other writings) uses stronger language and stigmatises them as specimens of "the worst immorality and sin"; while Moriz WINTERNITZ (*IHQ*, 1933, pp. 3-4; more guardedly in *Hist. of Ind. Lit.*, ii, pp. 398-99) is frankly puzzled at what appears to him to be an "unsavoury mixture of mysticism, occult pseudo-science, magic and erotics" couched in "strange and often filthy language". While conceding that Buddhist Tantrism is more than a pagan system of rites and sorcery, even a discerning and well-informed critic like L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN would attribute to it "disgusting practices, both obscene and criminal". GRÜNWEDEL's attitude that the Buddhist Tantra is all necromancy is similarly one-sided.

4. P. C. BAGCHI in *IHQ* 1930, pp. 577-80; G. TUCCI in *JRAS*, 1935, p. 681. One requires scarcely to be reminded that Yuan CHWANG (WATTERS, *Yuan Chwang*,

were undoubtedly at their basis, but it should be recognised that all Tantric works of the higher class, whether Buddhistic or Brahmanical, present their mystical doctrines in an equally mystical language, of which a literal understanding would be unwarranted and misleading. They speak of unknown methods and ideas of spiritual experience and employ esoteric expressions to signify unknown realities. The symbolical language is sometimes called Saṃdhābhāṣā, which being intentional (*ābhīprāyika*), is intended to convey something different from what is actually expressed.¹ There is also an apparent sex-symbolism here, as in other mediæval religious systems, which expresses fervent spiritual longings or strange theological fancies in the intimate language and imagery of earthly passion. This mode of thought and expression, no doubt, borders dangerously upon sense-devotion and sexual emotionalism, but it is only an aspect of that erotic mysticism which is often inseparable from mediæval beliefs, and need not be taken as implying sexual licence.

A consideration of all this, however, belongs to the sphere of religious history and falls outside our province. On the other hand, some of these Buddhist writers were also regular logicians and philosophers, whose works deserve notice in the general literary history of Mahāyāna Buddhism. As very few of these writings, however, are preserved independently in Sanskrit and possess little literary interest, it will not be necessary for us to enter into details. We shall give here a general survey of the more important writers who in all probability belonged to Bengal and contributed materially in Sanskrit to the growth of the Buddhist literature both in its general and esoteric aspects.

As our concern here is with Buddhist Tantric literature, we need only refer to Candra-gomin the grammarian, who in all probability belonged to Bengal. But the Tibetan tradition does not distinguish him definitely from the Tantric Candra-gomin who is credited with thirty-six miscellaneous texts in the *Bstan-hgyur*. They include not only mystic Stotras in praise of Tārā, Mañjuśrī and other personalities of later Buddhist hagiology, but also works on Tantric Abhicāra (such as *Abhicāra-karman*, *Camū-dhvaṃśopāya*, *Bhaya-trāṇopāya*, *Vighna-nirāsaka-pramathanopāya*), as well as a few magical tracts apparently of a medical character (such as *Jvararakṣā-vidhi*, *Kuṣṭha-cikitsopāya*)! The logician Candra-gomin, whose *Nyāya-sidhyāloka* also exists in Tibetan, is probably a different person.

ii, p. 165) refers to the high tone and austere lives of the Nālanda monks, which account is confirmed also by Yi-tsing who spent ten years at Nālanda. Moreover, the older traditions of Tantra literature in general hardly permit us to attribute obscurities to its practices.

1. V. BHATTACHARYA in *IHQ*, 1928, pp. 287f; P. C. BAGCHI in *IHQ*, 1930, pp. 389f for a whole chapter on Saṃdhā-bhāṣā in *Hevajra-tantra*; also M. SHAHIDUL-LAH, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10; P. C. BAGCHI in *IHQ*, 1931, pp. 9f. EDGERTON (*JAOS*, 1937, pp. 185f) is of opinion that the Buddhist Sanskrit word Saṃdhā or Saṃdhi means "complete, comprehensive (and so) fundamental, essential meaning."

The next important personage is the Mahāyānist scholar Śīlabhadra, the friend and teacher of Yuan Chwang, who mentions him¹ as one of the great monks who rendered good service to Buddhism by their lucid commentaries. Originally a Brahmin, he belonged to the royal family of Samatāṭa and became a pupil of Dharmapāla at Nālanda, of which he subsequently became the head. None of his works, except *Ārya-buddha-bhūmi-vyākhyāna* preserved in Tibetan², has survived.

Of Śāntideva the problem of identity and provenance³ is more difficult. The Tantric Śāntideva to whom three Vajra-yāna texts are assigned in the *Bṣtan-hgyur*,⁴ is probably not identical with the well known Mahāyānist Śāntideva who was the author of *Śikṣā-samuccaya*⁵ and *Bodhicaryāvatāra*.⁶ This earlier Mahāyānist teacher, Śāntideva, who probably belonged to the 7th century, came, according to Tāranātha,⁷ from the royal family of Saurāṣṭra, was for a time a minister of king Pañcasimha and became a pupil of Jayadeva, the successor of Dharmapāla at Nālanda. The Tantric Śāntideva, on the other hand, belonged, according to the *Bṣtan-hgyur*,⁸ to Zahor, the identity of which place is obscure but which is sometimes located in Bengal.⁹

1. See WATTERS, *op. cit.* ii, pp. 165, 169, also pp. 109, 227. TAKAKUSU, *I-tsing*, pp. xiv, 181.

2. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 365.

3. discussed briefly by H. P. SHASTRI in *Bauddha-gān*, pp. 23-24 and *JBORS*, 1919, pp. 301-03.

4. CORDIER, *op. cit.* ii, pp. 140, 230, 241. They are : *Śrī-guhyasamāja-mahā-yoga-tantra-vali-vidhi*, *Sahaja-gīti* and *Citta-caitanya-śamanopāya*

5. ed. C. BENDALL, *Bibl. Buddhica*, St. Petersburg 1902, and translated by BENDALL and W. H. D. ROUSE, London 1922. According to BENDALL, the work was translated into Tibetan between 816 and 838 A.D., but was probably written as early as the middle of the 7th century.

6. ed. I. P. MINAYEFF in *Zapiski*, iv, 1889 and *JBTS*, 1894. Prajñākaramati's commentary (with the text), ed. LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Bibl. Ind.*, 1901-14. The text is translated by POUSSIN, PARIS 1907, and in an abridged form by L. D. BARNETT, London 1909 (*Wisdom of the East*). A *Sūtra-samuccaya* is also ascribed to Śāntideva by Tāranātha (pp. 162f.); on this work see WINTERNITZ, *Hist. of Ind. Lit.* ii, Calcutta 1933, p. 366, note, and reference therein cited.

7. *Geschichte*, p. 162f. Sumpā Mkhān-po (p. xcix, 103) agrees with this account and states that Śāntideva was known in his boyhood as Śānti-varman, son of Kalyāṇa-varman, and that he became a minister of Pañcasimha, king of Magadha. The fragment of a biography mentioned by SHASTRI (*Descriptive Cat. of ASB Mss*, i. p. 52, no. 9990/52; for a summary see *IA*, 1913, pp. 49-52, *Bauddha-gān*, pp. 9-11 and *JBORS*, 1919, pp. 501-05; the Ms dated c. 14th century) is apparently the work of a late Tantric writer and is of doubtful value; it mentions Mañju-varman as Śāntideva's father.

8. CORDIER, *loc. cit.*

9. This place Zahor is conjectured in turns to be Lahore in the Punjab and Jessore in South Bengal (Sarat Chandra DAS and WADDEL) and Sabhar in East Bengal (H. P. SHASTRI). The suggestion (*IHQ*, 1935, pp. 143-44) that Zahor was in Rāḍha is pure imagination. A. H. FRANCKE (*Indian Tibet*, ii, pp. 65, 89-90) would with great probability identify it with Mandī in North-western India (see BAGCHI in *IHQ*, 1930, pp. 581-82).

According to another tradition,¹ Śāntideva had another name Bhusuku (called also Rāutu), but tradition is uncertain as to which Śāntideva is meant. It arises probably from a confusion with Bhusuku, who is known as a Buddhist Tantric writer of Dohās in the vernacular,² following the Bāṅgālī sub-sect of the Sahaja-siddhi,³ and who could not be, if he is a disciple of Dīpamkara Śrījñāna, earlier than the 11th century. He may or may not be identical with Śānti-pā or Śānti-pāda,⁴ to whom also some vernacular Dohās⁵ are ascribed⁶ and who is described as a disciple of both Kṛṣṇācārya and Jālaṃdhara.⁶

Evidence is equally inconclusive with regard to the identity and place of origin of Śānti-(or Śānta-)rakṣita, who is placed by the Tibetan tradition in the 8th century. According to Sumpā Mkhan-po⁷ he belonged to the royal family of Zahor, which, as we have noted, some scholars are inclined to locate, without much justification, in Bengal; but *Bstan-hgyur*, which gives three Tantric works under the name Śāntirakṣita⁸ is silent about his place of

1. Sumpā Mkhan-po Yeśes Dpal Hbyor, *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan*, ed. Sarat Chandra DAS, with an Analytical Index in English, in 2 pts. Calcutta 1908, pt. 1, pp. cxvii, 126. The tradition is given also in SHASTRI's fragmentary biography mentioned above. But Tāranātha (*Geschichte*, p. 249) believes that Bhusūka (*sic*), whom he does not identify with Śāntideva, was a contemporary of Dīpamkara Śrījñāna and therefore a much later teacher.

2. The eight Dohās assigned to Bhusuku in the *Caryācarya-vimścaya* (included in H. P. SHASTRI's *Bauddha-gān*) are nos. 6, 21, 23, 27, 30, 41, 43 and 49. To him probably also belongs the Vajra-yāna work called *Caturābharāṇa* (H. P. SHASTRI, *Descriptive Catalogue*, i, p. 82; Ms dated in 1295 A.D.), which deals with some of the occupation of Tantric Buddhists and contains some vernacular Dohās.—On the language of the 47 Caryāpadas of the 22 authors included in the *Caryācarya*⁹, see S. K. CHATTERJI, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Calcutta 1926, pp. 112f; M. SHAHIDULLAH, *op. cit.*, pp. 33f.

3. H. P. SHASTRI, *Bauddha-gān*, introd. p. 12; this reference is said to indicate his Bengal origin. The Dohās also appear to be written in proto-Bengali. According to GRÜNWEDEL (*Geschichte d. Mahāsiddhas*, p. 184), Bhusuku belonged to the Kṣatriya caste, flourished in Nālanda in the time of Devapāla, and was known by the name of Śāntideva.

4. Sumpā Mkhan-po, *op. cit.*, pp. cxix, 125.

5. The Dohās in *Caryācarya*⁹ are: nos. 15 and 26.

6. To Śānti-pāda, who is also called Ratnākara-śānti, is ascribed *Sukha-aukha-dvaya-parityāga-dṛṣṭi* in *Bstan-hgyur* (CORDIER, ii, p. 235). A Sanskrit *Dṛṣṭibhūja-heruka-sādhana* of his is published in *Sādhana-mālā*, ii, pp. 474-76. Tāranātha (*Edelsteinmine* pp. 105-06) describes Ratnākara-śānti or Śānti as a Brahman of Magadha who became an Ācārya of Vikramaśīla and preached for seven years in Sīmaḥala. See GRÜNWEDEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-58. To Ratnākara-śānti eighteen Tantric works are ascribed in *Bstan-hgyur*. A *Chando-ratnākara* by Ratnākara-śānti is noticed in JASB, 1908, p. 595, as existing in the Tibetan version. (Sansk. text with Tibetan version, ed. Georg HUTH, Berlin 1890, Roman translit.).

7. *op. cit.*, pp. xcix, 49, Sarat Chandra DAS is here (see p. ci) uncertain about the location of Zahor, but in JBTS, i, 1893, p. 1f, he believes that Śāntarakṣita was a native of Gauḍa, which opinion has been repeated by Benoytosh BHATTACHARYA and others.

8. viz. *Aṣṭa-tathāgata-stotra*, *Vajradhara-saṃgīta-bhagavat-stotra-tikā* and *Hevajrodhava-kurukulyāyā Pañca-mahopadeśa* at CORDIER, ii, pp. 11, 12, 93. He is also known as Ācārya Bodhisattva, to whom also four works, mostly on Sapta-tathāgata, are ascribed in CORDIER, pp. 298, 368, 369.

origin. The Tibetan tradition, however, appears to centre round the Mahāyānist logician and scholar Śāntarakṣita; but he does not appear to be definitely distinguished from the Vajrayānist Tantric author, Śāntirakṣita, who is connected with Padmasambhava of Uḍḍiyāna¹ as his brother-in-law and collaborator but who may or may not be the same person. The logician Śāntarakṣita was a high priest and teacher at Nālanda and followed the Svatantra Mādhyamika school. From this standpoint he reviewed with great acuteness and scholarship the earlier philosophical systems, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist, in his *Tattva-saṃgraha*,² which exists both in Sanskrit and Tibetan, and on which his pupil Kamalaśīla³ wrote a commentary. He also wrote *Vāda-nyāya-vṛtti-vipañcitārtha*⁴ and *Madhyamakālamkāra-kārikā*, (the latter with his own commentary),⁵ which are available only in the Tibetan version. His reputation must have travelled beyond the limits of India, and he is said to have visited Tibet at the invitation of king Khri-sron-ide-bstan and assisted him in building the first regular Buddhist monastery of Bsām-ye on the model of the Odantapuri Vihāra of Magadha.⁶ He is said to have worked for thirteen years in Tibet, and, along with Padmasambhava and his own disciple Kamalaśīla, laid the foundation of Buddhism in that country.

With regard to Jetārī, the next important writer, the Tibetan tradition appears to distinguish a senior and junior sage of that name. The senior

1. WADDEL. *Lamaism*. London 1895. p. 379f. The name of the place Uḍḍiyāna is also given in the forms Oddiyāna, Oḍḍyāna, Oḍyāna, Oḍiyāna and sometimes as Orgyān or U-rgyāna: but it has not yet been definitely located. B. BHATTACHARYA, following H. P. SHASTRI, would identify it with Orissa and draw far-reaching conclusions about Buddhist Tantric centres in Orissa. But this is only a conjecture: and Orissa is often mentioned as Oḍviśa in the Tibetan works. In *JBORS*, 1928, p. 34, however, B. BHATTACHARYA believes that the place was in Assam! There is great probability in the identification proposed by Sylvain LÉVI (*JA*, 1915, p. 105f; see F. W. THOMAS in *JRAS*, 1906, p. 461 note) with the Swat valley in North-western India, the people of which, even in Yuan Chwang's time (*WATTERS*, i, p. 225), made "the acquaintance of magical formulas their occupation." See the question discussed by P. C. BAGCHI in *IHQ*, 1930, pp. 580-83.

2. ed. (in part) *GOS*, no. xxx-xxxī, Baroda 1926, (author called Śāntarakṣita) with Kamalaśīla's commentary. Cf. M. WINTERNITZ in *Indologia Pragensis* i, 1929, pp. 73f. A Vajrayāna work, *Tattva-siddhi*, is also mentioned by B. BHATTACHARYA, but this may be by the other Śāntarakṣita or Śāntirakṣita.

3. There is no definite evidence that Kamalaśīla belonged to Bengal, but he is said to have been a contemporary of Lui-pā.

4. See S. C. VIDYABHUSANA, *Hist. of Indian Logic*, Calcutta 1921, pp. 323-27.

5. Tāranātha, *Geschichte*, pp. 204-5, 213. See WINTERNITZ, *Hist. of Indian Lit.*, ii, p. 375.

6. Sarat Chandra DAS (*JBTS*, i, pp. 1-31) gives an account of Śāntarakṣita's activities in Tibet. He is said to have visited Tibet in 743 A.D., erected the monastery of Bsām-ye in 749 and died in 762 A.D. This has been accepted by B. BHATTACHARYA (introd. to *Tattva-saṃgraha*, p. xivf) and Phanindranath BOSE (*Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities*, Madras 1923, p. 124).

7. Tāranātha, *Geschichte*, p. 230-33; Sumpā Mkhān-po, *op. cit.*, pp. xcvi, xcvi, 116.

or Mahā-Jetāri belonged to Varendra where his father Garbhapāda lived at the court of king Sanātana.¹ He is said to have received from Mahāpāla the diploma of the Paṇḍita of Vikramaśīla Vihāra, and instructed Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna in the Buddhist lore. The younger Jetāri² was a Buddhist Tantric sage of Bengal, who initiated Bodhibhāgya and gave him the name Lāvanya-vajra. It is possible that the three learned works on Buddhist logic, preserved in Tibetan,³ belonged to the senior Jetāri, while the junior Jetāri was responsible for eleven Vajrayānist Sādhana also preserved in Tibetan.⁴

Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna, the alleged pupil of Jetāri, appears to have been a very industrious and prolific writer, to whom the *Bstan-hgyur* assigns about one hundred and sixty-eight works,⁵ of which a large number consists of translations. They are mostly Vajrayānist Sādhana⁶ (Rgyud), but Sūtra (Mdo) works, also listed in the *Bstan-hgyur* under his name, presumably deal with the general doctrines of the Mahāyāna. H. P. SHASTRI is probably right⁷ in distinguishing two Dīpaṃkaras, but there might have been more Dīpaṃkaras than two.⁸ Of these, Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna, who is also designated by the Tibetan title of Atīśa, belonged, according to the Tibetan tradition,⁹ to Bengal. Sumpā Mkhan-po informs us¹⁰ that Dīpaṃkara was a high

1. See Tāranātha, *Geschichte*, loc. cit. Sumpā Mkhan-po, however, believes that Jetāri was born of a Yoginī whom Sanātana kept for Tantric practices.

2. Sumpā Mkhan-po, *op. cit.*, pp. xcvi, 112.

3. *Hetu-tat'vopadeśa*, *Dharma-dharmī-viniścaya* and *Bālāvatāra-tarka*. See S. C. VIDYABHUSANA, *op. cit.*, pp. 337-38. There are also two other Sūtra works of Jetāri in *Bstan-hgyur*, viz., *Bodhi-pratideśana-vṛtti* and *Sugata-mahāvibhanga-kārikā* (Tāranātha, p. 327).

4. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 84, 101, 289, 298, 299, 319, 357, 366, 367.

5. The Rgyud section, according to M. SHAHIDULLAH'S calculation, contains 96, Rgyud-hgrel 36 and Mdo-hgrel 36. SHASTRI'S index of CORDIER'S summary of Rgyud-hgrel I-LXX gives over 100 tantric works, of which about 40 are translations.

6. On the characteristics of the Sādhana and of Vajra-yāna literature in general see L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN in *ERE*, loc. cit.; WINTERNITZ, *History*, ii, pp. 387-92. Most of the published Sādhana, as in B. BHATTACHARYA, *Sādhana-mālā*, 2 vols., GOS nos. xxvi, xli (1925, 1928), and elsewhere, are very short, but some are fairly long; they are generally written in indifferent Sanskrit prose, with verse Mantras, some being entirely in verse. On Dhāraṇīs see the WINTERNITZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 380f. The Saṃgītis introduce the Buddha in an assembly of the faithful.

7. *Bauddha-gān*, introd., p. 22.

8. Besides Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna, the *Bstan-hgyur* has preserved numerous works under the names Dīpaṃkara, Dīpaṃkara-candra, Dīpaṃkara-bhadra, and Dīpaṃkara-rakṣita, who were probably not all identical. Dīpaṃkara-bhadra is mentioned also by Tāranātha (*Geschichte*, pp. 257, 264; *Edelsteinmine* p. 95) as belonging to Western India. To Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna Atīśa is also ascribed a *Caryā-gīti* (CORDIER, *op. cit.*, p. 46).

9. See CORDIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 88.

10. *op. cit.*, pp. xlvi, 118; also pp. xxxvi, 95; Tāranātha, *Geschichte*, p. 243. Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna also appears to have been connected with Somapurī Vihāra, where he translated *Madhyamaka-ratna-pradīpa* of Bhāva-viveka (CORDIER, iii, p. 299).

priest both at Vikramaśīla and Odantapurī, and that he was known also by the honorific epithet of Jovo (= Prabhu). He visited Tibet, lived, travelled, and worked there for some time,¹ and the large bulk of his original and translated writings testify to the assistance he rendered not only in propagating Tantric Buddhism but also in rendering Indian works accessible in Tibetan.

Jñānaśrī-mitra, described² as a central pillar of the Vikramaśīla Vihāra at the time of Canaka of Magadha, was born in Gauḍa. He first joined the Śrāvaka school, but afterwards became a Mahāyānist and came to Vikramaśīla about the time when Dipamkara Śrījñāna left for Tibet. He wrote a work on Buddhist logic, called *Kārya-kāraṇa-bhāva-siddhi*, which exists in Tibetan, and must have attained considerable reputation to be mentioned by Mādhyama in the 14th century in his *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha*.³ He should be distinguished from Jñānaśrī, of whom ten Vajrayāna works exist in Tibetan.⁴

Of the minor Buddhist writers, mostly Tantric, who in all probability flourished in Bengal during these centuries, it is not necessary to give a detailed account here; for their writings appear to be of the same character and possess no distinctive interest. Among these may be mentioned Abhayākaragupta, who has more than twenty Vajrayānist works preserved in Tibetan, but four⁵ of these are also available in Sanskrit. He is described

1. Sarat Chandra Das in *JBTS*, i, pp. 46-53 supplies further information. Dipamkara Śrījñāna, according to him, was born in 980 A.D. He was the son of Kalyāṇaśrī and Prabhāvatī, and belonged to the royal family of Gauḍa at Vikramanipura, east of Vajrasana or Bodhi-Gaya (east of Magadha, according to H. P. SHASTRI in *JBORS*, 1919, p. 182). He went to Tibet from Vikramaśīla Vihāra by invitation in 1038, and worked there till his death at the age of 73 in 1053 A.D. (See *JASB*, 1889, p. 41, where Sumpā Mkhan-po's chronological table gives 1053 A.D. as the date of Atiśa's death at the age of 73.)—He must have travelled and preached widely in Tibet where traces of his activity are still to be seen all over Western Tibet (A. H. FRANCKE, *Indian Tibet*, pt. i, pp. 50-52).

2. Tāranātha, *Geschichte*, pp. 241f, Sumpā Mkhan-po, *op. cit.*, pp. xcvi, 118, 120.

3. S. C. VIDYABHUSANA, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

4. To Jñānaśrīmitra only one Tantric work, named *Mūla-tantra-saṃgraha-hṛdayābhidhānottara-tantra-mūla-vṛtti*, which appears to be a translation, is assigned in CORDIER, ii, p. 30.

5. These are: *Kāla-cakrāvātāra* (SHASTRI, *Descriptive Cat. of ASB Mss*, i, p. 161; Ms dated 1125 A.D.), *Paddhati* commentary on *Buddha-kapāla-tantra* (*ibid.*, p. 163-64; Ms. finished at Vikramaśīla in the 25th year of Rāmapāla's reign), *Vajrāvali-nāma-māṇḍalopāyika* (*ibid.*, pp. 153-61 and *Ucchusma-jambhala-sādhana* (SHASTRI, *Nepal Catalogue*, II, p. 205; no. 152, in the *Sādhana-samuccaya*).

6. Sumpā Mkhan-po, *op. cit.*, pp. cxxxviii, 63, 112, 120, 121; Tāranātha, *Geschichte*, pp. 250f, *Edelsteinmine*, pp. 109f. Tāranātha believes that Abhayākara's father was a Kṣatriya and his mother a Brāhmaṇi. He was well versed in the Hindu Śāstras and the Tantras of the Tirthikas before he was converted, but studied Buddhist Tantra in Bengal later on. S. C. DAS in *JASB*, 1882, pp. 16-18 gives a slightly different account from Tibetan sources. He states that Abhayākara was born in the middle of the 9th century in eastern India near Gauḍa, went to

as a Buddhist monk of "Baṅgala" born in a Kṣatriya family at Jharkhaṇḍa in Orissa; he flourished in the reign of Rāmapāla as Ācārya of Vajrāsana and Nālanda, becoming a high priest of Vikramaśīla, according to Sumpā Mkhan-po, at the time of Yakṣapāla's dethronement by his minister Lavasena.¹ Divākara-candra, described as belonging to Bengal in the *Bṣtan-hgyur*² which includes one Heruka-sādhana and two translations of his, was according to Sumpā Mkhan-po,³ a disciple of Maitrī-pā lived in the reign of Nayapāla, but was driven away from Vikramaśīla by Dipaṃkara.⁴ Kumāra-candra, described⁵ as "an Avadhūta of the Vikramapurī Vihāra of Bengal in Eastern Magadha" is responsible for three Tantric Pañjikās (commentaries) preserved in Tibetan; while Kumāra-vajra, also described as belonging to Bengal,⁶ was mostly a translator, who has only one independent work on the Heruka-sādhana. Dānaśīla, similarly described as belonging to "Bhagala" in Eastern India⁷ and to the Jagaddala Vihāra in the east,⁸ is mentioned as a translator by Sumpā Mkhan-po.⁹ He has about sixty Tantric translations in Tibetan to his credit, but there is also a brief *Pustaka-pāṭho-pāyā*¹⁰ translated by himself into Tibetan, on the mode of beginning the reading of a book. Putali (or Puttali), mentioned¹¹ as a Buddhist Tantric sage of Bengal, wrote a Vajrayānist work on Bodhicitta¹²; but Nāgabodhi (or

Magadha, became a priest of king Rāmapāla, and by his learning and other accomplishments came to preside over the Vikramaśīla Vihāra. He died before Rāmapāla abdicated in favour of his son Yakṣapāla, and was succeeded by Ratnākara-śānti at Vikramaśīla. In two of his works noticed in CORDIER (ii, pp. 71, 255) he is described as an inhabitant of Magadha. See IC, iii, pp. 369-72:

1. He appears to be different from Abhaya-pañḍita to whom about 108 Tantric works are assigned in the *Bṣtan-hgyur*.

2. CORDIER, *op. cit.* p. 319. Also pp. 83, 92 for the works.

3. *op. cit.*, pp. xlvii, 119, where the name is given as Devākara-candra. See Tāranātha, *Geschichte*, p. 244.

4. A *Pāka-vidhi* by Pañḍita-śrī-Divākara-candra is noticed in SHASTRI, *Nepal Cat.* II, pp. 43-44; cf. P. C. BAGCHI, *Dohā-kośa*, p. 8 (colophon), where the Ms is dated in 1101 A.D. He is probably identical with Devākara-candra, also chiefly a translator (5 works in Tibetan), or Devākara (two translated works, CORDIER, ii, p. 181), both of whom are described as Indian Upādhyāyas (CORDIER, pp. 176, 181, 217, 277); but he may be different from Divākara-vajra (4 works, CORDIER pp. 47, 48, 328, 329) who is described as a Mahābrāhmaṇa.

5. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, p. 160. For the works see pp. 73, 169.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 188, also p. 63. Has Bhagala any connexion with modern Bhagalpur? Or, is it another form of Baṅgala or Bhaṅgala by which Tāranātha and Sumpā Mkhan-po mean Bengal? Tāranātha (*Geschichte*, pp. 204, 226) believes that Dānaśīla was a Kashmirian, and lived in the time of Mahipāla of Bengal.

8. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

9. *op. cit.*, pp. xlvii, 115.

10. See S. C. VIDYABHUSANA, *op. cit.*, pp. 340-41; also *IHQ*, 1927, pp. 856-58 for a description of the work.

11. Sumpā Mkhan-po, *op. cit.*, pp. lxxiii, 130. He is regarded as one of the 84 Mahāsiddhas, who was a Śūdra of "Bhaṅgala" (GRÜNWEDEL, *op. cit.*, p. 216).

12. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, p. 245 (*Bodhicitta-vāyu-caraṇa-bhāvanopāya*).

Nāgabuddhi?), who is said¹ to have been born "in Śibsera in Baṅgala" and who served (the later) Nāgārjuna as a disciple when he was working alchemy in Puṇḍravardhana, left thirteen Tantric works now preserved in *Bṣtan-hgyur*. It is not clear if Ṭaṅkadāsa (or Ḍaṅgadāsa)² was a native of Bengal, but he is described as a Vṛddha-kāyastha and contemporary of Dharmapāla of Bengal; he wrote at the Pāṇḍubhūmi Vihāra a commentary called *Suviśada-saṃpūṭa* on the *Hevajra-tantra*. But Prajñāvarman, who is credited with two commentaries and two translations of Tantric texts, is distinctly assigned to Bengal.³ There are, however, some Buddhist Tantric writers who worked in Vihāras situated in eastern India; but there is no direct evidence that they were natives of Bengal. They are: Bodhibhadra of the Somapurī Vihāra⁴; Mokṣākaragupta, Vibhūticandra, and Subhākara⁵ of the Jagaddala Vihāra. Of these Mokṣākaragupta wrote a work on Logic called *Tarka-bhāṣā*,⁶ and may be identical with the commentator of the same name on the *Dohā-kośa* in the vernacular.⁷ Vibhūticandra has a total of 23 Tantric works,⁸ of which 17 are translations, including translations of two works of Lui-pā. Similarly, Vanaratna, who is 'mostly a translator, is vaguely described in the *Bṣtan-hgyur*⁹ as belonging to Eastern India; but Sumpā Mkhan-po¹⁰ informs us that he visited Tibet from the monasteries of Koki land.¹¹ Of some writers, again, we can infer their place of origin only indirectly from their works. Thus Kambala or Kambalāmbara-pāda, to whom eight works chiefly on Heruka- (or Cakrasambara-) Sādhana are credited in

1. Sumpā Mkhan-po, *op. cit.*, pp. xii, 90, Tāranātha, *Geschichte*, pp. 86f, 105. The Siddhācārya Nāgabodhi (GRUNWEDEL, *op. cit.*, p. 214), a Brahman of Western India and disciple of Nāgārjuna, is probably the same person. For his works see CORDIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 137, 138, 142, 143, 167, 207, 209, 245.

2. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, p. 67, 69, Sumpā Mkhan-po, *op. cit.*, pp. v, 144, Tāranātha, *Edelsteinmine*, p. 100.

3. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 4, 298. He hailed from Kāpatya in Bengal (CORDIER, iii, p. 399).

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 98, 250, two works. He may be the same as Bodhibhadra of Vikramaśīla mentioned by Tāranātha (*Geschichte*, p. 259f).

5. CORDIER, p. 293; guru of Śākyaśrī; wrote *Siddhaikavīratāntra-ṭīkā*. He should be distinguished from Subhākaraḥ of Magadha, pupil of Abhayākaragupta and high priest of Vikramaśīla, who flourished in the reign of Rāmapāla (Sumpā Mkhan-po, *op. cit.*, pp. cxxii, 120; Tāranātha, *Geschichte*, pp. 252, 26. S. C. VIDYABHUSANA, *op. cit.*, p. 346).

6. S. C. VIDYABHUSANA, *loc. cit.*

7. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

8. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 20, 21, 23, 49, 50, 126, 142, 178, 302, 365. SHASTRI, *Nepal Catalogue II*, p. 244, gives an *Amṛta-karṇikā* commentary of Vibhūticandra, in Sanskrit, on Nāma-saṃgīti according to Kālacakra-yāna.

9. CORDIER, pp. 17, 77.

10. *op. cit.*, p. lxix, 123; Tāranātha, *Geschichte*, p. 263.

11. For Buddhist Tantra in the eastern Koki land, see Tāranātha, *Geschichte*, p. 262.

Tibetan, wrote also a collection of Dohās, called *Kambala-Gīṭikā*,¹ apparently in proto-Bengali, and one such Dohā (no. 8) occurs also in the *Caryācarya*.² To this class belong several writers, but about some of them we have more definite information. These are Kukkurī-pāda, Śavari-pāda, Lui-pāda, Kṛṣṇa-pāda and others; but since these writers, to whom Vajrayānist works are credited in the *Bstan-hgyur*, are also counted among the 84 Siddhas and connected with popular Tantric cults, especially the Mahāmāyā, the Yoginī-kaula and the Nātha cult, all of which possibly developed further out of Vajra-yāna and Mantra-yāna, it would be better to take them up separately.

With these so-called Siddhācāryas we enter upon a somewhat new phase of Bengal Tantrism, although most of these thaumaturgists present a medley of doctrines, which had probably not yet crystallised themselves into well defined or sharply distinguished cults. The Vajra-yāna and Mantra-yāna, as offshoots of Mahāyāna, were never at any stage separated by any clear line of demarcation. The same remarks would apply to the various closely allied, perhaps concurrently existing, and presumably popular, cults⁴ which became associated with the names of the Siddhācāryas and the Nātha-gurus, and which (whatever might have been their origin) show a clear admixture of Buddhist ideas and claim as their teachers recognised expounders of Vajra-

1. See H. P. SHASTRI, *Buddha-gān*, introd., p. 27. (Only one of his Padas occurs in *Caryācarya*° (no. 8). On the legends of Kambala, who is counted as one of the 84 Siddhas, see GRÜNWEDEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-76. For his Vajra-yāna works see CORDIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 36, 41, 81, 235, 287. He is described as the Guru of Prajña-rakṣita (CORDIER, p. 41), who also wrote a number of works on Heruka or Cakra-sambara Sādhana.

2. ed. H. P. SHASTRI in his *Buddha-gān*. Tāranātha (*Geschichte*, pp. 188, 191f, 275, 324, *Edelsteinmine*, p. 53f) connects Kambala with Uddiyāna and associates him with Lalitavarja and Indrabhūti in the exposition of Hevajra-tantra. Sumpā Mkhān-po (*op. cit.*, pp. x, 90, 94), on the other hand, believes that Kambala was a contemporary of Āryadeva.

3. On the distinction, which however is not sharp, between Mantra-yāna and Vajra-yāna see WINTERNITZ *Hist. of Ind. Lit.* ii, pp. 387-88.

4. With our present available materials the exact relationship of these various cults cannot be determined, but there can be no doubt that, whether Buddhist or Brahmanical, they were intimately related, and their teachers figure indiscriminately in more cults than one.—In addition to the authorities cited above, all the Tibetan legends about the Mahāsiddhas or Siddhācāryas will be found in *Geschichte der vierachtzig Zauberer* (Mahāsiddhas), aus dem Tibetischen übersetzt von A. GRÜNWEDEL, in *Baessler Archiv*, Band v (Leipzig und Berlin 1916), pp. 137-228 (here cited as GRÜNWEDEL), and also *Tāranātha's Edelsteinmine* aus dem Tibetischen übersetzt von A. GRÜNWEDEL, Petrograd 1914 (Bibliotheca Buddhica xviii).

5. The persuasions or sub-sects of Avadhūi, Cāṇḍālī, Ḍommbī, Dākinī etc. are strictly Buddhist. They are sometimes included in the broad scope of Vajra-yāna or Mantra-yāna, but they are collectively known to Tāranātha as Sahaja-siddhi. The Nāthism is more complex, but Buddhist affinity cannot be denied. Tāranātha calls the system of Matsyendra-nātha Upadeśa-yoga. There can be no doubt that all these systems emphasise some form of Yoga-practice; but it would be incorrect to say that they consisted of pure and simple necromancy, for the object was not Siddhis but Siddhi. The term Sahaja-yāna is used by some modern writers, but

yāna and Mantra-yāna. We have in consequence a curious confusion in the various traditions between the early teachers of the different but closely related cults. We have for instance, the traditions of more than one Śavara, Lui-pā, Saraha and Kṛṣṇa, just in the same way as we have traditions of more than one Śāntideva, Śāntirakṣita and Dīpaṃkara ; while Lui-pā has been equated with Mīna-nātha or Matsyendra-nātha, who is one of the acknowledged founders of both Yoginī-kaula and Nāthism. The difficulty is here perhaps greater than that of distinguishing between Mahāyāna and Vajra-yāna writers where they might have been confused by similarity of names, and where the one system having developed out of the other, it was not inherently impossible for a Mahāyānist to be a Vajra-yānist. But in this case, as also sometimes in the other, it is not always possible to assume two or more sets of teachers having a common name or a common belief. Behind this confusion, therefore one should presume a syncretic tendency, not unusual in the history of religious cults, to assimilate and identify the teachers of the different groups. This tendency must have been facilitated by the fact that these cults, collectively called Sahaja-siddhi, were not in their origin probably sharply differentiated, having developed under the same conditions and possibly out of the same source or sources. In the case of Nāthism especially, which was perhaps more popular than academic, this tendency of assimilating the recognised teachers of Buddhist Tantrism is not unintelligible. Whether the Nāthism in its origin was a form of Tantric Buddhism which transformed itself into Tantric Śaivism or whether the process was otherwise, need not be discussed here ; but it is clear that it assimilated rites and tenets from various sources, its curious legends belonging to no regular order.¹ In the same way it appropriated, or rather assimilated its own Gurus to Vajrayānist teachers of repute, on the one hand, and to Śiva and his disciples, on the other.

One of the characteristics of Sahaja-siddhi is that it repudiates Mantra, Maṇḍala and other external means and modes of Vajra-yāna and Mantra-yāna, puts emphasis on Yogic practices and cultivation of mental powers, and, accepting their terminology, places different interpretations on such fundamental concepts as Vajra, Mudrā etc. The lands where this phase of Tantrism was the most wide-spread, and perhaps where it originated, were Bengal and Assam. Most of the teachers, therefore, belong to these countries, from which their teachings must have spread in divergent forms to Nepal and Tibet ; but the traditions concerning them became overlaid, obscure and confusing, and their works present a medley of Buddhism and Hinduism. The religious aspect of the question is not our concern here, but we shall give a brief survey of the important works and authors connected with these cults.

it is hardly employed in the older works as the designation of a recognised Yāna. The later Sahajiyā cult of Bengal was undoubtedly connected with Sahaja-siddhi and the Nātha-yogī cult.

1. See Gopal HALDAR, *Gopīcānd Legend*, in the *Proc. Sixth Oriental Conf.*, Patna 1933, p. 277.

Kukkuri-pāda (or °pa), one of the eighty-four Siddhas, is mentioned by Tibetan tradition¹ as a Brahman of Bengal² who introduced Mantra-yāna (Heruka-sādhana) and other Tantras from the land of Ḍākinī. This somewhat obscure account probably refers specially to the introduction of the cult of Mahāmāyā, with which his name is traditionally associated, and which, judging from the titles of the works,³ appears to form the theme of at least three out of his six Tantric compositions in the *Bstan-hgyur*. He is also credited with two vernacular Dohās in the *Caryācarya*^o (nos. 2, 20).⁴ Another early Siddhācārya is Śavari-pāda, of whom it is recorded by Sumpā Mkhan-po⁵ that he was a huntsman of the hills of “Baṅgala”, who, with his two wives, Loki and Guni, was converted by Nāgārjuna during the latter’s residence in that country. The Tibetan sources,⁶ again, place him as a contemporary of Lui-pā, making him⁷ even a preceptor of Lui-pā in Tantrism. Two vernacular Dohās of Śavari are also found in the *Caryācarya*^o (nos. 28, 50). It is probable, therefore, that he was connected with the new cults, although thirteen Vajrayānist works are assigned to him in the *Bstan-hgyur*.⁸ He appears to be the same as Śavariśvara or Śavareśvara,⁹ some of whose works in the *Bstan-*

1. Sumpā Mkhan-po, *op. cit.*, pp. vi, 113, 135, 145. Tāranātha (*Edelsteinmine*, pp. 104f) adds that he taught the Tantras to Padma-vajra, from whom they were handed down in succession to Tili, Nāro and Sānti ! The strange name Kukkuri-pā is explained by Sumpā by the legend that Kukkuri-pā united in Yoga in the Lumbini grove with a woman who was formerly a bitch. The same work (pp. vi, 108, 145) speaks of a Kukuradāsa (= Kukurarāja ?), also called Kukurācārya, as a Buddhist Tantric sage, adept in Yoga and a great preacher, who was a lover of dogs.

2. Tāranātha, *Geschichte*, p. 275. According to GRUNWEDEL, *op. cit.*, p. 176 Kikkuri was a Brahman of the eastern land of Kapilaśakru.

3. One of these, *Mahāmāyā sādhanopāyika* is available in Sanskrit in *Sādhana-mālā*, ii, pp. 466-68 (no. 240).

4. He is probably identical, as CORDIER suggests (p. 109, 110), with Kukkura-rāja or Kuku-rāja, of whom eight Tantric texts on various deities (Vajrasattva, Varocana, Heruka etc.) are given in the *Bstan-hgyur*. This perhaps confirms Sumpā Mkhan-po’s statement that he introduced various kinds of Tantra. See Tāranātha, *Geschichte*, pp. 188-89.

5. *op. cit.*, pp. cxxi, 90. Elsewhere (pp. cxxi, 124) it is said that Śavari belonged to the hill tribe called Śavara. In Tāranātha the name is given as Śavari. The legends of Śavari, who is counted as one of the 84 Siddhas, are given in GRUNWEDEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-50.

6. See P. C. BAGCHI, introd. to *Kaula-jñāna*^o, p. 27.

7. Sumpā Mkhan-po, *op. cit.*, pp. 124, 135. Tāranātha, *Edelsteinmine*, pp. 20, 23. The relationship of the earlier Siddhas to one another in spiritual lineage is differently given in different traditional accounts. Their chronology, therefore, depending on their mutual relationship, is equally uncertain. On the question of the confusion of Śavari, Mahāśavara and Saraha, see below under Saraha.

8. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 57, 58, 128, 198, 235, 296, 335, 326. Some are available in Sanskrit also, e.g., in *Sādhana-mālā*, ii, pp. 384-88 (Siddha-śavara), 456 (*ibid*).

9. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 55, 56, 224, 248. But he is probably different from Mahāśavara, by which name Saraha (Rāhulabhadra) is also known (CORDIER, pp. 221, 248, also p. 39). See below.

hgyur are concerned with Vajra-yoginī Sādhana, which king Indrabhūti of Oḍyān and his sister Lakṣmīkara made popular.¹

But the most important name of this group is perhaps that of Lui-pā. He is credited with five Vajrayānist works in the *Bstan-hgyur*,² of which one, called *Abhisamaya-vibhaṅga*, is said to have been revealed by him directly to Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna in order that (according to the colophon to the text)³ the latter might help its Tibetan translation. He was, therefore, in all probability an older contemporary of Dīpaṅkara and belonged to the beginning of the 10th century. Two of his vernacular Dohās are given in the *Caryācarya*⁴ (nos. 1. 29) but H. P. SHASTRI⁵ speaks of an entire collection called *Luipāda-Gīṭikā*. It is through these vernacular Dohās that he probably became one of the earliest founders of the Tantric religion found in the Dohā-kośas. The Tibetan tradition mentions him as the Ādi-siddha, thus making him occupy the same position as the Indian tradition would ascribe to Mīna-nātha or Matsyendra-nātha. It has been pointed out that the Tibetan translation of the name Lui-pā means Matsyodara or Matsyāntrāda⁷; and Sumpā Mkhan-po⁸ makes him, as the Indian tradition makes Matsyendra-nātha, a sage of the fisherman

1. Advaya-vajra, who belonged to Śavara-saṃpradāya (CORDIER, p. 45) has a very large number of works assigned to him in the *Bstan-hgyur*, but some of his works are also available in Sanskrit. Twenty-two small Vajrayānist tracts of his are edited by H. P. SHASTRI in the *Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha*. Also in *Sādhana-mālā*, i, p. 47; ii, pp. 424-490. His other name or title, Avadhūta-pāda or Avadhūti-pāda probably indicates his connexion with the Avadhūti sect of Sahaja-siddhi, and this appears to be supported by his commentaries on the Dohā-kośa (ed. P. C. BAGCHI, *Journal of the Dept. of Letters, Cal. Univ. (JLCU)*, 1935). Excepting his connexion with the Śavara-saṃpradāya, there is no direct evidence that he belonged to Bengal. One Advaya-vajra, however, without the title Avadhūta, but called a Brahman, appears to have come from Bengal (CORDIER, p. 250).

2. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 39, 45, 226, 230.

3. M. SHAHIDULLAH, *op. cit.*, p. 19, would explain the colophon differently, while H. P. SHASTRI thinks that Dīpaṅkara helped Lui-pā in writing this work. But see P. C. BAGCHI, *Kaula-jñāna*⁶, introd., p. 28.

4. M. SHAHIDULLAH (*op. cit.*, p. 21 f), following Sylvain LÉVI and Tāranātha, would place him much earlier in the 7th century. From Marāṭhi sources Matsyendra-nātha's date would be the end of the 12th century (see S. K. CHATTERJI, *op. cit.*, p. 122; D. R. BHANDARKAR in *IC*, i, pp. 723-24). But see BAGCHI, *loc. cit.*, for a criticism of these views. The approximate dates assigned by B. A. SALETORÉ to Ādinātha, Gorakṣa-nātha and others from South Indian tradition (*Poona Orientalist*, vol. i, No. 4, pp. 16-22) do not conflict with our tentative chronology.

5. His *Tattva-svabhāva-dohākośa-gīṭikā-dṛṣṭi* (CORDIER, i, p. 230) is the same as Dohā no. 29; see *IHQ*, 1927, p. 676f.

6. *Bauddha-gān*, introd., p. 21.

7. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, p. 33; also P. C. BAGCHI, *op. cit.*, p. 22-23; Tāranātha, *Geschichte*, p. 106 (SCHIEFNER's note); GRÜNWEDEL, *op. cit.*, p. 143, note 2.

8. *op. cit.*, pp. 124, 135.

caste.¹ The Tibetan sources, again, place Lui-Pāda in Bengal,² while all the Indian legends of Matsyendra-nātha are connected with the sea-board of eastern India. The published Sanskrit texts of the school claim Matsyendra-nātha as the founder of the Yoginī-kaula system, while Tāranātha (*Geschichte*, p. 257f) believes that Lui-pā introduced the Yoginī cult. On these, among other grounds Lui-pā has been equated³ with Matsyendra-nātha, the legendary fisherman of Candradvīpa, who is the starting point of a new system of Tantric thought and practice, connected with the Yoginī-kaula, Haṭha-yoga and Nātha cult of East Bengal and Kāmarūpa. Even if the identification is not accepted, it will certainly strengthen the suggestion made above of the tendency towards syncretic assimilation of the teachers of the various cults.

The homage paid by the Kashmirian Abhinavagupta in his *Tantrāloka*⁴ would place Matsyendra-nātha earlier than the beginning of the 11th century ; and if he is identical with Lui-pāda his probable date would be the beginning of the 10th century. As the reputed founder of the new school of Sahaja-siddhi, he is connected with a series of teachers, whose writings are preserved mostly in the Apabhraṃśa and the vernacular, and who, as such, properly fall outside our province. But in its earlier stages the Sahaja-siddhi represented by these teachers start apparently as a deviation from the Vajra-yāna and Mantra-yāna ; while in these cults are to be found the source of the Nātha cult, which calls itself Śaivite but which shows greater affinity with the Buddhist than with the Brahmanical Tantra. All the reputed Siddhācāryas are, therefore, found credited with Vajrayānist works in the *Bstan-hgyur*. The only exception is perhaps Matsyendra-nātha, if he is not the same person as Lui-pāda ; but we have a work on the Bodhicitta by Maṇi-pāda,⁵ who is described as an ancestor of Matsyendra-nātha. The cult must have been introduced early into Tibet and Nepal, where Matsyendra-nātha came to be identified with Avalokiteśvara.

1. That most of the teachers of these cults belonged to lower-castes (probably an indication of their Buddhistic origin) is suggested by the names as well as the legends. Cf. the names Jālaṃdhara (fisherman), Tānti-pā (weaver), Hāḍ-pā (sweeper), Tili-pā or Teli-pā (oilman), etc.

2. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, p. 33. But Sumpā Mkhān-po makes him (p. cxli) an employee of the king of Uḍḍiyāna ; while Tāranātha (*Edelsteinmine* p. 20) makes him a scribe of Sāmantaśubha, king of Uḍḍiyāna in the West. See on this point, P. C. BAGCHI, *IHQ*, 1930, p. 583. H. P. SHASTRI (*JBORS*, 1919, p. 509) informs us that Lui-pā is even now worshipped in Rāḍha and Mymensing. WASSILIJEV (note to Tāranātha, *Geschichte*, p. 319) states that Lui-pā was born in Ujjayinī, while according to GRÜNWEDEL, *loc. cit.*, he lived under Indrapāla at Sāliputra in Magadha. In Tāranātha's opinion Lui-pā was a contemporary of Aśaṅga.

3. The equation was first suggested by GRÜNWEDEL (*loc. cit.*) ; CORDIER (p. 33) would not accept the identification. See also LÉVI, *Le Népal* (Paris 1905), i, p. 353, note 4. Tāranātha (*Edelsteinmine*, p. 120 f) distinguishes Lui-pā from Mīna, but he also distinguishes between Mīna and Macchindra.

4. ed. Kashmir Sanskrit Texts, Allahabad 1918, i. 7 (vol. i, p. 25). In spite of conflict in the legendary accounts the names Mīna-nātha and Matsyendra-nātha belong probably to the same person.

5. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, p. 237 ; the work is named *Bāhyāntara-bodhicitta-bandhopadeśa*.

while in India his apotheosis occurred by his assimilation to Śiva.¹ There are some works, however, which profess to have been revealed (*avatārita*) by Matsyendra-nātha. Five of these texts written in Sanskrit have been published² from old Nepali manuscripts ; and if the manuscript of the principal longest text, entitled *Kaula-jñāna-nirṇaya*, belongs to the 11th century (as its editor maintains), it must be taken as the earliest known work of the school. According to this work, Matsyendra-nātha belonged to the Siddha or Siddhāmṛta sect, primarily connected with the Yoginī-kaula, the chief seat of which was Kāmarūpa. Although the word Kula in Brahmanical Tantra is often synonymous with Śakti, it is undoubtedly related here to the five Kulas of the Buddhist Tantra, representing the five Dhyāni-Buddhas ; while the word Sahaja is equated with Vajra as a state to be attained by a method of Yoga called Vajra-yoga. There is thus a very considerable admixture of Buddhist Tantric ideas and practices with those of the Brahmanical Tantra.

The next great Siddha of the school is Gorakṣa-nātha, who is given in most of the accounts as a disciple of Matsyendra-nātha. The legends, which must have originated in Bengal and spread in divergent forms to Nepal, Tibet, Hindustan, the Punjab, Gujarat and Mahārāṣṭra, connect him and other Nātha-gurus with the Gopīcānd legend,³ with the Yogī sect of the Punjab and the Nātha-yogīs of Bengal. Perhaps he did not, as some of the legends suggest, strictly conform to the traditions of the Mantra-yāna, and it is no wonder that in Nepal and Tibet he is considered to be a renegade,⁴ whose Yogīs passed from Buddhism to Śaivism simply to please their heretic rulers and gain political favour. Of Gorakṣa-nātha no work⁵ has been found, unless he is

1. For a résumé of the legends of Matsyendra-nātha see P. C. BAGCHI in *IHQ*, 1930, pp. 178-81, and in the work cited below. The Yoginī-kaula cult must have been closely connected with Haṭha-yoga ; for some of the Āsanās and Mudrās in Haṭha-yoga are expressly named after Matsyendra-nātha, and its tradition claims him as the first teacher of Haṭha-yoga after Ādi-nātha (i.e. Śiva). In the *Tantra-sāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda (15th century), Mīna-nātha or Matsyendra-nātha is connected with the worship of Tārā.

2. ed. P. C. BAGCHI, Calcutta Sanskrit Series 3, 1934.*

3. For an able treatment of the legend in its various forms, see Gopal HALDAR in the work already cited. On Gorakṣa-nātha as a defied protector of cattle see *JLCU*, xiv, p. 16f.

4. S. LÉVI, *Le Népal*, i, p. 355f ; Tāranātha, *Geschichte*, p. 255. H. P. SHASTRI, *Bauddha-gān*, p. 16. Gorakṣa has been identified with (Note to Tāranātha, p. 323) Anaṅgavajra, but this may be an instance of the attempt to assimilate him to the well known Vajrayānist writer Anaṅgavajra, who was a disciple of Padmavajra and preceptor of Indrabhūti of Uḍḍiyāna. This Gorakṣa may be the Gorakṣa mentioned in the *Bstan-hgyur*.

5. A Sanskrit *Jñāna-kārikā*, in three Paṭalas, said to have been revealed by Gorakṣa-nātha (?), is mentioned by SHASTRI in *Nepal Catalogue* I, pp. 79-90 ; this has been included by P. C. BAGCHI in the work cited above, where the name of the teacher occurs (p. 122) as Mahā-macchindra-pāda and not as Gorakṣa-nātha. A Sanskrit *Gorakṣa-saṃhitā* of late quasi-Hindu origin is supposed to embody his teachings. Also a *Gorakṣa-siddhānta*, ed. Gopinath Kaviraj (Pt. I), Sarasvatī Bh. Texts, Benares 1925—a work probably of the same school. The vernacular produc-

identical with the Gorakṣa of the *Bṣtan-hgyur*, who is responsible for one Buddhist Tantric work.¹ If his alleged disciple² Jālaṃdhari- (or Jālaṃdhara-) pāda, who figures in the legends as the Guru of Gopīcānd, is the same person as Mahācārya Mahāpaṇḍita Jālaṃdhara, Ācārya Jālaṃdhari or Siddhācārya Jālaṃdhari-pāda of the *Bṣtan-hgyur*,³ then he might be taken as the author of four Vajra-yāna works, including a commentary, called *Suddhi-vajra-pradīpa*, on *Hevajra-sādhana*, the original being assigned to Saroruha-vajra.⁴

To the other Siddhācāryas of the Sahaja-siddhi, some of whom are also Gurus of the Nātha cult, numerous Buddhist Tantric works are assigned in the *Bṣtan-hgyur*. Both Indian and Tibetan⁵ traditions make Virūpa a disciple of Jālaṃdhari; but the latter tradition also appears to mention more than one Buddhist Tantric sage of that name, of whom a junior and a senior Virūpa are distinguished.⁶ One of these Virūpas was born in the east at "Tripura" (Tipperah?) during the reign of Devapāla. The distinction, however, is not clear in the *Bṣtan-hgyur*, but it ascribes twelve Vajra-yāna works to Ācārya or Mahācārya Virūpa, and two collections of apparently vernacular Dohās and Padas (*Virūpa-pada-caturāṣīti* and *Dohā-kośa*) to Mahāyogin or Yogīśvara Virūpa.⁷

tions of the Gorakṣa school are of very late origin, and it would not be critical to assign any of them directly to the teacher.

1. Called *Vāyu-tattva-bhāvanopadeśa* (CORDIER, *op. cit.*, p. 237). To his alleged disciple Caurāṅgin also is ascribed a work of the same name.

2. Jālaṃdhari or Jālaṃdhara is sometimes mentioned as a disciple of Indra-bhūti of Uḍḍiyāna, while some popular legends identify him with Hādi-pā of the Gopīcānd story. According to GRÜNWEDEL, *op. cit.*, p. 189, Jālaṃdhari was a Brahman of Thaṭa land, while Tāranātha (*Geschichte*, p. 195) makes him a contemporary and preceptor of Kṛṣṇācārya, and connects him (*Edelsteinmine*, p. 62f) with the Gopīcānd legend of Bengal. His real name according to Tāranātha and Sumpā Mkhāṇ-po, was Siddha Bālapāda, but he was called the sage of Jālaṃdhara, a place between Nepal and Kashmir, where he lived for sometime. The Nagara Thaṭa was in Sindhu, where Jālaṃdhara was born in a family of Sūdra merchants. He visited Uḍḍiyāna, Nepal, Avanti and Cātigrāma in Bengal, in which last place Gopīcānd, son of Vimalacandra, was the king. See JASB, 1898, p. 22.

3. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 39, 60, 78, 241.

4. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 78, 75.

5. Sumpā Mkhāṇ-po, *op. cit.*, pp. lxxii, 109.

6. *Ibid*, pp. lxxii, 102, 104, 109, 112. Tāranātha (*Geschichte*, p. 162f) makes the senior Virūpa a disciple of Jayadeva Paṇḍita (successor of Dharmapāla) and fellow-student of Śāntideva at Nālanda. He mentions the junior Virūpa (p. 205) as a Siddhācārya. Virūpa is connected with various forms of Vajra-yāna Sādhana and mentioned as the preceptor of the Siddha Dombī-Heruka. Elsewhere Tāranātha (*Edelsteinmine*, p. 31) believes that Virūpa appeared thrice in this world. According to CORDIER (ii, p. 30) and GRÜNWEDEL (*op. cit.*, pp. 147-48), Dombī-Heruka was a Kṣatriya king of Magadha and exponent of Hevajra-siddhi (8 works in *Bṣtan-hgyur*). See Tāranātha *Edelsteinmine*, pp. 34-35.

7. Sumpā Mkhāṇ-po, *loc. cit.*, GRÜNWEDEL, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

8. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, p. 233, H. P. SHASTRI (*Bauddha-gān*, introd., p. 28) adds two others, viz., *Virūpa-Gītikā* and *Virūpa-Vajra-gītikā*. But are these Pada-collections or Saṃgītis? One Dohā of Virūpa occurs in the *Caryācārya*° (no. 3). For his Vajra-yāna works see CORDIER, ii, pp. 57, 125, 176, 177, 182, 223, 224, 230.

Tilo-pā or Tailika-pāda,¹ another Siddhācārya, is made by Tibetan sources a contemporary of Mahīpāla of Bengal²; and one of these traditions makes him a Brahman of Tsātigāon (Chittagong?), who was converted under the name of Prajñābhadrā.³ Besides four Vajra-yāna works, a *Dohā-kośa* of his is preserved in Tibetan.⁴ Tilo-pā's disciple Nāro-pā or Nāḍo-pā is also assimilated to well known Buddhist Varjra-yāna teachers. He is said⁵ to have succeeded Jetāri as the north-door Pandit of Vikramaśīla as an adept in the Buddhist Āgama, and left the monastery in the charge of Dīpaṃkara in his seventieth year to become the high priest of Vajrāsana (Bodhi-Gaya). One account makes him son of king Śākya Śubhaśānti-varman of the east (Prācyā), while another believes that he was the son of a Kashmirian Brahman, and became a Brahmanical Tīrthika Paṇḍita and then a Buddhist Siddha under the religious name of Jñānasiddhi or Yaśobhadra. As he appears to be identical with Nāḍa, described in the *Bstan-hgyur* as Śrī-mahāmudrācārya, and with Nāḍa-pāda, described in the same work as Mahācārya, Mahāpaṇḍita and Mahāyogin, he should be credited with ten Vajra-yāna Sādhanaś, some of which concern Heruka and Hevajra, as well as two Vajra-gītiś and a Pañjikā on *Vajra-pada-sāra-saṃgraha*, which last work, it may be noted, was undertaken at the request of Vinayaśrī-mitra, a Bhikṣu of Kanakastūpa Mahāvihāra of Paṭṭikeraka in Kashmir.⁸

1. The name is given in various forms : Tili, Tili-pā, Tilli-pā, Tilla-pa, Tila-pā, Tillo-pā, Tailo-pā, Telo-pā, Telli-pā, Teli-yogī. It is explained by Sumpā Mkhan-po, fancifully, by the legend of his having joined in Yoga with Yoginī, who used to subsist in her early life by pounding sesame (tila) ! Did he belong to the Teli caste ?

2. Tāranātha, *Geschichte*, p. 226, Sumpā Mkhan-po, *op. cit.*, pp. xli, 128

3. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, p. 43, assigns a Sahaja work alternately to Tailika-pāda alias Prajñābhadrā. It is possible that all these teachers had a popular name, as well as a Buddhist devotional name. There is another Siddhācārya Tailika-pāda (CORDIER, p. 79) who hailed from Oḍyāna. According to GRÜNWEDEL, *op. cit.*, p. 170, Tilo-pā lived in Viṣṇunagara and attained Mahāmudrā-siddhi.

4. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, p. 223. Ed. P. C. BAGCHI (Sanskrit text) in *Dohā-kośa JLCU*, xxviii, Calcutta 1935, pp. 41-52, also see pp. 1-4. The Vajra-yāna works are mentioned in CORDIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 79, 223, 224, 239, 244.

5. Sumpā Mkhan-po, *op. cit.*, pp. lv, 18, 45, 115, 117 (called Nārota-pā). On pp. lxxvii, 118 the name of the place where Nāro-pā practised Tantra is given as Phullahari to the west of Magadha. According to GRÜNWEDEL, *op. cit.*, p. 168, Nāro was by caste a wine-seller, and lived in Sālaputra in East India. Tāranātha (*Geschichte*, pp. 239f, 244f, 249, 328; *Edelsteinmine*, p. 74f) believes that he was a Kashmirian Brahman, and agrees with Sumpā Mkhan-po in his account of this sage.

6. CORDIER, pp. 16, 68, 70, 87, 92, 97, 125, 130, 132, 238. G. TUCCI (*JRAS*, 1935, p. 677) speaks of a work of Nāro-pā which he discovered in Nepal; it is a Sanskrit text, entitled *Sekoddeśa-ṭikā*, on initiation according to Kālacakra. In GRÜNWEDEL, *op. cit.*, p. 168, Nāro, Nāro-pā, Nāḍa-pāda and Nārota-pā appear to be the same person, who was also known as Jñānasidhir or Yaśobhadra.

7. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, p. 224. H. P. SHASTRI, *Buddha-gān*, introd. p. 33, assigns to him a *Nāḍapaṇḍita-Gītikā*.

8. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, p. 68. This might refer to the Nāḍa-pāda of Kashmirian origin.

Another important Siddhācārya is Kṛṣṇa or Kṛṣṇa-pāda, known also in the Prakrit form of the name as Kaṇha or Kāṇhu-pā. There must have been, as H. P. SHASTRI rightly conjectures, several Kṛṣṇas or Kaṇhas. The *Bṣtan-hgyur* mentions a senior Kṛṣṇa,¹ a Brahman Kṛṣṇa from Oḍyāna who was a translator,² as well as a Kṛṣṇācārya or Kṛṣṇa-pādācārya and a Kṛṣṇa-vajra.³ One Indian Kṛṣṇa, again, wrote at Somapurī Vihāra* which was probably situated in Bengal. It is difficult to say which of these authors⁵ should be connected with Kṛṣṇācārya or Kaṇha-pā of the Sahaja-siddhi and the Nātha cult, who is regarded as a disciple of Jālaṃdhari-pā. According to Tāranātha, Kṛṣṇācārya, disciple of Jālaṃdhara, belonged to Pāḍyanagara or Vidyānagara in the Southern country of Kaṇa⁶; but another Tibetan account informs us that his birth-place, as well as place of conversion, was Somapurī. Eleven vernacular Dohās are given in the *Caryācarya*⁷ under the names Kāṇhu, Kṛṣṇācārya-pāda, Kṛṣṇa-pāda and Kṛṣṇa-vajra,⁸ as well as cited under one or other of these names in its Sanskrit commentary. A *Dohākośa* in Apabhramśa by Kṛṣṇācārya also exists in the original and has been published.⁹

1. CORDIER, p. 159, called Mahāmahopādhyāya; the junior Kṛṣṇa is mentioned at p. 82.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 82. Sumpā Mkhān-po (pp. v, 110) mentions Kaṇha as a Buddhist Tantric sage who was born in a Brahman family in Orissa (Oḍyān?) and was initiated by Jālaṃdhara, see also pp. lvii, 135, where the name is given as Kaṇha or Kaṇkāyā.

3. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, p. 227, where he is called a Mahāyogin and a Dohā-kośa is assigned to him. He may be the same as our author. Also see pp. 94, 101. Altogether three works are mentioned under his name by CORDIER.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 166.

5. To them altogether 69 Buddhist Tantric works are ascribed in *Bṣtan-hgyur*. Under the name Kṛṣṇa with the *alias* Kaṇhapāda we have 16 works. Some of these have been preserved also in Sanskrit in Nepal, e.g. *Vasanta-tilaka* (CORDIER, p. 38. Kṛṣṇa) = the same in SHASTRI's *Nepal Catalogue* II, p. 199 (incomplete). *Kurukullā-sādhana* (CORDIER, p. 94; Kṛṣṇa-Vajra) = the same in *Sādhana-samuccaya* (*Nepal Catalogue* II, p. 201) = the same *Sādhana-mālā*, pp. 372-78, *Yoga-ratna-mālā Pañjikā* on Hevajra (CORDIER, p. 67; Kṛṣṇa or Kāṇhupāda = the same in *Nepal Catalogue* II, p. 44; SHASTRI, *Descriptive Cat.* i, p. 114.

6. *Edelsteinmine*, p. 69. M. SHAHIDULLAH takes it to be Orissa. Tāranātha in his *Geschichte* distinguishes between a senior (pp. 195, 197) and junior (pp. 211, 234, 244, 258, 275) Kṛṣṇācārya. The junior, in his opinion, was responsible for Tantra works on Sambara, Hevajra and Yamāntaka; he belonged to the Brahman caste and was also a writer of Dohās.

7. GRÜNWEDEL, *op. cit.*, p. 163. The Indian legend of Kānu-pā in connection with Gopīcānd is given by M. SHAHIDULLAH, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

8. Kāṇhu, nos. 7, 9, 40, 42, 45; Kṛṣṇācārya-pāda, no. 11, 36; Kṛṣṇapāda, Nos. 12, 13 (?) 19; Kṛṣṇa-vajra no. 18. In no. 36 Jālaṃdhari is mentioned with respect as a master. S. K. CHATTERJI (*op. cit.*, pp. 120-22) identifies Kṛṣṇācārya with Kāṇhu-pāda.

9. In H. P. SHASTRI, *Bauddha-gān*, pp. 123-32 (Kṛṣṇācārya-pāda); in M. SHAHIDULLAH, *op. cit.*, with the Tibetan version, pp. 72-122; in P. C. BAGCHI, *Dohā-kośa*, cited above, pp. 121-136, also pp. 24-28. S. K. CHATTERJI (*op. cit.*, p. 122) would place the Dohā-writer Kṛṣṇācārya at the end of the 12th century, on the ground that

The problem of the identity of Saraha or Saraha-pāda, the next important teacher, whose other name is given as Rāhulabhadra, is equally difficult. Sumpā Mkhān-po¹ describes him as a 'Brahman Buddhist sage,' born of a Brahman and a Dākinī in the city of Rājña in the eastern country. He was well versed in both Brahmanical and Buddhist learning and flourished in the reign of Candanapāla. He is said to have converted Ratnapāla and his ministers and Brahmans, and to have become the high priest of Nālanda. He learnt the Mantra-yāna from Chove Sukalpa of Oḍiśa (Orissa), but afterwards visited Mahārāṣṭra where he united in Yoga with a Yoginī who approached him in the guise of an archer's daughter. After having performed the Mahāmudrā with her he became a Siddha and went by the name of Saraha. It is also recorded that he used to sing Dohās of Tantric Buddhism as a means of conversion. In the *Bstan-hgyur* there are about twenty-five Tantric works assigned to him,² including more than half a dozen concerned with Dohākośa-gīti and Caryā-gīti.³ An Apabhraṃśa *Dohā-kośa*⁴ (with a Sanskrit commentary⁵), connected with his name, has been published; and four of his Dohās occur in *Caryācarya*⁶ (nos. 22, 32, 38, 39) where he is called Saraha-pāda. CORDIER is probably right⁶ in his suggestion that there were several Sarahas, who are described in the *Bstan-hgyur* variously as Mahābrāhmaṇa, Mahācārya, Mahāyogin or Yogīśvara, as belonging to Oddiyāna,⁷ and also as Mahāśavara⁸ and once as a descendant of Kṛṣṇa⁹; but it is difficult to distinguish them. Tāranātha, however, distinguishes two Sarahas, one of whom, the junior, was otherwise called Śabari,¹⁰ while the other was named Rāhula-

the Cambridge University Library Ms of the *Hevajra-pañjikā* by Paṇḍitācārya Śrī-kṛṣṇa-pāda is dated in the 39th year of Govindapāla (c. 1199 A.D.), presuming our author's identity with this Kṛṣṇa-pāda.

1. *op. cit.*, pp. xxvii, 84, 85, also pp. xxxiii, 84, GRÜNWEDEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-51.

2. One Vajrayānist Sanskrit text of Saraha-pāda's is given in *Sādhana-mālā*, i, p. 79. Another in *Sādhana-samuccaya*, 176.

3. CORDIER, pp. 212, 220, 221, 222, 231, 232, 247.

4. In SHASTRI, *Buddha-gān*, pp. 77-132 (called Saroja-vajra, 32 Dohās); in M. SHAHIDULLAH, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-124; in P. C. BAGCHI, *Dohā-kośa*, pp. 52-120, also pp. 5-9, 28-32.

5. Then commentator Advaya-vajra calls his author Saroja-vajra, Saroruha and Saroruha-vajra. This Advaya-vajra is probably a later writer, different from the Vajrayānist author of the same name, who is also called Avadhūta-pāda. He belonged to Śarideśa in Bengal (CORDIER, pp. 232-250). Saroruha is distinguished from Saraha by Tāranātha in both his works.

6. *op. cit.*, p. 232.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 375. Tāranātha (*Edelsteinmine*, p. 10) believes that Rāhulabhadra, with whom he identifies the younger Saraha, was born in Oḍiśa. He makes Lui-pā a disciple of this sage.

8. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 221, 248. See M. SHAHIDULLAH, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

9. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, p. 232. Cf. Tāranātha, *Geshichte*, p. 66. The Siddhācārya Rāhula, according to GRÜNWEDEL, *op. cit.*, p. 189, was a Śūdra of Kāmārūpa.

10. *Edelsteinmine*, p. 20. Cf. Tāranātha, *Geschichte*, p. 105.

bhadra.¹ It is likely that the Siddhācārya Saraha, to whom the Dohās can be legitimately ascribed, was a different person from Saraha-Rāhulabhadra, the Vajrayānist author of the Śādhanaś, and that both are to be distinguished from Saroruha-vajra, also called Padma-vajra, who is known in the history of Buddhist Tantrism as one of the pioneers of Hevajra-tantra and as the Guru and Paramaguru respectively of Anaṅgavajra and Indrabhūti of Oḍḍiyāna.

Of those minor personalities of this group, who probably belonged to the east, only a brief mention may be made here. It is not clear, if all of them belonged to Bengal. Garbhari-pāda or Garbha-pāda,² popularly called Gābhur Siddha, wrote a work on Hevajra and a Vajra-yāna commentary; Kila-pāda³ described as a descendant of Lui-pāda, is credited with a *Dohā-caryāgītikā-dīṣṭi*; Amitābha⁴ commented upon the *Dohā-kośa* of Kṛṣṇa-vajra; Karmāri, Karmāra or Kamari, a descendant of Virūpa, was the author of one Vajra-yāna work⁵; Viṇāpāda, also a descendant of Virūpa,⁶ but described⁷ as a Ksatriya prince of Ghahura who was fond of the Viṇa, wrote three works on Vajradākinī and Tantric initiation, as well as one Dohā (no. 17) given in the *Caryācarya*⁸; Kankāṇa, a descendant of Kambala-pā, composed one Dohā to be found in the *Caryācarya*⁹ (no. 44) and a *Caryā-dohākośa-gītikā*; Dārika or Dāri-pāda, also a Mahāsiddha, variously described as a disciple of Lui-pā and Nāro-pā, was responsible for twelve Vajra-yāna works in the *Bstan-hgyur*¹⁰ and one Dohā in the *Caryācarya*¹¹ (no. 34); and Dharmapāda (also called Guṇḍaripāda),¹² a descendant of Kṛṣṇa,¹³ has three Vajra-yāna works in the *Bstan-hgyur* and two Dohās in the *Caryācarya*¹⁴ (Nos. 4, 41). None of their works, except the Apabhraṃśa Dohās mentioned, is available in print; they exist only in Tibetan.

1. Tāranātha, *Geschichte*, pp. 66, 73, 105. Rāhulabhadra is given as an *alias* of Śaraha in CORDIER, *op. cit.*, p. 64 (Vajrayoginī-śādhana).

2. CORDIER, *op. cit.* p. 255; he is probably the same as Garvari-pāda, p. 78. One work each in CORDIER.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 254. Called also Kila-pā or Kirava. According to GRÜNWEDEL, *op. cit.*, p. 208f, he belonged to the royal family of Grahara.

4. CORDIER, p. 277.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 241, (*Soma-sūrya-bandhanopāya*). GRÜNWEDEL, *op. cit.*, p. 188, informs us that Karmāra was a blacksmith of Śāliputra in Magadha, and was also known as Kampari.

6. CORDIER, p. 238.

7. Sumpā Mkhan-po, pp. cxviii, 125.

8. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, p. 231. On the legends of Kankāṇa, who is counted as one of the Mahāsiddhas, see GRÜNWEDEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-75.

9. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 33, 34, 59, 212, 219, 237.

10. *Bauddha-gān*, introd. p. 27. He is probably different from Dharmadāsa mentioned by Sumpā Mkhan-po (*op. cit.*, pp. xxxiv, 99), who was born in Baṅgala and who became a disciple of Ārya Asaṅga and Vasumitrā, travelling in many countries and erecting a temple to Mañjuḥṣa.

11. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, p. 241. Also Tāranātha, *Geschichte*, pp. 127, 177, 249, 278; GRÜNWEDEL, *op. cit.*, p. 215. He is said to have belonged to Śāliputra in the time of Indrapāla. Dharmapā, according to GRÜNWEDEL, *op. cit.*, p. 190, was a Brahman of Bodhinagara.

SOUTHERN INDIA, ARABIA AND AFRICA

By

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The progress of modern research renders it more and more evident that in ancient times India was deriving the full advantage of her central position in Southern Asia, and that she maintained a more or less active contact with the prosperous and powerful nations that lay on either side of her. The linguistic studies of SCHMIDT, Sylvain LÉVI, PRZYLUŚKI and others, *pace* the challenge of HAVESY, have brought out the pre-historic connections between Muṇḍa-speaking races of India and the Moṅ-Khmer and Indonesian groups. RONKEL has devoted a number of interesting memoirs to demonstrating the presence of strong South Indian influences in the languages of the Malay peninsula and Archipelago. And the conclusions of linguistics are being reinforced by pre-historic archæology—witness Stein CALLENFELLS and Heine GELDERN, and by Ethnography—HORNELL, RIVET and others. The rôle of the different parts of India in the different stages of the historical period in contributing to development of culture in Farther India is being progressively unfolded by the combined efforts of the archæologists working in the various parts of what was once 'India beyond the Ganges'. In another direction much new light has been thrown on the connections between India and Central Asia on the one side, and Iran and Mesopotamia on the other, thanks to the several Central Asian expeditions and the labours of the Archæological Survey of India. The discoveries in Mesopotamia and Iran are of particular interest as likely to necessitate a radical revision of many current notions. The relations of India with the Roman Empire have been studied in considerable detail by CHARLESWORTH, WARMINGTON and the contributors to the Cambridge Ancient History. It is the aim of this paper to bring together the results so far attained on some of the most interesting aspects of the interrelations among the lands bordering on the Arabian Sea, and the Western half of the Indian Ocean, though we cannot, as will become clear presently, altogether keep the Eastern half out of our view.

First we may notice a recent and authoritative view of the probable racial relations between Southern India and South Arabia. "The enigma of modern Anthropology," says Sir Arthur KEITH in his remarkable Appendix (on The Racial Characters of Southern Arabs) to Bertram THOMAS' *Arabia Felix*, "is the Black Belt of mankind. It commences in Africa and peters out amongst the natives of the Melanesian islands of the Pacific." The Negro peoples at each extremity of this wide area could not have evolved independently of each other, and KEITH explains their present position by assuming a continuous belt of proto-Negroids which spread at one time across all the inter-

vening lands ; from them arose in course of time the Hamitic peoples of Africa and their cousins, the Dravidian and brown-skinned peoples of India. He also draws attention to the pronounced Dravidian features among some of the South Arabian tribes, especially the children, which raise the question of their eastern connections and the nature of such connections. These tribes may have had an eastern origin, or they may constitute the remnants of a once common aboriginal population, traces of which have been obscured by later waves of migration ; or, finally, the Dravidians of South India may contain elements representing an early trade migration from Persia or an adjacent country along the Persian Gulf to India. Trade relations between Mesopotamia and the North-west of India in the fourth millennium B.C. are known to have existed. Some of these might have been by sea, and might have extended to South India.

This suggestion of possible trade and culture connections between Mesopotamia and Southern India gains support from the striking parallels noticeable in the religious practices of early Mesopotamia and Southern India. The worship of the Mother-Goddess under the name 'Lady of the Mountain', and the annual celebration of her nuptials with the Moon-God of Ur¹ closely resemble the Indian worship of Pārvatī in her various forms and the annual celebration of the Tirukkaliyāṇam (Divine marriage) in South Indian Śiva temples ; in fact, the resemblance is so close, that, in spite of the absence of any direct proof of connection, it is difficult for us to believe that it is an accidental coincidence. Again, the nature of the worship offered in the temples of ancient Sumeria and the organisation of the temple itself have much in common with what can even now be seen in the great South Indian temples, exception being made of the changes that naturally flowed from the increasing aversion to meat-eating among the higher classes in India. "The essence of worship," says Leonard WOOLLEY,² "was sacrifice, and by the ritual of sacrifice the cooked flesh of the animal was shared between the god, his priests and the worshipper ; the kitchen was therefore not the least important part of the temple, and at all times of the day the fires would be burning and the priests would be overseeing the slaves who carried on the work of butchers, bakers, scullions and cooks." It may be noted in this connection that the numerous mediæval inscriptions of Southern India bear abundant testimony to the readiness of the people to enrol themselves as the slaves of a neighbouring temple and bind their descendants also to the same status. Again, what can be more accurate as a description of the spirit and form of worship in Indian temple of to-day, of the rājopacāra offered to the image of god, than this description by WOOLLEY, of the worship in the Sumerian temple³ : "Where the god was also the king, where church and state were so nearly synonymous,⁴ material efficiency was only too likely to get

1. *Ur Excavations*, Vol. I (1927), p. 143.

2. ABRAHAM : *Recent Discoveries and Hebrew Origins* (1936) pp. 94-5.

3. *Ibid.*

4. 'Kōyil' in Tamil means both the temple and the royal palace.

the better of faith: Long life and well-being in this world was the reward men asked in return for formal service such as they might have rendered to a human overlord, and they regarded the wealth and prosperity of the Moon-god as a pledge for the welfare of the city." Hindu temples have often been taken to derive many of their features, structural and other, from Buddhist *cāityas* and *vihāras*; but it seems quite possible that, on the other hand, the temple preceded the *cāitya* and *vihāra* in India. Morphologically, the modern South Indian temple and its worship stand in much closer relation to early Sumerian temple and its worship than to the Buddhist institutions. And the attempt, often made, to trace the chief features of Hindu temple architecture to earlier Buddhist forms will strike the critical student as somewhat forced and unconvincing. The fact is that among the surviving monuments of India, the earliest ones happen to belong to Buddhism, and Hindu monuments come later in point of time. But this by no means warrants the assumption that the latter are derived from the former. The only logical conclusion would be that for some reason or other, the Indian Buddhists were the first to erect the more durable monuments of stone, and the Hindus followed suit. Let us not also forget this. Hinduism has had a much longer and more continuous history in India than Buddhism, and Hindu monuments have often suffered several renovations and reconstructions with the result that only relatively recent forms of these have survived. It seems very probable that the Hindu temple, like Hinduism itself, preceded Buddhism in India, and that even in those early days in South India it had features similar to those of Sumerian temples.

It is more difficult to speak with any confidence on the evidential value of the house shrine, and the common features exhibited by it in South India and Sumeria; for house chapels of one form or another are well nigh universal in their spread. But even here WOOLLEY's observations on the Sumerian domestic chapel cannot fail to recall to the mind of a South Indian reader much that he finds in his own familiar surroundings to this day. Behind the guest chamber in every house there was a long narrow room, the chapel for the worship of household gods; it had only one floor, part open to the sky; near it was also the burial ground of the family, a foot or two below the brick pavement of the room.¹

It is worth noting also that the Amazonite beads found in the ruins of Ur must have come from the Nilgiri hills of South India.²

The lines of evidence so far indicated date from a time so long anterior to the Hebrew kingdom of Solomon, that the evidence of South Indian connections with the West drawn from the references in his reign to Ophir and Tharshish, to ivory, apes and peacocks³ is seen to be only a link in a more or less continuous chain of data suggesting such connections for long ages

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 211-16.

2. *ibid.* p. 121.

3. I. Kings 10. 11, 12 and 22.

before and after. The recent attempts of philologists to discount the probative value of these references in I Kings thus loses much of its sting ; and in any case the probability of very early maritime connections of Southern India with the West now rests on much broader grounds than the occurrence of a few words of doubtfully Tamil origin in one of the books of the Old Testament.

Another line of maritime contacts enjoyed by South India in very early times emerges from the study of the spread of cultural elements of Indonesian origin. There are many elements in the material culture of East Africa which can be accounted for only on the assumption of Indonesian contact. Much in the designs of canoes and huts prevalent in East Africa and Madagascar, and the use of the cocoanut scraper among the Swahili are instances in point. " To these have now to be added," says James HORNELL,¹ " instances from the geographical distribution of the flat bar zither, wind rattles, the bell-mouthed clarinet, fishing weirs, a string game or figure, and of certain kinds of coloured glass beads. It may also be that certain architectural features of the Rhodesian stone-built ruins of the Zimbabwe type are to be referred to the imitative skill of Bantu builders who had seen the religious (? Buddhist) buildings of Indonesian settlers at some port on the coast."

HORNELL continues : " The evidence afforded by a close study of canoe and ship structure consists of : (a) the close resemblance which exists between the design of the outrigger canoes of the East African coast and those of Madagascar and North coast of Java ; (b) the probability that the *mtepe* type of sailing coaster of the Swahili coast is a relic of an Indonesian type bereft of its outriggers ; and (c) the exceptional design of certain large canoes used on Victoria Nyanza, which embodies features peculiar to the vessels of Java and Madura and has no parallel elsewhere in Africa."

The language of the Madagascar islanders belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian group, and has close affinity with *Kawi* or old Javanese ; and the Eastern and Central tribes of Madagascar are of Mongoloid extraction, though on the coast facing Africa they are definitely Negroid, and of Bantu origin ; as the Bantus are never known to have been sailors, they were most probably brought over as prisoners or slaves from the opposite coast ; at any rate their numbers were apparently sufficient to produce a mixture of Bantu words in archaic Malagasy, but not large enough for them to retain their own idiom. We have references to Zengi slaves from Africa introduced into China by the Sumatrans and Javanese from the eighth century A.D. onwards.

It is thus clear that Madagascar and East Africa fell under very marked Indonesian influences from the Malay Archipelago at one time. Regarding the route followed by these early population movements, HORNELL rightly points out that with the kind of ships the Indonesians are known to have used, it would not have been possible for them to cut from Sumatra or Java across

1. *JRAI*, 1934, pp. 318-19.

the whole width of the Indian Ocean to Madagascar ; with no compass and no polestar, the way would easily have been missed on any plan of direct ocean sailing. The route must have been mainly coastwise. The routes recorded by later Arab merchants and geographers also support this view. "All the probabilities point to the voyages of Indonesians from Sumatra and Java to Madagascar as having been performed in stages via South India and the Arabian coast in the earlier waves of migration, probably under the pilotage of Indian navigators. In later times, a direct course may have been shaped to Madagascar from the Indian coast during the period of the North-east monsoon."¹

As evidence of Indonesian contacts with Southern India, HUTTON cites the use, among the Panaiyans of the Wynad, Coorg and the Malabar Ghats, of a typically Indonesian method of making fire, the employment in the Travancore hills of an Indonesian snare of the 'scissors' type, and an obsolete crescent shaped mother of pearl ornament formerly used by the Nāyāḍis and now preserved in a specimen in the Cochin Museum.² Again, some of the Sumatran settlers seem to have settled in Sind from very early times, and become famous as mercenary soldiers of high quality, under the name of Sayābigas, a name which betrays their true origin from Sābag, Zābag or Jāvaka, as Sumatra was then called. They are found on the shores of the Persian Gulf before the rise of Islam, and it is possible that they owed their settlements on the Persian Gulf to the early Persian invasions of the North-west of India. "The Sayābiga then," says FERRAND, "are the descendants of ancient Sumatran emigrants to India, then to 'Irāk and the Persian Gulf where there is evidence of their existence before Islam."

The presence of the boomerang in Gujerat is another piece of evidence confirming the line of movement suggested so far. And RIVET has argued that the distribution of the ornamental oculi in the prows of modern boats and of the boomerang may be taken to mark the route of the Indonesian migration. From India, he says, the boomerang seems to have reached Sumer, and thence by the nomads of the North Arab deserts to Mount Sinai, Egypt and Palestine. It appears in Egypt c 3500 B.C., and then spreads in Africa, where it gives rise to the throwing knife (werfmesser), and in prehistoric and proto-historic Europe.⁴

But it must be stated that the date of this Indonesian migration by way of India to Africa and Madagascar has been differently estimated by different writers. From the linguistic data drawn from the Malagasy language, FERRAND reaches the conclusion that the Sumatran colonisation of Madagascar took place during the period from the second to the fourth century A.D. or a little earlier. HORNELL is inclined to push the date a little further back. He

1. *JRAI*. 1934, p. 315.

2. *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, pt. i, para. 185.

3. *Encyclopaedia of Islam* : s. v. Sayabiga.

4. *Le Groupe Oceanien*—BSL. (1927) pp. 140-60.

5. *JRAI*. *loc. cit.*

points out that the cocoanut is first mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* in B.C. 118, its milk being used in the preparation of cement used in the building of the Ruanwelle dagoba at Anurādhapura, and must have come from Indonesia to Ceylon and South India about this time. The first colonisation of Madagascar, he concludes, may be put soon after, in the next succeeding century or two. Other writers are inclined to suggest still earlier dates, and the decision really turns on the question whether the migration to Madagascar is held to have taken place after the Hinduisation of Java and Sumatra or before it.

The evidence and the present state of opinion on the subject of this migration cannot be better summed up than by KROM, and no apology is needed for offering here a translation of a long extract from his *Hindoe-Javansche Geschiedenis*. He says :¹ " That from time immemorial there have been many more migratory movements that have taken place by land and sea across Southern Asia and the Archipelago than was believed at one time. and that their mutual relations are much more complicated than appeared at first sight, is rendered more and more probable with research in other fields becoming deeper and more many-sided. Attention deserves to be drawn to one remarkable fact. In a study of the boat designs of India and the neighbouring lands HORNELL comes to the conclusion that the Archipelago was the home of a peculiar kind of boat which is provided with wings for the sake of stability. There are outrigger-canoes with one wing and those with two wings, and it is remarkable that the single outrigger canoe is found all over the West (West coast of Sumatra, etc.) and the East of the Archipelago, while in between these regions lies the area of the double outrigger canoe (which is also found in Madagascar). According to HORNELL, the single wing model must have belonged to the original population, whom he calls Negritos or Proto-Polynesians ; and the Indonesians coming from Indo-China must have spread themselves among them in a fan-shaped expansion, and by these the double-wing type must have been developed. But most interesting is what the author has noticed in South India where clear physical similarities to the people of the Archipelago occur among some castes. Among the Paravars, pearl-fishers of the Gulf of Manar from one old, the single outrigger canoe is in use (the oldest sources mention this), and these people must then be the remnants of a great Polynesian movement towards the West. Moreover the caste of Shanars exhibits particular agreement with the Indonesians from an anthropological viewpoint ; they have no concern with sea-faring (and cannot therefore settle the problem with the double outrigger canoe) but with cocoa-nut cultivation which is not indigenous to India and must have been introduced there from the Archipelago by way of Ceylon : the Shanars must thus be the remnants of a second stream from East to West, later than the arrival of the Indonesians.

" These evidences may not be found very striking, but the view that

1. H. J. G., pp. 39-42.

there lies behind them more than a bare possibility, is strengthened by the researches of Sylvain LÉVI. They lead him to ask what the Austroasiatic culture, which has left behind traces among the Munḍas, could have contributed politically and socially to the later Indian culture. By the side of this we may doubtless place the question how far the ancestors of the Indonesians were involved in the evolution of what in historical times came to be known as the Hindu culture of India proper. There is every probability that when the Indians set forth to colonise the East, they did not strike a new path, but did the reverse of what in the remote past the sailors of another race from the East had done...

"We must consider one other question, regarding which opinion differs as to whether we have to deal with a fact of prehistory or whether it occurred after the Hindu colonisation. It relates to Madagascar. We have already mentioned the prevalence here of the double outrigger canoe, which might have been introduced by the Indonesians; that these came to Madagascar and that Malagasy is an Austronesian speech will not be questioned by anybody. But the question is, when the migration must have taken place, and as direct historical data regarding this are totally lacking in Madagascar also, we have to depend exclusively on the evidence of language. This contains a number of words of Sanskrit origin, and according as one lays stress on the fact of their presence or on the smallness of their number, one may infer that Madagascar was colonised by Hinduised or non-Hinduised Indonesians. The first opinion has found a convinced supporter in FERRAND, the second is that of GRANDIDIER.¹ From any one who has not studied Malagasy, no verdict will be expected in this matter; but we would express our opinion that the words cited by FERRAND in comparison with the Sanskrit element in the Indonesian speeches of the Hinduised part of the Archipelago, make a somewhat poor impression, and it is not clear how the geographical situation of Madagascar to which this author appeals can be the cause of the Indonesian colonists allowing a much smaller supply of Sanskrit words to enter their speech than they themselves employed. It seems to us therefore much more probable that the speech brought to Madagascar was Indonesian without Sanskrit, such as we have to postulate for Java and Sumatra also before the arrival of the Hindus, and that in the Malagasy language which grew out of this imported speech, Sanskrit words were due to later intercourse which continued between the Archipelago and Madagascar after the Hindu colonisation of the former; and with this agrees the report of Edrisi that in his time (1154) both parties² can understand each other's speech. The first voyages of the Indonesians towards the Far West, however, and the so-called

1. *Histoire physique, naturelle et politique de Madagascar*, IV (1908), pp 10 and 75ff. Before the beginning of the Christian era, the Melanesians and others came from the East of the Archipelago, while the ruling class was derived from the historical Javanese immigration of the 16th century - KROM.

2. Strictly the reference is to the people of East Africa, but according to FERRAND the Malagasies are meant - KROM.

colonisation of the island must, in our opinion, have occurred before the arrival of the Hindus in the Archipelago, and are connected with the movements to India proper of which we have spoken above."

It is thus clear that according to KROM there was a marked wave of Indonesian migration across Southern India towards Madagascar in prehistorical times before the formation and spread of Indo-Aryan culture towards the East.¹

Before leaving this early Indonesian movement to the West, mention must be made of the interesting account of the foundation of Aden given by Ibn Al-Mujawir, an Arab writer of the early thirteenth century (1223 A.D.) He says: "When the empire of the Pharaohs fell, this place (Aden) became deserted as a result of the decline of the (Egyptian) empire. The peninsula (of Aden) was inhabited by fishermen who fished in this place. They lived there for quite a long time, with the resources they found there, being provided by Allah with the material necessities of life. (This lasted) till the arrival of the people of Al-Komr in boats with a great number of people (besides the sailors). They took possession of the peninsula (of Aden), expelled the fishermen on the peak of the Red Mountain, the Hukkat and the Djabal-al-Manzar. It is a mountain which commands the buildings of the port. The monuments raised by these people still exist, and their constructions are durable, being built of stone, and cement coming from the valleys and mountains of this country.

"The poet has said: I weep much, because their houses are empty now. The leader of their camels is gone. My heart is full of sadness. I stop where they lived dreaming and thinking of them and asking: 'O houses! have you any news of them? Answer me quick.' I was answered from their houses with lamentations and cries of—'I bewail the race, O careless one! The caravans are gone now. I have among them a mistress, perfect in every way. On her cheek and in her waist one saw the rose and the creeper.'

"The people of Al-Komr left Al-Komr for reaching Aden, sailing in company and in a single monsoon. Ibn Al-Mujawir says that these people are dead, that their power has come to an end, and that the route which they

1. In his recent work *Suvarṇadvīpa*, p. 23, Prof. R. C. MAJUMDAR expresses the view that it is more reasonable to explain the linguistic facts observed by FERRAND in Madagascar by supposing a common centre in India, from which the streams of colonisation proceeded towards the East as well as towards the West, than by supposing that Hindu colonists first settled in Malayasia and then turned back to colonise Madagascar. It will be seen, however, that KROM's view shows that the two alternatives given by Prof. MAJUMDAR by no means exhaust the possibilities. In a region where speculation has admittedly to be based on very meagre data, there is necessarily room for much difference of opinion. Personally I feel that it is difficult to differ from or improve upon KROM's statement of the case. I may add that on the terms Malabar and Malaya, there is room for other views than those cited by Prof. MAJUMDAR at pp. 19-22 of his excellent work mentioned above.

2. Cited and translated into French by FERRAND, *J.A.* : 11 : 13 (1919), pp. 473-9.

took is closed. At present there is no one who knows of the maritime voyages of this people, none who could tell how they lived and what they did.

"Section. Ibn Al-Mujawir says : From Aden to Mogadiso it takes one monsoon (to effect the voyage); from Mogadiso to Kilwa is a second monsoon, and from Kilwa to Al-Komr, a third. The people (of Al-Komr) have combined these three monsoons into a single one. A ship from Al-Komr reached Aden (directly) by this route in the year 626 (of the Hegira—1228-1229). They set sail at the time of departure from Al-Komr with Kilwa as their destination, but anchored on the contrary at Aden. The ships (of the people of Al-Komr) have outriggers, because the seas near Al-Komr are narrow, dangerous and shallow. When this people (of Al-Komr which had conquered Aden) lost its power and the Barābar came there, the latter attacked and chased them from Aden. They occupied the country and established themselves in the valley, at the spot where we now find mat huts."

FERRAND points out that in the first passage, Ibn Al-Mujawir refers, like his contemporary Ibn Sa'id, to the Western migration of the Indonesians, and that the second passage has reference to conditions of contemporary navigation between Madagascar and Aden. He also holds that Komr in the first passage refers to the original country from which the Malagasy people came, viz., Western Indonesia, and that the voyage said to have been effected in one monsoon must have comprised the last part of their journey, viz., that from South India to Aden. These old Indonesian voyages leading to the colonisation of Aden and of Madagascar FERRAND is inclined to place about the beginning of the Christian era, while KROM would put them much earlier as already stated. The mention of outrigger canoes in the second passage is also worthy of note.¹

The trade-relations between Southern India and the Roman empire have been very well studied by different authors, and there is no need to repeat here facts generally well known and established on authentic contemporary sources. There were two routes taken by the traffic between East and West : one, an older route from the head of the Persian Gulf along the Euphrates to the Syrian and Arabian coast ; and a later, and in some respects more advantageous route, was that from the East coast of Egypt to the Nile. This latter commanded a stream better suited to navigation and involved a shorter land transport. "Not twenty ships in the year," observed a writer in the reign of Augustus, "ventured forth under the Ptolemies from the Arabian Gulf ; now 120 merchantmen annually sail to India from the port of Myos Hormos alone."² Then came the discovery of Hippalus, "the pilot who by observing the location of the ports and the conditions of the sea, first discovered how to lay his course straight across the ocean."³ Arabia also took part in this

1. *JA* : *ib.* pp. 479-83.

2. MOMMSEN, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*, ii, pp. 278-84.

3. SCHOFF, *Periplus*, 57.

trade, and 'in the houses of rank in India,' as MOMMSEN said¹ 'Arabian wine was drunk alongside the Falerian from Italy and the Laodicene from Syria; and the lances and shoe-makers' awls which the natives of the coast of Malabar purchased from the foreign traders were manufactured at Muza."

The rise of the kingdom of Aksum on the ruins of the kingdom of Meroë in the first half of the first century A.D. and the consequent increase in the importance of Adulis, the chief port of Aksum, appear to have opened the way for the penetration of South Indian influences in this part of the East African coast. Soon after Nero's time, Aksum was the neighbour of the Roman Empire in the south in North Africa, and had contact with Roman territory in Arabia across the straits. The relations between Aksum and the Roman Empire and the aim of Nero's policy in this direction have been the subject of an interesting discussion in recent years. It has been suggested that Nero aimed at safeguarding 'the commercial interests of the empire by securing the decaying Meroitic Kingdom against the encroachment of the expanding Aksumite kingdom of Abyssinia, which threatened to monopolize the African ivory trade,' and obstruct the direct trade route to India. Others have held that this theory will hardly bear close scrutiny.² However that may be, we may be sure that the rise of Aksum and its chief port Adulis carried one stage further a process that had already been at work for a long time. From the earliest times Egyptians had traded with East Africa, and in Hellenistic and Ptolemaic times, they developed, as we have noted before, direct sea communications with India in competition with those of the Selucid land routes. "Under Augustus," says MOMMSEN, "the Egyptian commercial traffic increased not less with these African harbours than with India." And the Aksumite kingdom itself was subject to cultural influences from two sides: Hellenistic influences flowing from the north and easily traced in the coinage and epigraphy of the period and Indian Influences from across the sea. The latter have been studied specially by Enno LITTMANN in a paper, *Indien and Abessinian*, published in 1926 in the *Jacobi Commemoration Volume*.

LITTMANN points out that the Portuguese found a colony of Indian merchants in Massua when they sought Abyssinian connections towards the close of the middle ages. And to-day there are many banias on the East African coast up to Madagascar, playing a prominent part in the trade of the ports of East Africa, and in Addis Abeba when any trade is possible there. And he argues that the high material culture of the kingdom of Aksum must have owed something in earlier times to the spiritual elements of Indian origin which then spread over the whole of the civilised world. It is possible that numeral signs were borrowed from India, and though little can now be traced directly to Indian influences in the realm of fairy tales, still it is not improbable that some narratives from Indian merchants started a more or less independent development along similar lines in Africa, or at least gave a fillip

1. *op. cit.*, p. 289.

2. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. X, pp. 779 and 880-3.

to it. Indian influence, especially South Indian influence, can be traced more clearly, according to LITTMANN, in the rock-cut shrines of Lalibala and elsewhere.¹

LITTMANN discusses at some length the loan words of Indian origin found in the Abyssinian vocabulary, and distinguishes three classes among them. First, old Indian words borrowed directly by the Abyssinians; to this class belong 'sokar' (sugar) and 'nāga' (elephant). The word 'śar-kara' travelled first by the land route across Persia and Asia Minor to Greece and Rome, and then again by the sea route to East Africa *via* Arabia. The Ethiopian Bible has the word *sokar*. The elephant was always indigenous in Abyssinia and had a native name. HALÉVY suggests that the native name, *zahon*, applied to the untameable African elephant, while the Indian war-elephant came to be known as *nāga* in Abyssinia. But it may be doubted if elephants were ever exported by sea from India. Talking of the ivory trade, the *Periplus*² says distinctly: "Practically the whole number of elephants and rhinoceros that are killed live in the places inland (in Africa), although at rare intervals they are hunted on the sea coast even near Adulis." The Ptolemies hunted elephants for army use. Cosmas Indicopleustes has, however, preserved an inscription found by him at Adulis mentioning Indian elephants of the time of Ptolemy III (246-221 B.C.), but these are traceable ultimately to the herd of 500 elephants presented to Selucus by Candragupta Maurya.³ And in this respect, the statement Cosmas makes elsewhere of the Ethiopian use of elephants is not without interest. He says: "The Ethiopians do not understand the art of taming elephants; but should the king wish to have one or two for show, they capture them when young and subject them to training. Now the country abounds with them, and they have large tusks which are exported by sea from Ethiopia even into India and Persia and the Homerite country and the Roman dominion"⁴ LITTMANN concludes that the word *nāga* was probably borrowed from Indian merchants in Adulis of old and applied to tame court elephants.

The second class of Indian loan words in Ethiopian comprises words taken through Greek or Arabic translations. In this class we have the words for beryl (glass), musk, chess, pepper and some others. Lastly, the modern Indian borrowings mixed up in the popular speech of Abyssinia form a class by themselves, and LITTMANN gives a long list of these words like *banian*, *Bengali*, *police*, *punkah*, *rupee* and so on.

We may conclude with some observations on Adulis, the chief port of the Aksumite kingdom. This ancient name is preserved in that of the modern

1. cf. FERGUSSON, cited and commented on by SCHOFF in his edition of *Periplus*, pp. 64-5.

2. Section 4.

3. MCCRINDLE's *Christian Topography of Cosmas*, p. 58, n. 2; WINSTEDT, p. 339.

4. MCCRINDLE, p. 372.

5. *Periplus*, p. 60.

village of Zula. "The present port is Massowa, centre of the Italian colony of Eretria, which lies near the mouth of the bay of Adulis." "Adulis was one of the colonies of Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 285-246)," says SCHOFF, "and was always of commercial importance because it was the natural port for Abyssinia and the Sudan. It seems to have been built by Syrian Greeks." Adulis and the Aksumite kingdom are first mentioned by the author of the *Periplus* about 60 A.D. He calls Adulis 'a port established by law,' and says : "Opposite Mountain Island (on the mainland) twenty stadia from shore, lies Adulis, a fair sized village, from which there is a three days' journey to Coloe, an inland town and the first market for ivory. From that place to the city of the people called Aksumites there is a five days' journey more ; to that place all the ivory is brought from the country beyond the Nile through the district called Cyeneum, and thence to Adulis." We get a detailed account of the exports and imports from this important harbour, among them. "There are imported into these places, undressed cloth made in Egypt for the Berbers ; robes from Arsinoë ; cloaks of poor quality dyed in colours ; double-fringed linen 'mantles ; many articles of flint glass, and others of murrhine, made in Diospolis ; and brass, which is used for ornament and in cut pieces instead of coin ; sheets of soft copper, used for cooking-utensils and cut up for bracelets and anklets for the women ; iron, which is made into spears used against the elephants and other wild beasts, and in their wars. Besides these, small axes are imported, and adzes and swords ; copper drinking-cups, round and large ; a little coin for those coming to the market ; wine of Laodicea and Italy, not much ; olive oil, not much ; for the king, gold and silver plate made after the fashion of country, and for clothing, military cloaks, and thin coats of skin, of no great value. Likewise from the district of Ariaca across this sea, there are imported Indian iron, and steel, and Indian cotton cloth ; the broad cloth called *monache* and that called *sagmatogene*, and girdles, and coats of skin and mallow-coloured cloth, and a few muslins, and coloured lac. There are exported from these places ivory, and tortoise-shell and rhinoceros-horn."¹ Then we have the account of Cosmas Indicopleustes, 'the principal character among the traders, as he is among the geographers or theorists of Justinian's Age'.² Both Cosmas and Scholasticus apparently shipped at Adulis to sail East.³ Cosmas says : 'On the coast of Ethiopia, two miles off from the shore, is a town called Adule, which forms the port of the Axomites and is much frequented by traders who come from Alexandria and the Elanitic Gulf.' He then proceeds to give an account of two Greek inscriptions on a marble chair which he copied in the reign of Justin at the request of Abbas, the Governor of Adulis ; 'Elesbaan, who was the king of the Axomites, and was preparing to start on an expedition against the Homerites on the opposite side of the Gulf, wrote to the Governor directing him to take copies of the inscriptions' and send them

1. *Periplus* : Sec. 6. *

2. BEAZLEY—*The Dawn of Modern Geography*, I, p. 192.

3. WINSTEDT, p. 336.

to him, and the governor applied to Cosmas, who took two sets of the copies and retained one for himself.¹ The inscriptions recited the conquests of Ptolemy Eurgetes (B.C. 247-223) and of a king of Abyssinia who came much later. He mentions also the direct sea trade between Adulis and Ceylon,² and states that emeralds were taken to India by Ethiopian traders who got them from the Blemmyes in Ethiopia.

The site of ancient Adulis was discovered in 1906 after some trial excavations on the spot by SUNDSTRÖM of the Swedish mission in Abyssinia, regular excavation being prohibited by the Italian Government.³ The trial excavations brought to light the existence in former times of a considerable two-storeyed building, 'the Palace of Adulis,' besides some coins of gold and silver. SUNDSTRÖM also saw reason to believe that the ancient town was destroyed by fire.⁴ An Italian expedition under PARIBENI conducted more systematic excavations a little later and in the course of these excavations a seal was found with a short inscription in four letters of unmistakably Indian Brāhmī script of the early centuries A.D. It is not possible to read the letters satisfactorily from the only reproduction of them I have seen. It is given by LITTMANN in his paper in the *Jacobi Commemoration Volume* (p. 410). It is evident we have the negative of the inscription before us, but the reproduction seems to be not mechanical, but based on a drawing, and only one letter can be read with any confidence at present.

1. MCCRINDLE, pp. 54-6.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 366.

3. *Zeitsch. für Assyriologie*, XX, pp. 171-2.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 174.

PARAMARTHASARA

By

S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI

About the beginning of last year, my attention was directed to the *Paramārthasāra* in answering a query sent me by MR. P. C. DIVANJI, as to the existence and authorship of an Advaita work of this name. After giving him the information asked for, I was interested in making a study and preparing an English translation of the work. At a later stage I realised that there were large similarities between this and Abhinavagupta's work of the same name, with which I had become familiar in the text and translation published by DR. L. D. BARNETT.¹ DR. BARNETT refers to a book in Telugu script containing seventy-nine *āryās*, published in 1907 by PAṬṬIṢAPU VENKAṬEŚVARUḌU, and holds that it is a work extracted largely from Abhinavagupta's with some additions and alterations calculated to give it a Vaiṣṇava colour. On comparing it with Ādiśeṣa's work as published in the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series* (No. 12) and Patañjali's *Āryāpañcāśīti* (as published in the *Pandit*, volume V) I found that the three were substantially identical and that VENKAṬEŚVARUḌU's seventy-nine *āryās* could be arrived at by leaving out the first nine in the *Trivandrum* edition and including one from the *Pandit* edition.² DR. BARNETT'S conclusion, if true, should therefore apply to Śeṣa's work of that name.³ Since my reading of that seemed to indicate its being a consistent whole and since in spite of the use of Viṣṇu's names there could be seen little or no sectarian bias, it seemed to me that the question of the dependence of either on the other merited further investigation. The examination would indicate that the Kashmir work rather than the other is derivative. The details of the analysis are given below.

1. *K* version which begins with the words "*param parastham gahanād anādim*" requires explanation for "*param*" and "*parastham gahanād*"; the former is translated as "supreme" and interpreted as "superior to his 'Powers' (*śakti*)"; the latter is rendered as "exalted above the Abyss, i.e. higher in order of being than *Māyā*." This raises a question as to the status of

1. *JRAS*, 1910.

2. The *Trivandrum* edition will hereafter be referred to as *T*, the *Pandit* edition as *P*, and Abhinavagupta's work as *K*. Since completing this paper I have had an opportunity of comparing the text with an edition in Bengali script. It was published for the second time in *Śakābda* 1810. It begins with "*avyaktād aṇḍam abhūt* [v. x (*T*)] and contains 79 *āryās* in all, like the Telugu script edition, but, unlike the latter, uses the word "*pañcāśīti*" in the last verse.

3. The ascription to Patañjali is probably correct so far as we can judge. There is no inconsistency with the alleged authorship of Ādiśeṣa since the former is reputed to be an arṇśa of Ādiśeṣa. That the present work was long known as Patañjali's is borne out by a commentator on the *Jīvanmuktiviveka* who refers to it as *Pāṇāñjala-smṛiti* (See *Anandasrama* edition, p. 262).

Māyā ; it is but a *śakti* of the Supreme, whether in Advaita or Pratyabhijñā Śaivism, relative independence being granted only in pluralistic Śaivism ; this being the case "*parastham gahanād*" seems but to repeat what is said in "*param*". The language of *T* is simpler and more straightforward : "*param*", superior ; to what ? "*parasyāḥ prakṛteḥ*", to primal nature which to the non-Vedāntic understanding is the root-cause of the world. It appears likely that Abhinavagupta made a change for the sake of distinctiveness and that the change was not very happy.

The use of "*viṣṇum*" in *T* and "*śambhum*" in *K* is not very significant ; many advaitins from Śaṅkara to Madhusūdana have offered obeisance to Viṣṇu and referred to the Supreme under that name or one of its synonyms ; Śiva has also been similarly referred to from Vācaspati to Appayya Dikṣita. What is of importance is that while in *T*, "*Viṣṇu*" is practically colourless. "*Śiva*" in *K* is definitely the *pati* of Pratyabhijñā Śaivism, "the universal subject of thought", "whose essential nature is the rapture of supreme egoity (*parāhamtā-camatkāra*)."
Prima facie it is more likely that the theistically colourless was used as the basis for what has such colour, rather than *vice versa*. The commentator of *T*, it may be noted, explains "*Viṣṇu*" as "*sad-ānanda-cid-ghana*", a homogeneous whole of reality, bliss and consciousness.

In any case the introductory verse need not engage us longer, since it is very doubtful if it is an integral part of the *Āryāpañcāśīti*. It is not in *āryā* metre ; its recognition leads to admitting more than eighty-five verses ; and neither it nor its successor is found in the edition published in the *Pandit*. Possibly these two verses are the work of a later hand. But whoever did it in the case of *T*, introduced the word "*Viṣṇu*" in conformity with subsequent use of that name in the body of the text. If *T* (or its equivalent *P*) happens to be modelled on *K*, it is more difficult to account for differences in reckoning the number of verses in the former, the non-inclusion of the introductory verses in *P* and so on.

II. Verses 2 and 3 (*K*) clearly state that one who is the "*ādhāra*" was questioned by a disciple as to the Supreme Verity, that the "*ādhāra*" responded to the request in *kārikās*, and that Abhinavagupta relates the essence of these *kārikās* "*śivaśāsanadṛṣṭiyogena*" ; this last compound means, we suggest, "in conjunction with the knowledge of Śiva's teaching (in the *Āgamas*)", (not as DR. BARNETT would have it "in mystic vision of Śiva's law"). Thus, Abhinavagupta's own words appear to indicate the syncretic character of his work.

And this appearance is confirmed by the words of Abhinavagupta's commentator, Yoga Muni, who explains the *ādhāra* to be Śeṣa ; Śeṣa is claimed to be the author of *T* ; and the frequent use of "*Viṣṇu*" and its synonyms is intelligible in this case, for Śeṣa is the support of Viṣṇu, not merely of the world.

The language of v. 2 (*K*) implies a set of questions such as are found in vv. V-VII (*T*).

III. Where there is partial agreement between *K* and *T*, the former often appears to develop an idea of the latter. For instance, in v. XVI (*T*), we are told "Just as a clear crystal takes on the colours of diverse coloured objects (in proximity) even so the pervasive (self) takes on the nature of the adjuncts produced by the *guṇas* (*prakṛti*).” The commentator explains "nature of the adjuncts" as "the nature of beings divine, human, etc. (*devatvamanuṣyatvādikam*)". The corresponding line in v. 6 (*K*) reads: "*sura-mānusa-pāśu-pādapa-rūpatvam tadvad īśopi*". Supposing the latter to be the original no reason can be imagined for departing from it and adopting less clear language about *upādhis* brought about by *guṇas*. Assuming Śeṣa to have been a staunch Vaiṣṇava the only word in *K*, he could have objected to, is "īśa" and this, in itself a colourless word, he does not fight shy of, as witness his mention of *īśvara* and *parameśvari-bhāva* (see vv. XXXIV, LXIV). Further, the repetition of the word "*dhatte*" in the second line of the verse in *T* seems very natural and more consistent with the verse-form of a primary work, than the words of the second line in *K*. The same natural repetition is seen in ♣. XVII (*T*), where the first line is "*gacchati gacchati salile*" etc., and the second line "*antaḥkaraṇe gacchati gacchaty ātmā'pi*" etc. Here too, the second line of the corresponding verse, v. 7 (*K*), contains a more expanded but less poetically natural, though correct form: "*tanuka-ṛaṇa-bhuvanavarge tathā 'yam ātmā mahacśānaḥ*." The same process of expansion followed by non-repetition or non-mention of the verb is found in v. 8 (*K*) which corresponds to v. XVIII (*T*), where the latter says "*ātmā-dṛṣyatām eti*", while *K* suppresses the verb thus: "*ātmā viṣayāśraya-ṇa dhīmakure*."

IV. Where there is incorporation of Scriptural passages, the *T* version is more natural than that of *K*. Thus v. LIX (*T*) uses the words "*ko mohah kaḥ śokaḥ*" following the text of *Īśa*, 7, while *K* (v. 52) inverts the order into "*kaḥ śokaḥ ko mohah*". It is a justifiable conjecture that the original verse preserved the same order as the *Śruti* text. The same procedure is found in v. LXVIII (*T*), and the corresponding verse in *K* (v. 58). The former refers to two texts—"ātmajñas tarati śucam" (Ch. VII, i, 3) and "*vidvān na bibhēti kutaścana*" (*Taitt.* II, 9)—, while the latter telescopes them into "*ātmajño na kutaścana bibhēti*"; and the rest of the verse in *K* is in the nature of an explanation, that he fears nothing since everything is his own true form and that there is no real destruction; this is less natural in a *kārikā* than the condensed statement of the *T* version.

V. The process of telescoping will be seen at work in the case of the *kārikās* themselves, if we compare v. 51 (*K*) with vv. LVII, LVIII (*T*). The two verses of *T* counsel the transcendence of *Māyā* and the contemplation of *Brahman* as the self, as the result of which contemplation, the *jīva* will get to be of the same nature as *Brahman*, like water mixing with water, milk with milk and so on. The corresponding verse in *K* speaks of the transcendence of *Māyā* and, immediately after that, merger in *Brahman*, like water in water, etc. The process of contemplation is neither foreign nor non-essential

to the Pratyabhijñā school. If in spite of its insistence on *aḥamgrahopāsanā*, there is no mention of it here, it is likely to have been due to a process of telescoping, due to many causes, indolence, forgetfulness of the original, the desire to be distinctive and so on. It is not as though Abhinavagupta's is the shorter work ; so the desire for condensation cannot come in. Nor are intermediate steps or agencies always left out by him. When Śeṣa says release is the cutting of the knot of nescience (v. LXXIII), Abhinavagupta (v. 60) improves on it and speaks of release as the manifestation of one self through one's own potencies, on the cutting of the knot of nescience (" *ajñānagranthibhidā svaśaktibhir vyaktatā* ") ; this of course is quite in line with Pratyabhijñā teaching that bondage and release result through one's own śaktis ; all that has to be noted here is that Abhinavagupta does not always seek conciseness at the expense of doctrinal fullness or accuracy. Compare also v. 81 (K), where between cognition of the Absolute and the sense of accomplishment (*kṛtyakṛtyatā*) Abhinavagupta introduces the manifestation of cognisanship (*upalabhdhṛta-prakāśa*).

Another instance of possible telescoping is provided by v. 50, the first line of which expresses the idea contained in the whole of v. LXII (T), while the second line goes on to say " I myself am the author of the various *Siddhāntas*, *āgamas* and *tarkas*." The expression "*siddhāntāgama-tarka*" occurs in v. LXV (T), where it is said that the advaitin has no quarrel with the conflicting claims of various *siddhāntas* since they all refer in the last resort to that which is the self of all. The lifting of this expression from its context in T and its use in v. 50 (K) which is made to say that the self though not an agent is yet an agent in the production of the *āgamas*, etc., does violence to sequence as well as to sense. It calls aloud for explanation and the only explanation is the anxiety of Abhinavagupta to safeguard the inviolate authenticity of the revealed Śaiva canon.

VI. Occasionally we find in K moralising which is not quite consistent with the nature of *kārikās*. Thus, while v. LII (T) compares the pleasures and pains of the everfree soul to the bondage of the honest man caught in the company of thieves, v. 53 (K) says " Harmful verily is the defect of association, like the union with a thief of one who is no thief." What is needed here is only the comparison (which is found in T too), not the moralising. Of a piece with this procedure is the expansion by K (v. 28) of the idea tersely or pointedly expressed in v. XXVIII (T). The latter wants to make out that the phenomenal is capable of practical efficiency and that it is due to nescience ; the former elaborates the practical efficiency in the words "*trāsam kurute mṛtyuparyantam*, causes terror which may end in death" and proceeds to say that the great potency of delusion cannot verily be gauged. The latter part is pointless, especially in comparison with the second line of T, which says that the delusive presentation of duality is but nescience and not real ; this indeed is what follows from the rope-snake analogy mentioned in the first line.

VII. In v. 30 (*K*) we have an instance of a variation from the *T* text, which is a clear case of going off the rails. The corresponding verse in *T* is v. XXIX; the previous verse states that the delusive presentation of duality is but nescience and not real; what is non-real is taken to be real, the non-self mistaken for the self; because of this delusion that the non-self (of duality) is the self, fools do not cognise the real self, which is all-pervasive and the self of all; this is what is stated in v. XXIX. But curiously enough we find that v. 30 (*K*) speaks not of “*ātmalā-bhrānti*” in the “*anātman*” but of “*anātmābhimānaḥ*” in what is not other than “*ātman*”. The process of superimposition is no doubt reciprocal; the self is taken to be the not-self, in the same way as the not-self is taken for the self. But there is no need for specially mentioning the former in this context. For the previous verse even in *K*, verse 29, speaks only of the delusive presentation of *dharma*, *adharma*, *varṇa*, *āśrama*, etc., that is to say, the not-self, in and as the self. The obverse presentation, though no doubt a fact, lacks any occasion for its mention; nor is the idea developed, as the very next verse, v. 31, goes back to the conceit of self-hood in respect of the not-self “*anātmāny apy ātmamānitvam*”. It would appear that while freely developing the idea of reciprocal superimposition Abhinavagupta brought in casually the idea he expresses in v. 30. though it is not called for by the context. Such casual mention is inconsistent with his work being the original *kārikā*.

VIII. The references in *K* to Śiva and in *T* to Viṣṇu can be of little help in concluding the priority of either. It is worth noting, however, that while *K* consistently uses expressions like *Śambhu* (v. 1, 26), *Maheśānaḥ* (v. 7), *Paramaśiva* (v. 32), *Bhagavān* (v. 38), *Śivamayātvam* (v. 52) and *Maheśvara* (v. 81) and introduces characteristic doctrines like the thirty-six *tattvas* (v. 11) and the manifestation of the Supreme cognisership in release (v. 81), the text of *T* contains no characteristic Vaiṣṇava doctrines and though the names Viṣṇu, Vāsudeva and Hari are largely used, the word Īśvara (as already noted) is used at least twice. It has also to be remembered that “Viṣṇu” etymologically means the Pervasive one and that it is used in this sense by advaitins. Since advaitins admit a Saṁyama Brahman, only through the due recognition of whom release can be attained, since the name and form of this Brahman cannot but be relative to the status of the preceptor and seeker, and since the preceptor here is Ādiśeṣa, the mythological couch of Viṣṇu, it is quite natural that Śeṣa's work should refer to the Supreme under one name or other of Viṣṇu without any question of religious bias. It is more likely that the Pratyabhijñā school, which is sectarian, borrowed from the non-sectarian text rather than that a non-sectarian non-dual text borrowed from the Pratyabhijñā and complicated its position by importing sectarian names and postulating an authorship to be consistent with the use of such names. The law of parsimony clearly favours the former possibility.

IX. Vidyāraṇya who came within three centuries of Abhinavagupta is not likely to have erred in respect of the authorship of the *Paramārthasāra*. He quotes twice from this work in his *Jīvanmuktiviveka* (pp. 46, 70 of the

TPH edition) ; the first quotation is of v. 81 (*T*) and the second of v. 77 (*T*) ; in both cases he mentions the author by name as *Seṣa* and on the former occasion with reverence as "*Bhagavān Seṣa*". It is possible to assume that the Advaita plagiarist had done his work prior to the time of Vidyāraṇya and that the latter quoted from the plagiarism, not from the original. Such a contention presupposes Vidyāraṇya's ignorance of Abhinavagupta's work or disingenuousness or both ; not one of these alternatives commends itself. And it is not as though Vidyāraṇya had to quote the work or establish its authenticity. There was no point in his quoting *Seṣa* unless at least in his day the author and his work enjoyed unquestionable reputation such as is inconsistent with his having been a mere plagiarist. In the supposition that Abhinavagupta's is the derivative work, there is no reflection on his integrity or worth ; for he has made an honest if cryptic acknowledgment of his source, though present-day scholars have failed to note its significance.

X. The conclusion reached here has a significance not confined to the *Paramārthasāra*. It is possible that more than one Pratyabhijñā work has derived from Advaita sources. Where, in a work like the *Dakṣiṇāmūrtistotra*, there are many points common to Advaita and Pratyabhijñā, it will be rash without further evidence to conclude the derivation of either from the other.¹ The analogy of the mirrored city, for instance, is found both in that *Stotra* v. 1 and in the *Paramārthasāra* vv. 12, 13 (*K*). If, however, the whole of this work is based on and has drawn largely from an Advaita work of the same name, is it not likely that this analogy too is primarily the advaitin's and constitutes part of what Pratyabhijñā took over from his system ? The problems suggested in such comparisons are not susceptible of easy solution ; nor should they be lightly brushed aside. There is an ever-recurring confusion, for instance, in the advaitin's idea of release ; while most schools hold that it is realisation of Brahman, some at least contend it is attainment of *Isvara-bhāva*. What was the position of the early advaitin ? Did he favour the former view or the latter ? Or did he waver between the two ? Until questions like these can be satisfactorily answered it is not possible definitively to say which work or system was the borrower. And while not subscribing to the agnostic's creed of perpetual ignorance we must yet confess that our ignorance of early Advaita is indeed very extensive. And our wisdom for the present will lie in the frank recognition that what are apparently clear indications are anything but clear and unambiguous.²

1. See an article by RAO BHADUR AMARNATH RAY in *JORM*, VI, pp 121-129.

2. Dr. K. C. PANDEY in his study of Abhinavagupta (Chowkhambha, 1935) has come to the same conclusion as ourselves (pp. 57-59) ; his examination is necessarily briefer and his acquaintance with *Seṣa*'s work does not seem to be perfect, since he speaks of it as a work giving "in brief the most essential principles of the Sāṅkhya philosophy" (p. 56) ; he draws attention to the fact that Abhinavagupta himself in the *Bhagavadgītārtha Saṅgraha* quotes from *Seṣa*'s work (v. LXXXI) as if from *Sruti* ; this throws further light on the antiquity of *Seṣa* and the veneration commanded by him.

NOTES ON THE KĀTHA UPANIṢAD¹

By

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

FIRST VALLĪ

Arhaṇā bṛhad devāso amṛtatvaṃ ānaśuḥ, RV. X. 63. 4

Ka etam ādityam arhati samayatum? JUB. I. 6. 1

Kas tam mad-anyo devaṃ jñātum arhati? KU. II. 21.

Several crucial passages of KU. appear to have been radically misunderstood even by Śankara, and a fortiori by modern translators. We must in the first place understand the situation. Death (*mṛtyu*, *yama*) is throughout the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, as also in RV. one of the highest names of God. Identified with the Sun, all that is under the Sun is in his power, and all beyond the Sun immortal; He is the Breath of life, at whose departure living beings die (SB. X. 5. 1. 4, 21--4 and 13, 14 etc.). Under the Sun he takes the form of "repeated death" (*punar mṛtyu*); beyond the Sun he rules in Paradise. Death does not die. It is only by a conquest of the one and union with the other of his aspects that an immortality can be attained,—the Comprehensor "defeats repeated death, death gets him not, Death becomes his Spiritual essence (*ātman*), he becometh the One of the Devas" (BU. I. 2, 7), "he wins beyond the Sun" (CU. II. 10, 5). The solar Orb itself, the disk of the Sun, is the gateway of Death's house, the mansion of Brahman, to which the Wayfarer seeks admission in our Upaniṣad and in so many of the related texts, e.g. Īśā 15-16. In our Upaniṣad Death himself is the Guru, and Naciketas the *śrāvaka* and *śiṣya*. We proceed at once to a discussion of particular passages.

1.5. *Bahūnām emi prathama . . . emi madhyamah, kim . . . aśya kariṣyati?* "As one of many I go first, and I go midway, and now what will He (Death) do with me?" "Now," i.e. now that my time has come, now that I have really died and left the body behind me. Three visits to Death are likewise implied by the "three nights" of I. 9 (not necessarily consecutive "nights"); and these three correspond also to the three questions and three boons and three strides of the text. By *bahūnām* Naciketas recognizes the universality

1. See also my "A study of the Kātha Upaniṣad," *IHQ.* XI, 1935, pp. 570-584. Frequent reference will be made to RAWSON, *The Kātha Upaniṣad*, Oxford, 1934. The following abbreviations are employed: RV., AV., TS., VS., MS., respectively the R̥gveda, Atharva Veda, Taittiriya, Vājasaneyi and Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā; SB., AB., JB. JUB. PB., TB., respectively the Śatapatha, Aitareya, Jaiminiya, Jaiminiya Upaniṣad, Peñcaviṃśa and Taittiriya Brāhmaṇas; BU., CU., MU., Muṇḍ., Īśā., Trait. Up., KU. the Bṛhadāraṇyaka, Chāndogya, Maitri, Muṇḍaka, Īśāvāsya, Taittiriya, and Kātha Upaniṣads; B.G., Bhagavad Gītā; Sn., Sutta Nipāta; A., D., S., the Aṅguttara, Dīgha, and Saṃyutta Nikāyas.

of his experience. His is not, indeed, a particular case : it is the rule that everyman dies thrice and is thrice born,—first when he is begotten, second when he is initiated, and thirdly when he departs from this world (JUB. III. 9). Having now for the third time and “really” died, Naciketas stands upon the threshold of the new Life into which the sacrificer “is reborn of the Fire.”¹ This formulation of “three deaths” makes intelligible what would otherwise be difficult to understand, the words of the “Voice” in the TB. version, “Thou hast been told, ‘Betake thee to Death’s houses.’”² ‘Unto Death have I bound thee.’³ Go thou to him when he is not at home.” (*pravasantam*). It is in fact only on the third morning that Death appears in person. One does not meet Him face to face until the body has really been consumed.⁴ But Death has other “houses” than that which lies beyond the golden disk, of which the dark night of the womb, often referred to as a “hell,” is one, the “night” of initiation another, and “death’s dark night” a third. Death “as he is yonder” (SB. X. 5. 2. 16-17) is not in the womb, nor does he show himself in person to the initiate, nor even at death ; He is not “present” there, but only “re-presented” by the concept of “recurrent death” (*punar mṛtyu*) ; and this, we understand, is what is meant by the saying “Go when he is not at home.” The Voice, in other words, advises Naciketas to prepare himself by an understanding of what is meant by a crossing over of the recurrent deaths that are appointed to every man here and now.

I. 8-9 (as represented in the TB. version) : The matter of the food that Naciketas “eats” on the three nights may also be considered. The nourishments are respectively Death’s “progeny” (*prajāṁ*), “sacrificial animals” (*paśūn*), and his “duties” (*sādhukṛtyān*). These “foods” should correspond to the three means by which one “lords it over death” three times in the course of a normal life, as described in JUB. III. 9 f, “death” being the same thing as “hunger” (*aśanāyā*, privation). What are Death’s “progeny”

1. We cannot see in what respect AA. II. 5 is, as KEITH insists, “fundamentally distinct” from JUB. If in AA. it is three “births” only that are specifically mentioned, it must not be overlooked that any birth implies a previous death, and that in any case this is explicit in the case of the third birth, since it is when the man departs (*praiti*) as a *kṛtakṛtyaḥ*, that is “dies”, having fulfilled his tasks, that he “is born again” (*punar jāyate*) and becomes immortal (*amṛtaḥ bhavati*). The texts are not identical, but nevertheless perfectly consistent.

Punar jāyate : “is regenerated,” born again for the last time, never to be born again as a mortal individual, but only with and as the Spirit, *aśarīrah śarīreṣu*, cf. KU. VI. 4 *sargeṣu lokeṣu śarīratvāya kalpate* (sc. as a Kāmācarin). *Punar jāyate* as in BU. III. 9. 28, *jāta eva, na jāyate, ko nṛ evaṁ janayet punaḥ* ? “He is born indeed, (and yet) he is not born (having become the ‘Unborn,’ *ajāḥ*), for who is there now to beget him again ?” (since he is no longer a member of any lineage, see JUB. III. 14. 1, and parallels, Hindu, Buddhist, and Christian)

2. Note the plural, “houses.”

3. The “Voice” substitutes for the Father’s *dadāmi, ādām*, which we take to be from *dā*, to bind or tie, as a sacrifice is “tied” to the post. The concluding words are spoken by the Voice, not quoted as the Father’s.

4. “While the soul progresses, God remains unseen” (ECKHART).

or "children"? In SB. X. 5. 2. 16 he is "one as he is yonder, and many as he is in his children"; and clearly, these "children" are the "breaths" or "rays" or "feet" that reach the heart of every living thing, and with respect to which it is said that when they are withdrawn, the creature dies; just as the many rays of the Sun are its "sons" (JUB. II. 9. 10, the Sun being the same as Death (JUB. III. 10. 10 and passim). The eating of Death's "progeny" is then the same thing as "coming into being in accordance with the breath; for it is inasmuch as the breath indwells the expended semen that he comes into being" (*sa tato 'nusambhavati prāṇam ca; yadā hy eva retas siktam prāṇa āviśaty atha tat sambhavati*, JUB. III. 10. 5.)² Thus he overcomes the first death. Now as to the "sacrificial animals": "Verily unborn is the man in so far as he does not sacrifice; it is through the sacrifice that he is born" (JUB. III. 14. 8) with reference, of course to the sacrificial initiation which involves a temporary or symbolic death, and a rebirth, as is fully developed in the third book of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. And thus by this "birth from Agni," he overcomes this second and initiatory death (JUB. III. 16. 6). Finally as to Death's *sādhukṛtyāḥ*: these "things to be done aright" are the "works to be done" by the new man born of the initiation: "what they do right, that rises up as their eating of food" (*yat sādhu kurvanti tad esām annādyam utsidati*, JUB. III. 14.6). It is by this "food"

1. "Under the theory of procession by powers, souls are described as rays" (Plotinus, *Enneads*. VI. 4. 3).

2. "He who dwelleth in the semen is yet other than the semen. He is the Spirit, the Inner, Controller, the Immortal" (*ātmāntarīyāmyamṛtaḥ*, BU. III. 7. 23); hence "Say not 'From semen' that a mortal once departed is born again, but from what is alive (in the semen); just as a tree springs up from the seed, no sooner dead than come into being again" (BU. III. 9. 28). This can only be fully understood in the light of CU. VI. 11-12 where it is made clear that it is not the seed as such that is alive, but that "undimensioned (*animānam*, see discussion of KU. 11. 20, below) that is not to be seen" within it, from which the great tree grows up. The same is implied in AV. XI. 4. 14 "When thou, the Breath, givest life, then is he born again"; cf. Kaus. Up. III. 3 "It is as the Breath (*prāṇa*) that the Provident Spirit (*prajñātman*) grasps and erects the flesh." And this is also precisely the Christian doctrine, as enunciated by St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* III. 32. 1 "The power of the soul, which is in the semen, through the Spirit enclosed therein, fashions the body."

The comparison *dhānāruha iva .pretya sambhavah* of BU. III. 9. 28 is repeated in KU. I. 9 *sasyam ivājāyate punaḥ*. The point of all these comparisons and allusions is, that it is the Spirit, and not the individual so-and-so, that is perpetually and instantly reborn, although not subjected to the vicissitudes of birth. It is only the psycho-physical vehicles which are animated by the Spirit, and are in this sense incarnations of the Spirit, or more properly speaking manifestations of the Spirit, that are themselves casually determined, and mortal. He only, therefore, who "knows himself" as the Spirit, and not as the psycho-physical vehicle, is free and immortal: and that "That art thou" follows immediately upon the passage briefly quoted above from CU. VI. 12. 2. See further my "The coming to birth of the Spirit," to appear shortly in *Indian Culture*.

3. For initiation (*dīkṣā*) as a death and a rebirth see TS. V. 2.4 and VI. 1.3, AB. I. 3 and VI. 31, JUB. III. 7-9, SB. III. 1.2 and III. 2.1, etc.

that the dead man is sustained and conveyed until he reaches the Sun and stands face to face with Death, the Angel with the Flaming Sword, the Sun, the Truth,—“his breath first ascends”; it explains to the Devas, so much he did right (*iyad asya sādhu kṛtam*), so much evil: then along with the smoke (of the pyre) he ascends. . . He approaches him who glows yonder (JB. I. 18), viz. “the Sun, Death” (JUB. III. 10. 10 and passim). In other words, it is by the “duty done” or “what has been done right” (*sādhukṛtam*) that the sacrificer is kept in being on the “night” of the third death, and until he reaches the very gates of the solar Paradise wherein Death is always at home. Past these gates there is no carrying over by means of any “food”, since “the eating of food” implies in some sort of a formal embodiment; what is beyond the Sun, who is Death, is immortal (SB. II. 3. 3. 7); and no one becomes immortal with the body (SB. X. 4. 3. 9; JUB. III. 38. 10). It is by knowledge alone, by such knowledge as Death himself imparts, that the final passage is made; which knowledge of the Brahman is the knowledge of oneself as the Self, as the Spirit (*ātman*). This, as all our texts imply (JUB. III. 14. 5, etc., with the closest possible parallels in the Hermetic, Christian, and Islamic traditions), is a total severance of the Spirit from its psycho-physical manifestation, a ceasing to know of oneself by any name or aspect (*nāma-rūpa*), or as anyone or anywhere: for there can be no return to the source except of like to like, and “That has not come from anywhere nor become anyone” (KU. II. 18). The question “Who knows where he is?” (KU. II. 25) will apply as much to the individual altogether liberated (*atimukta*, etc.) from his individuality as to the Spirit itself, which is only omnipresent precisely because it is not “anywhere.” As the Buddhist texts so often express it, “There beyond there is no further extension of thusness” (*nāparam itthañāyāti*, S. V. 222. etc. etc.).¹

The foregoing discussion of the problem of “foods,” “houses” and “nights”, considered as one question, is strictly speaking pertinent only to the TB. version of the story. In the Upaniṣad we are not told, but left to assume, that Death has been “away”; we are only told in both versions that the guest has “gone hungry.” And this is a matter of fact; one does not “eat” either in the womb, or on the eve of a sacrifice, or on one’s death bed. On the “fast day” (*upa-vasatha*) preceding a sacrifice (see SB. I. 1. 1. 7-11), in one way or another one “does not eat,” and “should sleep that night in the house of the sacrificial fire or household fire (*āhavanīyāgāre vaitām rātrīm śayita gārhapatyāgāre vā*) for he who enters upon the operation approaches the Devas, and lies down amongst those very Devas whom he approaches.” It is such a “night” as this, spent fasting in the “house of the Fire” that is referred to by the second “night” that is to be spent at Death’s house. The words of SB. I. 1. 1. 9. “Let him therefore eat what, when eaten, counts as not eaten” is singularly suggestive of the situation represented in the TB. version of our story where, although Naciketas “does not eat,” he

1. Cf. S. I. 119, where Māra seeks in vain for the departed *arhat*, Godhika.

is able to tell what it is that he "has eaten."¹ In any case we have been able to trace a connection between the three kinds of "food" in the TB. version, and the "three deaths" that are implied by the "three nights" of both texts. In the same way in KU. I. 11 *rātrih śayitā*, the reference is not to just any night, but to the Father's "rest" in the nights of time, in the sense of "rested on the seventh day." "Varuṇa is the night" (PB. XXV. 10. 10); "the night, the darkness, death" of AB. IV. 5; the "night" of JUB. III. 1. 9 *muhyanti diśo na vai tā rātrim prajñāyante*; i.e. the Brahman of MU. VI. 17 *na hy cśya .diśah kalpante*. Thus in one sense or another all of the (four) "nights" of our text are "deaths" rather than "times," nor is there anything strange in this, in a tradition where seasons, months, fortnights and days and nights are so often states of being rather than times.

I. 10 and 11, *tvat prasṛtam* and *mat prasṛtaḥ* "released by Thee" (Naciketas) and "released by Me" (Auddālaka Āruṇi, Gautama, father of Naciketas). These expressions can only be understood in the light of RV. X. 16. 4-5, "Bear him, O Agni (here the Devourer, Death), give him back again, unto the Patriarchs in the world of the Perfected; induing Life, let the Residue ascend, let him be aggregated in his own form" (*vaha enaṁ sukṛtāṁ loke,² ava sṛja punar, agne, pṛṭbhyaḥ; āyur vasāna upa vetu śeṣaḥ,³ sam gacchatām⁴ tanvā.⁵* No difficulty remains, if only we do not persuade

1. The story of Viśvāmitra and Indra in AA. II. 2. 3-4 is virtually identical with that of Naciketas and Death in KU. Indra speaks as the Sun; Viśvāmitra pays a triple visit to Indra's "dear home." On each occasion Viśvāmitra repeats a hymn, saying "This is food," meaning evidently, "This has been my sustenance." Indra grants a boon (not three: the whole story is condensed), Viśvāmitra choosing "to know thee, Indra." Indra describes himself as the Sun, the breath, and this breath is what is really his own sustenance, and Viśvāmitra's. The Comprehensor of this becomes immortal. The "What I am, he is; what he is, I am" of AA. corresponds to the answer of the postulant for passage through the Sun in JUB. III. 14-3-4. In SA. 1.6 the boons are three, but Viśvāmitra makes the same choice in each case, "to know thee, Indra."

2. See the discussion of KU. III. 1 *ṛtam pibantau sukṛtasya loke*. Yama's Paradise in RV. X 16 is more fully described in X. 135. 1 f., where it is also perhaps "Order" that "Yama drinks of with the Devas" (*devaiḥ sam pibate yamah*).

3. *Śeṣaḥ*: cf. KU. KV. IV. 3 and V 4 *kim atra pariśiṣyate?* with CU. VIII. 4-5 *atiśiṣyate . ātman*. We have shown elsewhere that it is by no means accidentally that Śeṣa and Ananta are designations both of the World Serpent and of the Brahman (see my "Angel and Titan" in JAOS. 55, 1935 and "Janaka and Yājñavalkya" in IHQ. XIII, 1937).

4. In X. 14. 8 *hitvāvadyam punar astam ehi, sam gacchasva tanvā suvarcā* "Discarding woe-unspeakable, go home again, be aggregated in a form of light." *Astam i* here, as this expression is regularly used of the setting Sun, as "going home," i.e. to "Whence the Sun arises and unto which he goeth home" (*yatas codeti sūryo, stam yatra ca gacchati*, KU. IV. 9). This "Home", which is man's last end as it was his first beginning, is moreover one of the names of the Gale of the Spirit, "the one entire Godhood (Vāyu)... His very name is 'Home' (*sa haiso' stam nāma*). 'Home' they call the "Seizures" (*grahāḥ*) in the West" (JUB. III. 1. 1-3). Cf. modern "go to one's last home," "go West" = to die. The "West" implies Varuṇa,

ourselves that the story of Naciketas is the relation of any "historical" event. What Naciketas asks is that he may be "let pass" by Death, may be "released" unto his father, to the Father whom Death has already and long since, i.e. at the close of a former Aeon, "let pass" and "released" unto his "rest," a rest to be perfected by the son's return and welcome. This is, in other words, and as the name Āruṇi suggests, not a "human" story¹, but an

who indeed is the Seizer of all things (SB. II. 3. 2. 10 *yathemā varuṇaḥ prajā gṛhṇat*; similarly MS. I. 10. 12, TS. V. 2. 1. 3, AB. VII. 15 etc). The Gale is Varuṇa's *ātmā te vāta...varuṇa*, RV. VII. 87. 2) or what comes to the same thing, the breath of Vāc=Aditi (*aham eva vāta pravāmi*, RV. X. 125. 8). Hence in the Requiem RV. X. X. 16. 3 *vātam ātmā .gacchatu*, and the common expression *vāyo-gataḥ* = deceased. For Varuṇa as one to be both feared and loved see RV. VII. 86. This "Home" is the Father's house, from which the Prodigal son departs with his portion, and to which he returns after eating of the husks; Death is the Keeper of the Gate.

Saṁgamana, "Gatherer together, is one of the names of Yama, e.g., in RV. X. 14. 1. It is in this sense also that "to be unified" (*eko bhū*) and "to die" are regularly coincident expressions. In the same way ECKHART'S "separated and united beings," viz., those who are alive to themselves on the one hand, and the "blessed dead, dead and buried in the Godhead" on the other. "How often would I have gathered thy children together and ye would not : " (Math. XXIII. 37).

5. Cf. RV. X. 56. 1-2 *saṁveśane tanvāḥ parame janitre divīva jyotiḥ svam*. *Tanū* is "form" of such sort as is proper to the Ātman, cf. Kū. II. 23 *viṣṇute tanūm svām*. *Tanvā* is as much as to say *svarūpeṇa*, "in thine own proper, or intrinsic form," i.e. in a body of light. With Kū. II. 23 cf. RV. X. 71. 4 (*vāg*) *tasmai tanvaṁ vi sase*.

The assumption of this "form" is a "resurrection from ashes." This is, in fact the Vedic doctrine of the "resurrection of the body," more fully stated in JUB. III. 3. 5. "Now whoever is a Comprehensor of this Spiritual-essence of the Logos (*ukthasyātmānam*, where *uktha*=*sāman*, identified with the Sun) comes into being in yonder world with limbs and body complete" (*sāngas satanus sarvas sambhavati*). This does not mean, of course, that the "form" or "body" of light, the "intrinsic form" (*svarūpa*), which is built up by the sacrificer while still in the body, is itself a physical form or body. On the contrary it is a "transformation" of the physical body, which no longer exists as a phenomenon (*rūpa*), but nevertheless subsists, with all that is proper to it, as an effect subsists in the cause to which it has been "reduced", (i.e. "led back"), more eminently. The regeneration (last *punaḥ sambhava*), in other words, is a rebirth of all that was real in that which died; all of which "real" is even here and now "light."

We cannot now devote space to a comparison of the Indian and Christian doctrines of the resurrection of the body, except to remark that it is likewise Christian doctrine that all resurrection is from ashes, and that all the members of the body are resurrected; all, in fact, that really belongs to "human nature," properly understood (see St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol. Suppl.* 78. 2 c, 80. 1 c, etc.).

1. RAWSON himself concludes that "probably the names, which are all patronymics, are not meant to be historical" (p. 65). And even if we choose to think of them as "historical" to the same extent that the sacrifice of Abraham can be thought of as historical, it remains that such sacrifices as those of Naciketas to Death, or dedications such as that of Rohita to Varuṇa, are "types" of the Eternal Sacrifice of the Universal Man, whom others sacrifice at the same time that he sacrifices himself. If we think of the "fathers" who appoint their sons to Death as "cruel,"

ever recurrent *genealogia regni Dei*, in which the Father is always coming forth in the Son, and the Son ever returning to the Father : which coming forth and sending forth of the Son is always a giving of the Son to a " recurrent generation and death " in the sense of RV. X. 72. *prajāyai mṛtyave tvat punaḥ* and KU. I. 4. *mṛtyave*. The " many " of KU. I. 5 is with reference to " many Agnis " : and that Naciketas, the Kumāra, is himself " an " Agni is further implied by the *vaiśvānara*... *atithiḥ* and the technical expression " give him his quietus " (*śāntim kurvanti*) of I. 7. Naciketas is at once the Sacrifice and Sacrificial priest ; if he needs to be instructed in his office by Death,¹ this corresponds to RV. X. 52. 1 where Agni likewise asks to be instructed in his duties. Our hero's name is foreshadowed and perhaps intended in RV. X. 51. 4 *etam artham² naciketāham agniḥ*, " I Agni, have not recognized (*na ciketa*, Sāyaṇa ' have not approved ') that task ", viz. that of the Priest (*hotrā aham varuṇa bibhyat*, *ib.*) and cosmic Charioteer (*rathin*, *ib.* 6); while it is Yama that " recognizes " Agni (*taṁ tvā yamo acikect*, *ib.* 3). In our text, indeed, the relation of Naciketas as " questioner " to Yama as Guru is precisely that of " one who does not know but seeks to know " (*acikītvāś cikituṣaḥ*, AV. IX. 9. 7) to one who knows, and in this sense the name is fitting : cf. also in RV. X. 79. 4 " No knowledge of the God have I, a mortal " (*nāham devasya martyas ciketa*). Although not all of these are equivalent contexts, it cannot be questioned but that Naciketas is so called as being " One who does not know," or " is unwilling."³

In RV. X. 135 we have again to do with a Kumāra, a " Boy " deceased, whose body has been consumed on the funeral pyre, and who now speaks with Death, and learns from him the meaning of death. The Kumāra says, " I have looked close on Him (Yama, Death) that careth for the Ancients (i.e. the foregone Patriarchs), on Him who goeth by the evil path,⁴ and after this (world) I long again " : Yama replying " Thou mountest (even now), my Child, a new and wheelless chariot, of which the single pole is pointed in all directions, which thyself has made by intellect (*manasākṛnoḥ*), although as yet) thou seest it not." This " chariot " is not of course a " physical " vehicle,

let us not forget that no man can beget a son who does not at the same time hand him, who is also himself, over to Death, or rather, to the triple death referred to above (triple, because in such society as this, initiation is the rule). In this respect, what is true of the Son of God is true of Everyman, and what is true of Everyman is true of the Son of God.

1. The applicability of RV. X. 52. 3. " Who is this Priest ? Is he Yama's ? " to Naciketas may be remarked.

2. The *bhūry*...*kartvam artham* of RV. I. 10. 2.

3. It would be impossible to discuss at adequate length here the " hesitations " of the Messiahs, Agni, Buddha, and Christ, though all are of the same sort.

4. " Evil " apparently only because the Kumāra is still *acikītvān*, Naciketas, but in reality " the broad way that Yama first found out for us, nor shall this pasture even be taken from us " of RV. X. 14. 2. Compare Chuang Tzu, " How do I know that he who dreads to die is not as a child who has lost the way and cannot find his home ? ".

but "wheelless" and "universally oriented" by distinction from the physical body of local motion that has been left behind; in other words, the "chariot" is the same thing as the "form" of light, the *tanū* = *svarūpa* of previously cited texts. Sāyaṇa rightly identifies the Kumāra of this Vedic requiem with the Naciketas of our Upaniṣad. The question is asked in the fourth verse. "Who was the father of the child?" In X. 51. 4, cited above, the Father is evidently Varuṇa :¹ in SB. VI. 2. 1. 1. f. it is explicitly "Father Prajāpati" who searches for the Kumāra, who evades him, entering into the sacrificial animals, man, horse, bull, ram, and goat : and When Prajāpati discovers these, he sacrifices them "for his own sake" (*kāmāya*) ; just as Auddālaka sacrifices animals and finally his own son.

Once this universality and essential timelessness of the story of Naciketas has been realised, the attitude of the "Father" becomes at once intelligible (or should at least be altogether comprehensible to a Christian, if not to a humanist).² If the Father in the TB. version "regards" (*paritya*) the Son, as Sāyaṇa adds "as if in anger" (*kruddhera*) or "speaks," as Śamkara comments in connection with KU. I. 5 "with angry intent" (*krodhavaśāl*), this agrees with all that we know from the Ṛgveda of what seem to be the relations between the Father and the Son, the Father (or both Parents) being again and again referred to as "unfriendly" (*amitra*, *aśiva*) in relation to the Son, whichever of the "twins" Indrāgnī may be referred to in a given context. In innumerable texts, Agni is the "Friend" (*mītra*) and Varuṇa "Unfriend" (*amitra*) and no real distinction can be drawn between Varuṇa and Yama as "avengers" ("Vengeance is mine, I will repay, said the Lord"). That this is nevertheless not the final truth of the matter is poignantly expressed in RV. X. 124. 3 where Agni, abandoning the Titan Father, usually thought of as "unkind," confesses "I, myself 'unkind' am abandoning Him that is truly 'kind'" It is a matter of "approach" ; the Father is no longer "deadly to be touched" by those who "approach him, making him their friend" (*mītrakṛtyeṣopāsate* AB. III. 4), for "as he is approached, such he becomes" (*yathopāsate tad eva bhavati* SB. X. 5. 2. 20, cf. RV. V. 44. 6). If the Titan Father is a

1. The "Titan Father" (*asura-pitṛ*) of RV. X. 124.3, whom Agni leaves when he proceeds from the non-sacrificial to the sacrificial function, from potentiality to act.

2. HUME's paraphrase of the Father's words by "Oh ! go to Hades" is bad enough, but far more shocking RAWSON'S "His father, however, angered by the persistence of his 'priggish son, bursts forth with the equivalent of an angry Englishman's 'Go to hell'". With the "angry Englishman" we are only too familiar : his introduction here is a profanity.

3. Similarly in the case of such other solar heroes as Rohita (AB. VII. 15) appointed by their father's to be a sacrifice. Cf. the "evil done by Varuṇa to Prajāpati," SB. XI. 2. 6. 7.

4. RV. V. 44, 6 *yādṛg eva dadṛśe tādṛg ucyate* corresponds to St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* I. 13. 1 and 3 *Pronomina vero demonstrative dicuntur de Deo, secundum quod faciunt demonstrationem ad id quod intelligitur*, with III. 35. 5 c. *Unde nihil prohibet plures tales relationes eidem inesse . . . Omnis autem relatio quae ex tempore*

"God of Wrath" to be avoided as such, what else but an At-one-ment is foretold in KU. I. 10 "Glad shall be thy Father Auddālaka Āruṇi as when of old he was released by me, sweetly shall he rest by night, his wrath dispelled (*vīta-manyuḥ*) when he seeth thee from Death's jaws freed" (*mṛtyor mukhāt pramuktam*)?¹ *Manyu* we know well as the "Wrath" of God, from RV. X. 83, manifested as the "bolt" (*vajra*),—"A great terror! An upraised bolt! Which those who comprehend become immortal" in KU. 2.² There are other scriptures in which the wrath of God must be appeased by the sacrifice of a lamb.

I. 16 and 11.3 ; *śṛṅkā*. This word, as everyone knows, does not occur elsewhere; but the rendering by "chain" or "garland" appears to be quite satisfactory. Some further discussion of the word may nevertheless prove helpful. Clues are provided by *śṛka*, arrow, and *śraja*, garland, derivatives of *śṛj*, and its modification *śraj*, in their senses of "loose" or "let fly", and "turn, twist, or weave" as a garland. What is common to *śṛka* and *śṛṅkā* depends on what is the most usual meaning of *śṛj*, viz. "to release"; the arrow being that which is released from the bow, and *śṛṅkā* being "product" in the sense that *śṛṣṭi* is the act of production.³ At the same time, although the forms are superficially unlike, *śraja* is synonymous with *śṛṅkā*, and the semantics of both words can be easily understood in connection with the meanings of *śraj*, to "twist" or "wind", and similar but less usual values in *śṛj*. Indian necklaces were and still are, in fact, often made of woven gold wire. *Śraja* and *śṛṅkā*, accordingly, both imply a chain, which may be either a chain of gold or jewels, or a garland of flowers (cf. our "daisy-chain").

de Deo dicitur, non ponit in ipso Deo aeterno aliquid secundum rem, sed secundum rationem.

1. *Mṛtyor mukhāt pramuktam* (cf. KU. III. 16) = *mat-prasṛṣṭam* in the previous verse: both signifying "freed," not to return to earth (a sorry reward), but to cross the solar threshold and pass through the golden gate to enter into the Paradise of Yama and of Varuṇa; the "jaws of Death" being an open door to Life for those who understand. *Mors janua vitae*. My rendering above dispenses with any necessity for emendation of the text.

The Father's welcome of the Son may be imagined in the words of JUB. III. 14.5, "What thou art, I am, and what I am thou art, come in" with its exact equivalent in Rūmī, *Mathnawī* I. 3063, "Since thou art I, come in, O myself."

2. RV. X. 83 identifies *manyu* with Varuṇa as well as with the *vajra*, etc. The same is implied in X. 73. 10 "He (Agni) came forth from the Wrath" (*manyor iyāya*), and by TS. V. 1. 5. 9 and 6. 1 where "Agni when bound, as Varuṇa, attacks the sacrificer... he unloosens him... (and thus) distributes the wrath of Varuṇa that is in him. He pours water down; the waters are pacifications; verily by the waters appeased he calms his sharpness." Compare the whole account of the origination of the "fire-flash" from the "darkness" in BEHMEN, *Three Principles* XIV. 69-75.

3. Observe that as "product" nothing is implied as to whether a material or a spiritual, "property" is intended. The "product" may be either of phenomenal things, or an entertainment of ideas. *Śṛṅkā*, in other words, may stand either for an extrinsic or an intrinsic wealth"

We are now in a position to ask whether the *anekarūpā śṛṅkā* of KU.I.16 and *vittamayī śṛṅkā* of II.3 are really one and the same "chain." Let us consider the latter first. There can be no doubt what sort of chain it is that Naciketas refuses. It manifestly represents the "whatever desires in this mortal world are hard to come by" (I.3), which goods¹ Death offers to Naciketas, if only he will refrain from pressing his third boon.² *Vittamayī* means made of, or of the nature of, wealth, property, goods, possessions : this is the meaning that is so well brought out in BU. 1.5.15, "The Spiritual-self (*ātman*) is the hub, goods (*vitta*) the felly (of the world wheel, or of any being).³ That is why, if anyone is afflicted by a total loss (of property), but himself still lives, they only say 'He has come off with the loss of a felly' ". BU.I. 417 furthermore distinguishes a "human wealth" (*mānuṣaṁ vittaṁ*, or v. 1. *mānasam vittaṁ*)⁴ from a "divine wealth" (*daivaṁ vittaṁ*) of the Spiri-

1 Just as *artha*, "purpose" is also "object" both as first and final cause, desire and thing desired, so *kāma*, "desire" is also the "good" defined by Aristotle (Ethic I, cf. St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* I.5.1 c) as "Whatever men desire" *Kāmāḥ* can often be rendered better by "goods" than by "desires". A distinction has then to be made between particular and ultimate goods, or false and true desires, as in CU.VIII.3. 1-2 and correspondingly St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* II.II.23. 7 c and 45.1 ad 1, (distinction of *bonum verum* from *bonum falsum* as of *satyāḥ kāmāḥ* from *satyāḥ kāmāḥ aṇṭāpīdhānāḥ*). In the last analysis, this is a distinction of all goods considered as particulars from the universal good in which all goods obtain and are obtained (*sarvāpti*, Kauṣ. UP. III.3. etc.).

2 The "temptation" of Naciketas by Mṛtyu, Yama, in our text corresponds to the temptation of Māra in J.I.63 (offer of universal sovereignty) and J.I.78 (daughters of Māra), and to Matth.IV.8.9 "All these things will I give thee, if " and to the temptation by the "Serpent" in Genesis. The Tempter (whether Love or Death, Satan or Serpent) is always one and the same Titan Father whom the proceeding Agni farewells in RV.X. 12.3-4, and the Tempted always the solar "Man". When the Sun of Men and Light of the World says "Get thee behind me, Satan", this "behind me" (*mad-paścā*) is a relegation of Varuṇa to his place in the West AB. V.2.3.1 "Yama holds the overlordship of the whole extent of earth; he who without asking from Yama a place of it ." corresponds to Luke IV. 6 "for that is delivered unto me; and to whomsoever I will give it." In the case of the first temptation of the Buddha by Māra (J.I.63), the Buddha's refusal of the Wheel Jewel (*cakka ratanam*), the recognized symbol of temporal power, is as much as to say "My kingdom is not of this world." It is in another sense that the Buddha, like Christ, is both king (*cakravartin*) and Prophet (*śītama*, M.I.386).

The virtually identical character of the three temptations, those of the Buddha, the Christ, and Naciketas lends further support to the view that KU. is the story, not so much of a specific "human sacrifice" as of the dealings of the Universal Man with Death; or if we wish to avoid this conclusion, it is manifest at least that the dealing of Naciketas with Death is a "type" of the conquest of Death by the Universal Man, in the same sense that the sacrifice of Abraham is "typal" of the sacrifice of the Son of Man.

3. Cf. St. Bernard's distinction of *esse* from *proprium*.

4. *Mānasam vittaṁ* would be "rational knowledge" as distinguished from "first principles"; cf. St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* II.II. 1.180.1 c "The appetitive power (i.e. *kāma*) moves one to observe things either with the senses or the intel-

tual-self (*ātman*), the former being what is "obtained by the eye" (symbol of sense-perception), the latter what is "heard by the ear" (symbol of intelligence,—*tac chruṇoti*, "what he hears" not without a reference to "*śruti*")¹

In our Upaniṣad, Death is the *guru* and Naciketas the *śrāvaka*; the distinction of *vitta* from *vitta* in BU. corresponds to that which we propose to recognize as between *śṛṅkā* and *ṣṛṅkā* in KU. There is, however, a distinction also of "hearing" from "hearing". "He is not to be apprehended by much hearing of scripture" (*na bahunā śrutena...labhyaḥ*, KU. II.23): "One man hath ears, but hath not heard her (*Vāc*, as in RV.X. 125.5; Aditi, as in KU.II. 7; Sophia); but to another (sc. *ya evaṃ veda*) she unveils herself" (*tanvanti vi sasre*, RV. X. 71.4, prototype of KU. II. 23 *vivṛṇute tenuṁ svām*). Naciketas is precisely such "another",—*tvādṛṇ no bhūyāt naciketaḥ praśtā*, KU.II.9.

More than this, there can be cited a Vedic text which affords a remarkable parallel to Naciketas' refusal of Death's *vittamayī śṛṅkā*: viz. that of RV. VIII.47.15, where "the whole evil dream, whether it be necklace (*niṣka*) or chain of gold (*sraja*)" is consigned to Trita Āptya, who as an *ab intra* aspect of the Sun or Agni, cf. Ahir Budhnya, can easily be identified with Varuṇa (similarly made the recipient of inauspicious things) and with Death; in RV.I.163. 3 the identification of the Solar Stallion with Trita and Yama is explicit, "Yama art thou, O Stallion; Āditya thou; Trita art thou by interior operation".

Our *vittamayī śṛṅkā* is then the chain or series of all "goods", whether material or mental, considered objectively as something over against the Spiritual-self; all "great possessions" such as those (amongst which may be remarked the moral virtues) for the sake of which the rich man turns away sorrowful,—Math. XIX.20 f. and Mark X.20 f., "and went away grieved; for he had great possessions... 'How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the Kingdom of God (in our Upaniṣad, 'Death's house,' the Sun)... It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of the needle'".²

lect, sometimes for love of the thing seen...sometimes for love of the very knowledge that one acquires by observation". KU. I.27 provides an adequate comment: *na viltena tarpaṇīyo manuṣyo, laṣṣyāmahe vittam adrākṣma cet tvā?* "Man is not to be contented with goods: can we grasp after goods, who have seen Thee?" ("Not by bread alone",—nor even by "facts").

1. This is not a disparagement of the eye as such, but of sensational as distinguished from intellectual recognitions. Its bearing upon the modern tendency to substitute a "visual" for a "verbal" education is obvious. By "visual education" there is meant, of course, a conveyance of factual information in terms of what things *look like*; and not at all the use of visual symbols or a presentation of traditional art where it is a matter not of appearances but of meanings.

2. We substitute "the" for "a" needle deliberately. The "camel" is a type of the body and lower soul (*aisthesis* and *noesis*), the "needle's eye" is the Sun, cf. Rūmī, *Mathnawī* I.3055-3066 and JUB.III. 14.1-5.

"There is no hope of eternal life by means of wealth" (*amṛtasya tu nāśāstī vittena*, BU.II.4.2). Almost all the "cultural values" of modern civilisation are "great possessions".

What then is the *anekarūpā sṛṅkā* of KU.I.16? Suspicion that this is another *sṛṅkā* is at once aroused by the fact that it is given, like a robe of honour, or insignia, as a free gift from Death to Naciketas, and that nothing whatever in the context suggests that the gift is made by way of bribe or temptation, nor is anything said about a refusal of this gift, nor can we see any reason why Naciketas should have refused this gift, even though that of a golden chain. If "all is not gold that glitters", it does not follow that all that glitters is nothing but "filthy lucre". Gold is the recognized symbol of immortality throughout the Vedic and other traditions;¹ garlands are properly worn by the Devas, "immortals";² we take it, indeed, that Death took the *sṛṅkā* from his own neck and put it upon that of Naciketas.³ If we paraphrase *anekarūpā* by *viśvarūpā*, as is quite legitimate, we shall begin to understand what kind of chain this was; since "omniform" is one of the most characteristic of the designations of the highest principle throughout the Vedic tradition. Omniformity is primarily Tvaṣṭr's or Vṛtra's, and secondarily, Indra's, Agni's, and Savitr's; it is their idiosyncrasy, their mode of being many whilst still remaining one, like Death in SB X.5.2.16. The Spirit (*ātman*, the Sun in RV.I.115.1; Light of Lights) lends itself to all modalities of being, as water to vessels of all sizes and shapes, each taking what it

1 Explicit in SB.IX.4.4.8, "golden means immortal" (with reference to VS. XVIII.5, "Golden-winged bird"); and TS.V.1.10.3 "Now Agni is Death and gold is immortality".

2 "There are necklaces (*niṣkāḥ*) in the sacrificer's world" (AV.VII.991).

That our interpretation of the *anekarūpā sṛṅkā* is the correct one is strongly supported by the wording of a Buddhist text discovered after the foregoing had been written. We find in M.I.387 "Just as one might weave a manifold garland (*ricitāṃ mālaṃ*), even so in the Bhagvan (Buddha) there is full many a form (*aneka-vanno*), yea, many many hundreds of forms (*anekasata-vanno*). Who can refuse praise (*na vaṇṇam karissati*) where praise is due?" Cf. *anekavarnam* in Bg. XI.14.

It may be observed that *vaṇṇo* (Skr. *varṇa*) has a variety of closely connected meanings, e.g. colour, aspect, splendour, beauty, caste, rank, ilk, kind, species, likeness, property (*in re*), quality, reason, cause, and praise, practically all of which meanings are present also in *rūpa*, at the same time that all correspond to "form, idea, species, eternal reason, cause," etc. as these terms are employed in Scholastic exemplarism. The meaning "praise" derives from the root meaning of *vaṇ*, to "describe"; and it can be readily understood that a "description" of these countless "attributes" is a "laudation". The "innumerable forms" subsisting in a single "form", or of "innumerable beauties" in "beauty" itself (cf. CU.IV.15 discussed in my *Source of and a parallel to Dionysius on the Beautiful*, in *Journ. Greater India Soc.* vol. III, p. 38) are not so many "possessions", but so many "perfections".

3 Perhaps with the pertinent words of AV.X.6.4 "May this gold-woven jewel (*hiranya-srag ayam maṇiḥ*), imparting faith and sacrifice (*yajñam* cf. *yajātām* in RV II.33.10) and grandeur (*mahat*), abide in our house as a guest" (*gṛhe vasatu no tithiḥ*, cf. KU.I.9 *avātsir gṛhe me...atithiḥ*). As everyone knows, the Hindu to this day garlands his guest, not indeed with such a garland in effect, a "crown", as Death can bestow upon his Saints, but in imitation (*anukaraṇa*) thereof, and because "We should do what the Devas have done".

can receive. In RV.II.33.9-10, Rudra, described in terms of the solar Indra (*vajrabāhu*, etc.), is multi-form (*pururūpaḥ*) and "radiant with shining golden-gear", and specific reference is made to the "omniform, reverend necklace" (*niskam yajataṁ viśvarūpam*) that he, the Arhat (*arhan*)¹ wears. It can be truly said, that "omniformity" is the best of the divine "ornaments" seeing that it is only that all "good" can be referred to God *per excellentiam*, who were he not both the many (*aneka*) and the one (*eka*) could be thought of as a one amongst the many. As integral multiplicity (*viśvam ekam*, RV.III.54.8 he is the *imago imagivans* of each and every *imago imaginata*,—"the single form that is the form of very different things" (Eckhart). This is the doctrine of exemplarism, Vedic as well as Christian, but into an exposition of which we cannot enter here,² except to note the allusions in our Upaniṣad, V. 9 and 12-13, *rūpaṁ rūpaṁ prātirūpo babhūva, ekas tathā sarva-bhūtāntarātmā...eko bahūnām yo vidadhāti kāmān*, "One and only Spiritual-essence of all beings, who cometh into being as the counter-form of each and every form...the One of the many," who fulfils their desires".⁴ Death's gift of the *anekarūpa-sṛṅkā* is an assimilation of Naciketās to himself, an acceptance, and as much as to say, as in JUB.III.14.5 "Who I am, thou art : Come in".

I.26 : *tava nṛtya-gīte*, "Thine be the dance and song" acquires an added force if referred to JB.II.69-70, where Prajāpati and Death are conducting opposing sacrifices, Prajāpati's "party" consisting of the chanted lauds, recitative, and ritual acts (in a word, the sacerdotal art) and Death's of "what was sung to the harp, or 'danced', or done by way of vanity" (in a word, secular art). For a fuller discussion see my "Nature of 'Folklore' and 'Popular art'" in *Q. J. Myth. Soc.*, Bangalore, XXVII.

1. *Arhanā brhad devāso amṛtatvam anāśuh*, RV X.63.4; cf. texts cited at the head of this article. Agni and Indra are preeminently the Arhats of RV.

2. See my Vedic Exemplarism, *HJAS* I.1936, pp. 44-64.

3. Rather than "one amid many" as rendered by RAWSON, Cf. AA.11.3.8 (4) "In it in Unity all the Gods subsist."

4. Or "dispenses their 'goods'",—whatever these may be. The Spirit lends itself indifferently to all modalities of being : "The same am I in all beings ; there is none hateful to me nor dear" (BG. IX.29). The participation of essence (*ātmāmaṁ vibhajya pūrayati imān lokān*, mu. VI. 26) gives to individual potentialities the opportunity to become what they have it in them to become and this "creation" is a necessary part of the "plan of redemption", because in the last analysis all pursuit of any good is the pursuit of universal good ("God is called 'good' as being that by which all things are", Dionysius, *De div. Nom.* IV.1 : "It is not for their own sake, but for the sake of the Spiritual-essence that all things are 'dear'", i.e. are thought of as "goods", (BU.II.45 and IV.5, followed almost verbatim by S.I. 75=Udāna 47). But if the divine essence gives to all things indiscriminately their being, the manner of their being depends upon themselves and is determined by the specific virtue that each thing "milks" from the divine nature, Natura naturans, Creatrix, Viraja in AV.VIII.10.22 f., or as it can be otherwise expressed, determined by mediate causes (*karma*) according to which "fate lies in the created causes themselves" (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* I.116.2).

We need hardly say that Prajāpati and Death are one and the same "beyond the Falcon", but here considered ab extra under two different aspects : just as the Buddha and Māra are one, but considered in this world necessarily as contrasted and mutually conflicting principles. The Progenitor, the Wake, is the Son, or God, the principle of Life, as distinguished from Death, the Sleeper, the Father, or Godhead, the Ender : it is the Supreme Identity of both "whose likeness is both of Life and Death" (RV.X.121.2), who "unifies some and separates others" (AA. III.2.3.) and can be referred to as saying "I kill and I make alive" (Dent.XXII.39). Light and Darkness, Coolth and Heat (*chāya-tapau*, III.1, see discussion below) are outwardly contrasted, as the sacerdotal and secular arts are contrasted in JB. But this does not mean that the sacerdotal and the secular art are without analogy, such an analogy for example as we shall presently recognize as subsisting between the *anekarūpa* and *vittamayī* "chains" : "All music is an earthly representation of the music that there is in the rhythm of the ideal world" (Plotinus, *Enneads*, V.9.11). "Thine be the dance and song" can have one meaning as spoken by Naciketas for whom in his "simplicity", "Death" is rather the event (*punar mṛtyu*) than the person (*Mṛtyu*) "who does not die" (SB.) but another and *paramārthika* significance for the Comprehensor, *ya evaṃ veda*. For if the song and dance are Death's in one way in this world, they are his in another way yonder, "in Yama's seat, that 'God-home' hight, there flutes are blown for him, there is he adorned with songs". To have renounced the secular art is to have obtained the sacerdotal, in which the secular exists more eminently ;¹ just as to have renounced the *vittamayī* chain is also to have obtained the *anekarūpa*. In this sense *tava nṛtya-gīte* is not so much "Thine be the dance and song" but "Thine are the dance and song" essentially.

(To be continued)

1 Cf. St. Bonaventura's *De reductione artium ad theologiam*. Op. 4 in *Opera Omnia*, Florence, 1891.

SCHOPENHAUER AND INDIA*

By

HEINRICH ZIMMER

The ideas of Europe about India underwent a radical change since its seafaring peoples, the Portuguese and the Dutch, the English and the French, bent on commerce and conquest, penetrated that distant country, and travellers and missionaries brought new reports of it which added fresh colours and new traits to the obscure and often fabulous picture that ancient tradition had conveyed of the far-off land of India ; but it was not until the West stood face to face with the great crisis in its own inheritance, a crisis which was never to end, that the most secret features of the primeval countenance of India, instinct with mystery, assumed real significance in the eyes of the West : when the period of the Enlightenment dissolved the shell of its faith and the Revolution of 1789 tore from its foundations the old structure of mediæval Christian and antique Baroque forms of life and power. Then Europe, unfettered on the path of its own individual fate, mighty to fulfil its destiny, rushed headlong into the adventure of the immeasurable and illimitable, and roused the older, slumbering continents from their repose, dragging them along with it, gradually but forcefully into the vortex of its dissolution, which wrought deeper changes in the crust of the earth, as far as mankind is concerned, than even the primeval transition from the Stone Age to the Bronze Age had been able to do.

Every time when the divine idea grows powerless, the strength of the Titans attains boundless force and merciless dominion : thus does the Indian mythus interpret the world drama and that period of the world's history when Schopenhauer was born, whose voice was to be the first to give the doctrine of India that mysterious ringing sound in the ears of the West and that lofty position in the choir of spirits which it has ever since occupied in the circle of those who know. The remarkable thing is how little India speaks with her own voice in Schopenhauer's principal work, especially in his first decisive cast even in the second mature form of his doctrine which gathers the fruit of a long acquaintance with a life rich in its solitude, into the barn with the spirits of the ages, the treasury of ancient Indian words and symbols, which was even then palpable, was only utilized very incidentally.

In HEGEL's great review of world history and world religions we get far more first-hand knowledge from Indian sources about India's great and remarkable countenance ; and if a hundred years after HEGEL apt information is adduced to interpret and reveal India from an incomparably richer treasury of sources

* Abridged English version of a paper entitled "Schopenhauer und Indien" contributed to the Jubilee Volume of *Jahrbuch der Schopenhauergesellschaft*, published in Germany on 22nd February, 1938, to celebrate the 150th birthday of that great German philosopher.

which has since been unlocked, it can easily become, as it were, a beautiful exegesis and a fuller painting of the few lapidary traits in the sketch which the eagle eye of HEGEL's historical genius detected beneath India's dark mask. But it was far from HEGEL, as a pioneer of Europe's future in remembering vanishing forms of humanity, to allow himself to fall under the spell of India's gesture ; hence his presentation of India, masterly though it was, did not cast a glamour over anyone ; indeed, it was at first lost in the huge masses of his work, until a later epoch brought it to light once more, to separate its immortal part from the dust.

SCHELLING, who in the depth of his philosophizing, when he is not even thinking about India, was so near to some fundamental figures of its interpretation of the universe—for instance when he speaks of the "wrath of God" or the "madness which rends itself" as the moving force at the bottom of all things—has made a thoroughly rambling study of the ancient Indian gods in his vast work written in his old age, but the precious metal of his thought, which comes to light in many places in gleaming veins, is here, as it were, blasted and lost sight of, among the rocks and stones.

SCHOPENHAUER makes only sparing allusions to India in his principal work ; he apparently has no need of India when explaining himself in the mirror of the riddle of the universe ; the Greek myth—"the Wheel of Ixion stands still"—says in a single metaphor everything there is to say about suffering and release ; but beside it the dictum of the "Veil of Maya" is certainly an immortally stamped sign. But Sophocles and Calderon, Shakespeare and Goethe, are the leading voices of the Chorus with which the hermit holds colloquy ; Plato and the Mystics, Seneca and the masters of the sentence in France, England and Spain, are those whom he invokes, in order to say what all ages felt when they rose above the perplexity of life to survey it but which no philosopher in the West before him had raised to the dignity of a convincing doctrine. The later writings on ethics do, it is true, show a more visible reference to Indian teachings—with a preference for Buddhism but these writings are complementary in nature ; in the Dresden period of the first great cast he is scarcely concerned with guidance for the conduct of life as regards the outside world, or with the social consequences of the new and terrifying aspect of the world. He is concerned rather with the interpretation of existence, its meaning and its profound mystery.

The Upanishads, which have been praised by him so highly, could no doubt furnish a few isolated sayings as a consolatory and fortifying drug against the incurable suffering in life—"the knot of the heart is unbound" and paint the Fata Morgana of the state of an accomplished inversion of the will, in glowing colours on the iron firmament. But taken as a whole and with reference to their thousands of years' significance in India, they are the adamant foundation of its deepest faith and its purest piety, they teach the divine sport and the supramundane peace in the fearful convulsion of forces of the timeless course of the universe, and they are the way to bestow on man-

kind the kernel of the divine imperishable in the shell of its individuation so grievously exposed to pain. They are the jewel on the brow of the Hindu faith—and in SCHOPENHAUER they charmed an agnostic, who ushered Europe into the new era of its unbelief, and strode undaunted into the icy blast of an atmosphere mercilessly despoiled of gods.

SCHOPENHAUER does not draw on the Bhagavad-Gītā, which had just been made available through SCHLEGEL'S translation, which HUMBOLDT welcomed as the consolation of his old age, and which Hegel appreciated as a document—the fearful and lofty power in the world and the ego, which Schopenhauer called “will,” is here certainly conceived as all-divine. All the classical wisdom of India in Hinduism is religious ; hence the Indian element in the agnostic “World as Will and Idea” could not be much more than the enchanting note of a strange new instrument in the deep fulness of sounds in this symphony which played lights and shades as yet unknown around the basic melody—but this melody arose alone from the labyrinth of the breast of the solitary world-seer.

A doctrine of release without a way of release—measured by all kindred Indian doctrines of the initiated—a picture of the world by which he who created it with the eye of knowledge has himself become bewitched, and grows chill as though in the magic circle of his own enlightenment, at the same time finds repose under the curse which has fallen upon him, so that, in the pure perception of what is spiritually permeated, he may taste the thrill of inversion and liberation, which, like the Promised Land before the eyes of the dying Moses, appears on the horizon, an unattainable promise.

The goal was certainly more understood than realised ; but the primal knowledge which originated in Schopenhauer's mind and needed no hint from India : of the blind will as a world-permeating being and world-moving force, which soaring through realms of forms in Nature and purifying itself is capable of illuminating itself in man,—this is just as closely akin to Indian doctrine, spirit of the spirit of India, as Schopenhauer's personality and mode of life were far removed from the Yogis and Brahmans, teachers and ascetics of India. A specimen of a tenacious capitalist, disgruntled and moody, but who knew how to make the most of life, obstinate and naïve in his vital joy in fame, immortality and long life, godless, and yet strong, and in this a type of the coming era, homeless on earth and in heaven, feeling at home only in the realm of spirits and among his books : that is the outer shell of his individuation—no genuine wanderer in that sphere at whose border all signatures change, the stars fall and the force of gravity comes to a standstill, no mendicant pilgrim with other-worldly smile, whose symbol for India is the wandering wild swan as an allegory of the released soul : he has pulled both feet out of the waters of life and the nourishing mire of ever renewed spontaneous generation, to soar in wheeling flight over fertile tracts and waste lands and to raise himself to the eternal snowy peaks of abstraction, the abode of the gods between crystal lakes.

The formula of the "Veil of Maya" contains the question : By what standard does an individual compare himself with the universe and the ego ? What does he recognize to be the essence of the universe and of his own Self ? What Schopenhauer called "Will," is called in India "Shakti," i.e. "Energy." Shakti is the last word in Indian world-interpretation in later Hinduism, the almighty keyword for the revealed mystery of the divine in man and universe.

To comprehend that all appearance is material and moving "Energy" of the all-divine—Shiva's consort clasping the eternal rest of the all-god in eternal embrace of wild surrender, and igniting herself thereat to sport without end, his world-creating side and half—to comprehend Shakti as the sum of substance of all life, means to the Indian to realise the identity of what is lovely with what is destructive. The love-call and the death-dealing thrust gush from the same spring of life which pours forth, tumbling headlong in its desire to rush out into the wide world ; the sweet vague aspirations in the charm of childlike youths and in the tender young women are one with the poverty of decay, the horror of disintegration ; the vague impulse of life, which goes on reproducing and consuming its warmth, is one Shakti—with the flashing clear glance from the third eye of knowledge.

All are gestures of Shakti—he who plans creation, implies death ; lovers, who seek each another with kisses and lose themselves in each another, are of a piece with the dumb diversity of all decay, which is taking place unseen simultaneously all around them and which will soon disintegrate them too while they in pure spontaneity propagate new life from their inmost energy, and, carried away beyond themselves, complete the circle of creation, the flashing circle of the stream, the same electric power passes through them as, flashing from the sky, transforms the trees into blazing torches and reduces them to charred stumps, which threshes the corn by impregnating the soil.

The insight into the profound oneness of contrasts, which India early developed, regards all the diversity of the gestures of life as ultimately one : as the unending sport of Shakti, as the mimic dance of the goddess of the world-energy, who in the rhythmic motion of her limbs and inexhaustible movements becomes intoxicated with herself.

Here fails the half-breed nature of specious innocence of thought ; no room remains for sentimental classifications, as though what is idyllically harmless had no essential part in the unbounded raging of life in constant self-mutilation—as though the one were not always in the other, and all in all, although slumbering in the background only thinly concealed by a single surface : as if kisses and bites, life and death were not unceasingly intermingling. The idyll of a smiling flowering plant is forced up by the passion to reproduce itself *unceasingly, by the vaguely embittered struggle for every crumb of earth.*

The thousandfold flickering face of divine reality, the essence of which is Shakti, deceives no believer by its light and joyous colours which transform the landscape of life, no more than by its heart-rending darkness and the terror of annihilation which bellows forth from its all-devouring paws. The

Shakti of the god has been world-mother from time immemorial, mother of all creation, and "Thou art the Mother" calls the sacrificial creature towards those jaws which must devour it in the eternal to and fro of universal evolution and devolution—"Thou art the Mother, and I am Thy child"—or : "It is indeed Thou, Lord, in the whirlpool of annihilation as in the sport of becoming, and I am Thou in my deepest essence"—and herewith the victim overcomes the inexpressible violence of life which to the individual certainly must appear as pure destruction, if he gazes without faith into the face of the transitoriness of all individuation.

Meaningless and indestructible, this divine whole, as it renews itself unceasingly, eternally in the play of myriads of rises and falls ; in dumb silence the comprehending creature gazes into this spectrum and kaleidoscope of divine power, as it emits sparks—worlds and creatures—and hurls them together in confusion, thereby forming ever new glowing constellations and bursting into flames swallows up all : moments in the life of an individual and great world-epochs incapable of interpretation and pregnant with significance, springing up, mown down and already turned to dust.

A silent pause, as eye to eye : all that am I myself—with all its rainbow colours the most flattering happiness and horror rush through my inner being, a rain of gleaming stars and deadly meteors whirls round about me like the wandering whirlwind of a desert, which scatters night before the eye and chokes the breath, and drags me too like a grain of sand into the divine progress of its deadly vortex—like falling stars we plunge through God's space and are sheltered therein.

The inexorableness of such a vision of reality has been familiar in India from ancient times ; to SCHOPENHAUER was given, not the mentality which responds to this in India, but a genuine glimmer of this vision. He was the first among the Western people to speak of this in an incomparable manner—in that great cloudburst of European-Christian atmosphere, the cold breath of which inspired JEAN PAUL with the title of one of his most beautiful nocturnal visions : "Rede des toten Christus vom Weltgebäude herab, dass kein Gott sei" ("Speech of the dead Christ from the edifice of the universe that there is no God"). As with a magic wand SCHOPENHAUER broke the barrier which separated Europe from the landscape of India's spirits ; with his perception life looked at itself as though with Indian eyes ; but India herself teaches how life can be a match for this reality which it comprehends in itself.

AN IMPLICATION OF THE BHAGVADGĪTĀ RIDDLE

By

F. O. SCHRADER

The tantalising problem¹ of the $1\frac{1}{2}$ ślokas attributing, in some manuscripts, at the beginning of the Bhiṣmavadhaparvan 620 ślokas to Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, 57 to Arjuna, 67 to Saṁjaya, and one śloka to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, i.e., 46 more to Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, 27 less to Arjuna, and 26 more to Saṁjaya than in the common Gītā is not removed by the indubitable fact that the passage containing those ślokas (stanzas 1-5 following the Bhagavadgītā) is an interpolation. For, however late that passage may be, the Bhagavadgītā to which it refers must be older and may be even considerably older, and those ślokas must have been composed by one who had actually before him a Bhagavadgītā of that description. Equally the author of the slightly modified corresponding passage in the two Kashmirian manuscripts mentioned by Mr. *Tadpatrikar*² must have really counted the stanzas of his Bhagavadgītā and found that in it Arjuna speaks only 55 and Saṁjaya only 65 stanzas.

There was, then, a Bhagavadgītā different from ours in the mentioned way, and the task is thrown upon us to find out, if possible, something more about the relation of the two than is indicated by the difference in the number of ślokas attributed to the several speakers. We may at once rule out from our inquiry the Bhagavadgītā of the *Suddha Dharma Mandala* of Madras (published in 1917), because this, not to speak of the artificiality of its composition, agrees but imperfectly with the scheme of our Mahābhārata passage. For, though it does consist of 745 stanzas and makes Dhṛtarāṣṭra speak his one stanza and Saṁjaya 67, Arjuna gets in it not 57 but $68\frac{1}{2}$ stanzas and Śrī-Kṛṣṇa not 620 but only 608 $\frac{1}{2}$. We have, then, here an attempt to fabricate a Bhagavadgītā conforming to our Mahābhārata passage and consequently later than it. Now, as more often than not in the case of a work existing in two recensions the longer one has been found to be the later one, we shall naturally try first to understand our problem from this point of view.

Our provisional supposition, then, is that at a time when the Bhagavadgītā was not yet as sacrosanct as it has been since more than a millennium this same Bhagavadgītā as we now have it was re-written with some additions

1. Recently solved by Pandit R. M. Shastri, M.A., with the help of an amazingly simple but unfortunately unacceptable method; see Mr. S. N. *Tadpatrikar*'s paper "The Computation of the Bhagavadgītā" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, vol. XVIII, 1937, pp. 357-360.

2. Loc. cit. p. 357, foot-note.

and omissions. Now, we can well imagine that the revisor added *bona fide* to, or interpolated in, the speeches of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa some more stanzas of the Lord's known to him from other sources. We can also understand that he saw no harm in adding, where this appeared to be desirable to him for the sake of clearness or otherwise, some ślokas (borrowed or of his own making) to those spoken by Saṁjaya. We can, however, not understand his omitting any ślokas of the present Gītā. For, what could have induced him to do so? Certainly not the discovery that as many as 27 out of the 84 ślokas attributed to Arjuna were worth nothing! Nor a compulsion felt to stick to the total of 700 stanzas of the Gītā under revision; for, the revisor's additions (72 stanzas) far outnumber his omission of only the 27 stanzas taken away from Arjuna's share. Nor, thirdly, the wish to gain more room, in a Gītā restricted to 745 stanzas, for his additional 46 and 26 stanzas spoken resp. by Śrī-Kṛṣṇa and Saṁjaya; for, in the first place, nobody would in a Kṛṣṇārjuna-saṁvāda shorten Arjuna's speeches and increase Saṁjaya's (the less so as the latter could even be shortened by at least eight ślokas, viz., I 15-18 and XI 10-13); and, secondly, 745 not being a holy or lucky number, nothing evidently need have hindered the compiler to compose a Gītā of 750 or more stanzas.

No other conclusion can be drawn from this consideration but that those 27 ślokas exceeding in the current Gītā the number of those spoken by Arjuna in the longer one were not known to the compiler of the latter, and thus the supposition that he had before him our present Gītā falls to the ground.

But what does this mean? It can mean nothing less than that those 27 ślokas, since they were missing but cannot have been omitted in Vaiśampāyana's Gītā (as outlined by his śloka summary) must be a later addition to the original Gītā, no matter whether the latter itself or only a later recension truer to the original than those known to us was the basis of the Gītā of 745 ślokas referred to in the summary.

And now we cannot, of course, resist the temptation to see whether and where among the 84 stanzas attributed to Arjuna in our own Gītā we can discover twenty-seven which are not necessary for the context and thus may be regarded as interpolated.

That there are interpolations in the Bhagavadgītā was noticed as soon as it became known in Europe, viz., by the great *Wilhelm von Humboldt* who found it difficult to believe that the last seven adhyāyas up to XVIII 62 are an original part of the Gītā. More than a century has elapsed since (1826). and during it many scholars have expressed their opinion on the problem with the result that in the West the almost general opinion is at present that the Gītā cannot have been from the beginning what it is now. Farthest of all went the late Professor *Winternitz* who, not satisfied with *Garbe's* deletion of 170 stanzas, refused to recognize as original parts of the Gītā the whole of the famous eleventh canto as well as the whole of the last six cantos with the sole exception of XVIII 55-66. The last one who wrote on the problem

is the late Professor *Rudolf Otto* of Marburg University.¹ He endeavoured to show that the *Gītā* has had much the same evolution as the *Mokṣadharma* : as the dying *Bhīṣma's* "few reconciling and consolatory speeches," which alone could have been part of the epic proper, became the "nest" of numerous treatises, so the "primitive *Gītā*" (*Urgītā*) of 156 verses² gradually grew, first by the intrusion of eight "didactic treatises" (*Lehrtraktate*)³ and then by many "glosses," the same (with some exceptions) as, and a few more than, those pointed out by *Garbe*. His view of canto XI was identical with *Humboldt's*, viz., that it is the very acme of the *Gītā*, and thus diametrically opposed to that of *Winternitz*.⁴

We are here concerned with the glosses only, and of them merely with those belonging to Arjuna's speeches. *Garbe* eliminates seventeen of Arjuna's ślokas, viz., VIII 1-2, X 12-18, and XI 15-16, 18-19, and 37-40 ; while *Otto* prints (in small type, i.e.) as glosses merely VIII 1-2 and, with doubt (mark of interrogation), XI 15-16, 18 and 37-40, and thus not X 12-18 which is for him an original part of the "treatise" X 12-42, as it is, indeed, also for *Garbe* who, without distinguishing between treatises and glosses, excludes X 12-42 from his primitive *Gītā*. Thus, *Garbe* and *Otto* could furnish us at the best but 10 of the 27 stanzas we are in need of. This shows that we must direct our inquiry to some other part or parts of the *Gītā*.

Now, it is easy to see that the bulk of the additions we are looking for must be contained in canto XI. For, this most admired canto of the *Bhagavadgītā* is on account of its highly imaginative character specially favourable to enlargement, and of the two cantos containing many ślokas spoken by Arjuna (viz., I with 21 and XI with 33) it is the one where a fairly large number thereof can be spared. Not much is lost and the context is not disturbed if we omit stanzas 1 and 2, 15 to 30, and 36 to 44. This gives us exactly twenty-seven stanzas, it being remarkable that apparently not one more can be spared in the *adhyāya* in Arjuna's speeches. Let us now examine more closely these omissions which, as we have seen, are in reality additions.

Stanza XI 1 appears in *Garbe's* translation as part of the original *Gītā*, but in his Appendix he has the following note on it : "We could suspect that

1. See my detailed criticism of his three works concerned in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1936, columns 107-118.

2. Viz., *Adhy.* I ; II 1-13, 20, 22, 29-37 ; X 1-8 ; XI 1-17, 20-36, 41-51 ; and XVIII 58-61, 66, 72-73 (dash = "to", incl.).

3. Viz., XI 52-XII 20 ; XIV-XV ; XVI-XVIII 57 ; XIII ; V ; VI-IX ; II 39-IV ; and X 12-42. About the order of this arrangement we are left in the dark. If it is meant to be chronological, there must be a mistake in it ; for, the fifth treatise is said to be an appendix to the seventh.

4. According to whom this canto, caused by the "highly insipid appearance of Krishna as All-God" in canto X, is only a "dramatic tinsel in the Puranic style" the omission of which would make one miss "absolutely nothing" (*WZKM.* 1907, pp. 196 ff.).

the first verse also of canto XI still belongs to the large interpolation [preceding it, viz. X 12-42]. It strikes one that Arjuna declares already here (when no less than eight cantos are still to follow) that thanks to Kṛṣṇa's teaching his delusion has disappeared. For, Kṛṣṇa asks about it only where it is to be expected, viz. at the end of the poem, in XVIII 72; and there only (in 73) can Arjuna's confession be called justified and in the right place. But I do not wish to attach too much weight to inconsistencies like this in a poem." That the second śloka is also redundant needs the less be proved as śloka 3 is a perfectly suitable beginning of the adhyāya. The word *ugra-rūpo* in 31 seems to point back to the expressions of fear (see esp. 20, 21, 23) in stanzas 15-30, but Arjuna's awe being already indicated by *kṛṣṇaromā* in 14, those stanzas may as well be understood as an expansion of 31 by a revisor who felt inspired to picture Arjuna's feelings; and this accounts also for the interpolation of 36-44 intervening between two stanzas the close connection of which is obvious by *vepamānaḥ* (35) and *bhayena ca pravṛtthitam mano me* (45).

It may be objected that not all of the twenty-seven additional ślokas need be contained in canto XI. But the following consideration will show that this objection can at most affect but two of the ślokas concerned. The author of the Bhagavadgītā of the *Suddha Dharma Mandala*¹ has omitted even 30 verses of Arjuna's from those appearing in the vulgate of the Bhagavadgītā, viz., I 32-44 and 46; II 4 and 8; III 2; IV 4; VI 38; and XI 19-20, 22-27, 29-31. But he could do so only by ignoring the division into 18 adhāyas and trying to distribute as suited his fancy the 700 verses among the 26 adhyāyas (or subjects) wanted for his "ancient" Gītā, with the result that there remained 30 of Arjuna's verses which he could not manage and thus quietly ignored.² In a Gītā of 18 adhyāyas, however, essentially identical with ours none of those omissions can be justified (neither as such nor as interpolations) except only those in adhy. XI, and these are included in our supposed interpolation 15-30, with the sole exception of 31 which cannot be missed for the context. All interpolations assumed by *Garbe* for canto XI are also included in ours, and of the rest there remain only stanzas VIII 1-2 which may, indeed, but need not be an interpolation,—need not, because we do not acknowledge *Garbe's* reason for excluding them (and the next two), which is, as in many other cases, his erroneous belief that in the Bhagavadgītā everything advaitic must be

1. The complete absence of a sense of propriety (let alone historical sense) in the author of this fabrication is best illustrated by the fact that he includes in the Bhagavadgītā Arjuna's *devistuti* from the last but one of the preceding chapters of the Bhagavadgītā-parvan.

2. It remains curious that he left Saṁjaya with a whole skin. But this is evidently due to his looking at Saṁjaya's ślokas as the frame of the Gītā to be preserved at any cost and even requiring enlargement. So he actually added (with the help of other chapters of the Bhiṣmaparvan) 10 and 25 ślokas resp. to those spoken by Saṁjaya in the first and in the last chapter of the Gītā.

spurious. Still, it being difficult to account for XI 1-2 as an addition, while the reason for adding stanzas VIII 1-2 could be found in the idea that stanzas VIII 3-4 presuppose (which in reality they do not) a question by Arjuna, we admit that these rather than XI 1-2 may belong to the 27 ślokas added.

The fact that it is just the eleventh canto which has thus been found to contain the 27 ślokas missing in Vaiśampāyana's Gītā, or at least 25 of them, is another reason for the unlikeliness of their having been omitted. Read this canto and ask yourself whether any admirer of the Gītā could conceive the idea of shortening it and, supposing even there was one, whether he would have omitted exactly those ślokas. We hold that canto XI, when once it had attained its present shape, could not be shortened. The *Ś. Dh. M.* Gītā cannot be instanced against this thesis, because it is a unique case. We have seen that it cannot be the Gītā referred to by Vaiśampāyana, and we cannot reasonably assume that his was a Gītā similar to it, i.e., essentially different from ours. There is too much against assuming that ever before the *Ś. Dh. M.* Gītā the disastrous idea entered a person's mind that, for discovering the original Gītā, the 700 stanzas of the current one must be shuffled like a pack of cards. That ingenious person, indeed, but none else, could think it fit to distribute the majority of Arjuna's ślokas, as contained in the vulgate, among sixteen of his newly created twenty-six adhyāyas and deliver to oblivion the remaining thirty ślokas.

Adding rather than omitting or a mere copyist's mistake is possibly also the key to the *varietas lectionis* mentioned at the beginning of this paper. For, a copyist cannot well have twice mistaken *sapta* for *pañca* and it is less likely that Vaiśampāyana's Gītā should have been shortened, intentionally or by negligence, by two of Arjuna's stanzas and two of Saṁjaya's than that a Gītā of 741 stanzas was brought up to the more perfect number 745. In the latter case, then, the reading of the two Kashmirian manuscripts would go back to an older source than the one making the Gītā consist of 745 stanzas, and we get a glimpse of the gradual growth of the Gītā from an unknown stage or number of stages to 671 stanzas (i.e., the vulgate *minus* 29 stanzas of Arjuna's) and, from that point, in two diverging lines viz., (1) to a Gītā of 698 stanzas, i.e., 671 increased by 27 of Arjuna's and then, by means of two more stanzas attributed to him, to the 700 stanzas of the vulgate; and, on the other hand, (2) to 741 stanzas, i.e. the vulgate *minus* 29 stanzas of Arjuna's and *plus* 70 stanzas, not contained in the vulgate, of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa's and Saṁjaya's, and from here, viz. by adding from the complete vulgate 2 more stanzas of Arjuna's and besides² 2 more stanzas of Saṁjaya's, to the 745 stanzas of Vaiśampāyana's Gītā. If this is what has happened, then not 27 but 29 ślokas spoken by Arjuna have to be accounted for as missing in the

1. Whether from the vulgate or not we cannot tell because in Vaiśampāyana's Gītā there are 26 stanzas more spoken by S. than in the vulgate, and the two added ones may be among them.

original Gītā, and the two latest ones would have to be either XI 1-2, or VIII 1-2, or two of the group X 12-16, say 12 and 13.

My conclusion, then, is that what I call the Bhagavadgītā riddle reveals to us by its very form the existence of two recensions not now available of the Bhagavadgītā, to wit : one which was longer than the two known to us (the vulgate and the Kashmirian one) and one which was shorter and therefore, at least as regards the eleventh canto, more original than both of the two. There has been, as I said, since *W. v. Humboldt's* days the persistent persuasion among Western scholars, shared also by some in India, that the original Bhagavadgītā must have been shorter than the current one. But no coercive literary evidence could so far be given for it. The fact that the Javanese Bhagavadgītā¹ stops at XIV 26 and has after this stanza only one more, viz., XVIII 66, strangely agrees, though not exactly, with the theory of *Humboldt*, *Hopkins*, and others, but can as yet not be claimed as an unequivocal proof for the existence of a shorter Gītā earlier than ours. But Vaiṣampāyana's śloka summary, as I believe to have shown, actually implies such proof.

There must have been Bhīṣmaparvan manuscripts in which the śloka summary was actually preceded by a Bhagavadgītā conforming to it. Might not such manuscripts be still in existence? Their containing the longer Gītā may have merely escaped attention, because readers of the Mahābhārata are apt to pass over the Bhagavadgītā (if not already omitted in their manuscript),² as they know it well enough, often by heart. All Bhīṣmaparvan manuscripts, not only those containing the śloka record (which may be quite a late addition), should therefore be examined with an eye to the possibility of their containing a Bhagavadgītā different from ours (longer or shorter). As regards the Persian translation of a Bhagavadgītā of 745 stanzas, which began to attract attention eight years ago³ and of which manuscripts are

1. To which I called attention in 1933 in the *Winternitz* congratulatory volume and once more in 1936 in my criticism of *Otto's Gītā*. It has meanwhile been published by Prof. *Gonda* of Utrecht.

2. It is said to be missing in many manuscripts, and here again, though many a time it may have been actually omitted, the possibility is given that it was not originally in the Mahābhārata. It begins abruptly, not like a continuation of the preceding chapters, and its very existence is contradicted by the fact that almost immediately before it, viz. in Bhīṣmaparvan XXI, the very same Arjuna whose despondency is at the root of the Bhagavadgītā consoles and encourages the despairing Dhṛtarāṣṭra and shows himself fully convinced that "where there is righteousness, there is victory" (11) and "where Kṛṣṇa is, there is victory" (12). My own opinion is that the Gītā and the chapters preceding it belong to two different versions of the great epic which were amalgamated in too clumsy a way to render unrecognizable their difference of provenience, and that the Gītā thus incorporated consisted originally of only chapters I, II 1-38, and the śloka XVIII 73.

3. See the *Śrīmadbhagavadgītānka* of the Hindī journal *Kalyan* (Gorakhpur, 1929), pp. 388-89, and now *Jivaram Kalidas Shastri's* edition and translation of the Kashmirian Bhagavadgītā (Gondal, 1937), Introduction, pp. 24 ff.

said to exist both in India and England, it will perhaps prove to be a mere attempt (similar to, though less fantastic than, the *Ś. Dh. M. Gītā*) to conform to Vaiśampāyana's śloka record with the help of the sections preceding the *Gītā* in the *Bhagavadgītāparvan* or (and) of other parts of the *Mahābhārata*.¹ But, however this may be, it is now time that Persian scholars should be approached to enlighten us on the subject.

1. Opinions may have differed sometime as to the beginning of the *Bhagavadgītā* within the *Bagavadgītā-parvan* (=adhy. XIII to XLII of the *Bhīṣmaparvan*), as there is more than one chapter in the latter (e.g., XIX and XX) which could be understood as such.

WHAT IS AVIJÑAPTIRŪPA (CONCEALED FORM OF ACTIVITY)?*

By

V. V. GOKHALE

The Buddhists classify the elements of existence—and this is no doubt one of the oldest classifications—into five groups (*skandha*), among which the first group, viz. the *Rūpaskandha*, may be said to correspond roughly to the modern conception of matter and the remaining four groups, viz. *Vedanā* (feelings), *saṃjñā* (concepts), *Samskāra* (volitional forces) and *Vijñāna* (consciousness) to what we call mind. The *Rūpaskandha* or “matter” is further analysed into eleven physical elements, viz. the five senses (*Cakṣus*, *Śrotra*, *Ghrāṇa*, *Jihvā* and *Kāya*), their five kinds of objects, and *Avijñaptirūpa* as the eleventh.

The designation *Avijñapti* implies, that this particular kind of physical element cannot be revealed to others; unlike the other ten elements of the *Rūpaskandha*, it is unmanifested and undiscoverable. When we promise to do something and then fulfil the promise after some time, the interval between the promise and the overt action of its fulfilment represents the period when the physical action remains unexpressed as *Avijñaptirūpa*. It must not, however, be confounded with the *idea* of doing something, because it owes its existence to some material form, like the one implied in making a promise. Thus, the folding of one's hands in prayer and an accidental, unintentional folding of the hands are two different kinds of action, the former being accompanied by a concealed form of moral activity. Obviously, the *Avijñaptirūpa* has a twofold character. It is not merely a *rūpa*, like the visible, the audible etc., because unmanifested as it is, it always implies some kind of activity (*kriyā*); nor is it mere activity, because it is essentially a product of the material elements and therefore partakes of the nature of *rūpa*. It lies in the very nature of a manifestation or expression, howsoever concealed, to be both, physical as well as active.

All physical actions are either expressed or unexpressed, both being in their turn either corporal or vocal. Supposing a man orders another man to commit an assassination, the man, who instigates the murder, commits a vocal declaration (*vāgvijñapti*) when he gives the order, and the assassin commits a corporal act (*kāyavijñapti*) when he executes the order. Now, however, at the time of the assassination, the instigator has also committed a certain crime, not vocal but corporal, not overt but latent, inasmuch as he has exercised a corporal ‘*avijñapti*’. While the murder was being committed,

* Read at the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference (1937) at Trivandrum.

the instigator might have even forgotten the order given by him, he might be sleeping or thinking of something else. Yet, he was unwittingly doing an act, for which he had made himself responsible by his former '*viññapti*', which, howsoever hidden from the public gaze, is none the less real. There is a corporal '*avijñapti*' born of a former vocal '*viññapti*', viz. the act of giving the order. We shall see later on, that such latent acts are also born in a state of deep concentration or passionlessness of the mind, in which case they are always of the right type (*kuśala*).

This, in short, is the general view of the *Sarvāstivādin*, formulated at length by Vasubandhu in his *Abhidharmakośa*. There are some schools, which regard *Avijñapti*, not as a physical, but as a mental phenomenon, like the *Dharmalakṣaṇa* school. There are others, like the *Sautrāntika*, who do not admit the real existence of any such element as the *Avijñaptirūpa*. However, it will be interesting to pass under review the definitions, given by Vasubandhu, debated by his contemporary, Saṃghabhadra, and commented later on by Sthiramati.

In the *Kośa*, the *Avijñaptirūpa* has been defined as :

*Vikṣiptācittakasyāpi yo'nubandhaḥ śubhāśubhaḥ ,
Mahābhūtānyupādāya sāhyavijñaptirucyate . (I.11)*

(*Avijñapti* is that stream of action, which, being morally either good or bad, is present even in the mind of a distracted or unconscious person, and which is essentially the product of the material elements.)

We do not propose to go here into the detailed manner, in which Vasubandhu's great contemporary, Saṃghabhadra, tried to demolish, piece by piece, this formulation, which, according to him, was a most unsatisfactory way of representing the *Vaibhāṣika* view of *Avijñapti*. Yaśomitra has quoted in his famous commentary Saṃghabhadra's arguments and very cleverly tried to meet them. But Saṃghabhadra's criticism could not have gone altogether unheeded. He objected to the word 'stream', which seemed to deny the universally accepted momentariness of things. He objected to reference being made only of the 'distracted or unconscious person' to the exclusion of one, who is immersed in deep meditation. And then, if the last-mentioned person was to be understood to have been included in the definition by implication, his *avijñapti* ought to have been specially characterised as being only 'of the right type (*śubha*).' In fact, Saṃgha. finds faults with almost every word of Vasubandhu's formulation, which he brands as being "highly defective, unfounded, full of overstatements and superfluities."

If we give any credence to the tradition, as related by the Tibetan historian, *Bu-ston*, in his *Chos-hByung* (II. 144), Vasubandhu had first published only the metrical part of his *Kośa* for ascertaining the general criticisms of the then known authorities of the *Vaibhāṣika* school. (Also cf. Paramārtha's *Life of Vasubandhu*, trans. by TAKAKUSU, T'oung Pao (1904) pp. 287 ff.) He must, therefore, have had an inkling of the general nature of the

objections, which would be raised against the views represented in it, before he wrote his own commentary (*Bhāṣya*) in its final form and published it. Because, in the *Bhāṣya*, Vasubandhu appears to have tried to forestall some of those objections by offering, as an explanation of the versified text, a more direct and simple prose definition of the *Avijñaptirūpa*. It runs :

Vijñaptisamādhisambhūtaṁ kuśalākuśalam rūpaṁ |

(*Avijñapti* is that physical element, which, being morally either good or bad, is born of either an overt action or deep concentration.)

The critics, who had remained hesitant, so long as they had before them only the pithy versified text, which could admit of various interpretations, if all the implications were brought out, seem to have become vocal, as soon as Vasubandhu published his *Bhāṣya*, giving his own definite explanations. Saṁghabhadra, who had formerly approved of the *Kośa* compilation in general terms, now led the attack, and we have indicated above, how trenchantly he deals with Vasubandhu's formulation of the definition of *Avijñapti*.

He had now one more weapon in his armoury, inasmuch as he could now reproach Vasubandhu for not having given some necessary explanations *even* in his own commentary. Thus he points out, among other things, that it was necessary, at least in the *Bhāṣya*, to qualify the *Avijñaptirūpa* as being unimpeded and susceptible to penetration (*apratigha*). Saṁgha. does not satisfy himself merely by criticising Vasubandhu's definition, but he offers his own definition in the following terms, in his *Samayaṣṭikā*, quoted by Yaśomitra :

Kṛte'pi visabhāge'pi cille cittālyaye ca yat |

Vyākṛtāpratigham rūpaṁ sā hyavijñaptirīṣyate ||

(*Avijñapti* ought to be defined as that physical element, which, being either good or bad, knows no impediment and which is found in either the wakeful, or the concentrated or the absent mind.)

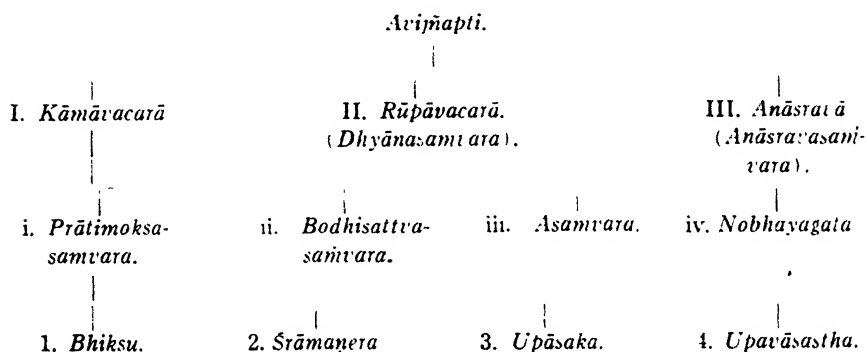
Yaśomitra has tried his best to defend Vasubandhu's definition against Saṁgha's attacks and in his turn to find fault with the new definition, offered by the latter. But Vasubandhu himself, as we have indicated above, seems to be somewhat concerned about his own formulation being exposed to such criticisms. Because, later on, when he wrote his *Pañcaskandhaka* (see my article in *ABORI*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. iii), he again amends his former definition by dropping altogether the qualifying words : "good or bad," and adding two more adjectives, viz. 'unimpeded (*apratigha*),' as suggested by Saṁghabhadra, and 'undemonstrable (*anidarśana*)'—this latter addition containing an altogether new thought, which might have been inspired by some other criticisms, unknown to us. Thus, in the *Pañcaskandhaka* the definition runs as :

Vijñaptisamādhisambhūtaṁ rūpaṁ anidarśanam apratigham ca |

(*Avijñapti* is that physical element, which is born either of overt action

or in the state of deep concentration of the mind and which is neither impeded, nor capable of being demonstrated.)

The fourth chapter of the *Abhidharmakośa*, dealing with the whole problem of Karma in detail, also treats the *Avijñāpti*, giving minute and technical interpretations of the various terms, like 'good' and 'bad,' involved in its definition. We shall here content ourselves with a brief reference to Sthiramati's commentary on the *Pañcaskandhaka*, which, with a smaller exposition, covers the same ground, though with a certain slight emendation, representing his own view of the analysis. Sthiramati's exposition of the *Avijñāpti* may be briefly explained by the following tabular analysis :



Thus, *Avijñāpti* has three spheres of activity. In the first one, i.e. (I) the sensuous world, *Avijñāpti* is born of either a bodily or a vocal action, each of which may be either good or bad, but never indifferent. Further, it can be either of the nature of (i) binding oneself to the observance of the laws of spiritual discipline, on the part of any of the four kinds of monks, male or female, or (ii) binding oneself to the observance of the discipline of a *Bodhisattva*, or (iii) avowing oneself to the path of indiscipline, or (iv) owning oneself to a way of life, that implies neither discipline nor indiscipline. It will be observed, that the second kind of *avijñāpti*, viz. *Bodhisattvasamvara*, is an innovation of Sthiramati, who shows himself here a true disciple of the school, founded by the mystical personality of Maitreya. (In Chinese we have translations of treatises, attributed to Maitreya, like the '*Bodhisattvapraṇīśa*', NANJIO'S Catalogue Nos. 1096, 1098, etc. Similar texts are recorded in Tibetan, UR'S Catalogue Nos. 248, 3970, 4081, etc.). In the second sphere, viz. (II) the higher ethereal world, *Avijñāpti* takes the form of a moral resolution, formed in the state of a trance. In the third sphere, viz. (III) the Path of Salvation, where pure matter exists, the moral resolution is formed in a state of passionlessness.

Thus, the Buddhists, who were from the very beginning far more deeply interested than any other school of Indian philosophy in analysing phenomenon of Karma in all its implications and varieties, have tried to explain here one aspect of it viz. that which passed under the name of "*adṛṣṭa*" among the Brahmanic circles. The virtue, involved in giving charities, visiting holy places

and such other acts, could not be satisfactorily explained or logically derived from merely the manifest acts (*viññapti*) of such religious discipline. Any outside agency being strictly inadmissible in the Buddhist view of the universal becoming, this concealed activity, called the *Avijñaptirūpa* was bound to receive a place in the scheme of the dharma-complexes, which go to make up the stream of worldly existence.

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A NOTE ON THE GAUDĪ RĪTĪ

By

S. K. DE

Even though the literary remains of Bengal in the centuries preceding the advent of the Pāla dynasty, are insufficient and uncertain, we come, for the first time in the 7th century, across distinct references to the literary diction of the Gauḍas. Bāṇabhaṭṭa informs us in a well known verse¹ :

In the North there is mostly play upon words (Śleṣa),² in the West it is only the sense (Artha), in the South it is poetical fancy (Utpre-kṣā), in the Gauḍas there is pomp of syllables (Akṣara-ḍambara)

This apparently disparaging observation regarding the Gauḍas is explained by the suggestion³ that it reflects a partisan spirit on the part of the court-poet of Harṣavardhana, which is also clear from the feeling which he displays towards his patron's rival, the unnamed but much maligned king of Gauda. But the explanation does not become convincing when we consider that in this verse Bāṇabhaṭṭa is stating that poets of the four quarters of India respectively affect only a few peculiar literary excellences and not all, some putting stress on sound, some on sense, some on both, while others indulge in a play of fancy ; for, in the next verse, he regrets that it is difficult to find in one place all that are, in his opinion, desirable excellences of the Kāvya. The position has been often misunderstood, but the view we have taken will be clear if we consider the references to the Gauḍa Mārga or Gauḍī Rīti, which are found in the polemic poetics of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, and which show that at least in the 7th and 8th centuries⁴ the Gauḍī Rīti in its proper form was regarded as a distinct and original achievement in the sphere of literary diction. Along with the Vaidarbhī, the Gauḍī figures as one of the two most important modes of poetic expression, although the theorists are not agreed on the question of their relative superiority. While Bhāmaha (i. 31-2) is impatient with the conventional distinction and preference of the Vaidarbhī and declares his opinion that in its proper form the Gauḍīya diction is even superior, Daṇḍin shows a decided partiality for the Vaidarbha Mārga and a mild aver-

1. *Harṣa-carita*, introductory verse 7.

2. This is the usual translation, following Saṁkara, as well as COWELL and THOMAS ; but the word Śleṣa should be taken here, not in the sense of the figure of speech (Alamkāra) which involves punning or play upon words, but in the sense of Daṇḍin's poetical excellence (Guṇa) of the same name, which emphasises freedom from looseness and compact coalescence of word and sense.

3. S. P. BHATTACHARYA, *The Gauḍī Rīti in Theory and Practice in IHQ*, 1927, p. 378.

4. On the dates of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin see S. K. DE, *Sanskrit Poetics*, I, pp. 48f, 62f.

sion to the Gauḍa. But taking the Vaidarbha mode as the standard, in which are to be found the essential poetical excellences of a good diction, Daṇḍin believes that the Gauḍa is a clearly distinguishable (*prasphuṭāntara*) mode of expression, which, however, often presents a different aspect,¹ the conception of the Gauḍas about the essentials of a diction being apparently different from that of the Vaidarbhas. The opinion of the theorists, therefore, seems to be that the ideals of composition differed fundamentally in these two types of literary production, the Vaidarbhī demanding the correct and classical manner and the Gauḍī preferring the fervid and the grandiose. Daṇḍin further makes it clear that the Gauḍas thereby often lose themselves in bombast and prolixity. If Bāṇabhaṭṭa singles out verbal bombast (*akṣara-dambra*) in the Gauḍas, Daṇḍin likewise speaks of a kind of 'mental bombast' and cumbrous ornamentation when he uses the terms *artha-dambara* and *alamkāra-dambara* in this connexion. Even if their personal preference betrayed disapproval, they had still to take the mode of the Gauḍas into account, presumably because it had attained a commendable position and found favour in an equal degree with a class of writers and readers. It seems, therefore, that even long before Bāṇabhaṭṭa and Daṇḍin, the Gauḍas exhibited a distinctive literary diction of their own,² which, side by side with the widely accepted Vaidarbhī, had an established tradition incapable of being completely ignored. Just as Bengal strove politically in these centuries against the constant aggression of Magadha, Thaneshvar and Kashmir to maintain its independence, it attempted in the literary sphere to withstand the domination of the almost universally accepted Vaidarbha mode of expression and succeeded in establishing its originality.

These references are important in literary history, because they supply undeniable evidence that by the 7th and 8th centuries there must have grown up in Bengal a Sanskrit culture which attained such importance as necessitated the recognition of its characteristic method of expression. Apart from the lucubrations of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, Vāmana in the 9th century expressly

1. Daṇḍin uses the term *viparyaya*, which does not mean *vaiparītya* or contrariety (as the *Hṛdayaṃgamā* commentary takes it), but *anyathātva* or divergence. On this see *IHQ* cited above, and P. C. LAHIRI in *IHQ*, vii (1931), pp. 59f.

2. In the absence of proper data it is impossible to determine when the distinction between Vaidarbha and Gauḍa modes was first recognised. H. JACOBI (*Māhārāṣṭrī*, pp. xvi f) suggests that the simpler Vaidarbha style was a reaction against the older and more elaborate Gauḍa style and came into existence probably in the 3rd century A.D. It is possible to argue, on the contrary, that the Gauḍa style, which asserts itself more and more in the later Kāvya, was itself a symbol of further development, exhibiting a tendency towards greater elaboration. Both the standpoints ignore the possibility of the two styles developing concurrently as rival modes. The controversy of the rhetoricians makes it probable that both the Rītis developed side by side and entered into a competition for mastery.—Bharata in his *Nāṭya-śāstra* (ed. GROSSE, iv. 26) speaks of four dramatic modes or *Pravṛttis*, viz., *Āvāntī*, *Pañcāla-madhyamā*, *Dākṣiṇātyā* and *Oḍra-māgadhi*, the last of which is expressly stated to have been employed in the eastern provinces, including *Āṅga*, *Vaṅga*, *Paundra* and *Nepāla* (xiv. 45-47), there being no special Gauḍī *Pravṛtti*.

states¹ that the discussion is not academic, but that the names of the recognised literary dictions were derived from the fact that the particular diction was prevalent in the particular locality.¹ It is probable, therefore, that the theory of diction arose, even before Daṇḍin and Vāmana who tacitly accept it, from an empirical analysis of the prevailing peculiarities of literary expression in different localities. This would furnish enough ground for the inference of a lost Gauḍa literature, which received recognition from the theorists, but over which they entertained an honest difference of opinion. In the following centuries, however, the much criticised Gauḍī Rīti must have overstepped its geographical limits; and, having been found even in non-Gauḍa works, it became in later Poetics a generic name for a particular kind of pompous diction, abounding in alliteration and long compounds; and as such, it decidedly declined in the favour of the theorists.²

1. *Kāvya-lamkāra-sūtra-vṛtti*, 1. 2. 10

2. So also Kuntaka (end of the 10th century) in his *Vakrokti-jivita* (ed. S. K. DE), 2nd ed., p. 45.

3. It is curious that at the end of the 10th century Rājasekhara, who recognises but does not appear to show much admiration for the composition of the Gauḍas in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, makes Māgadhi take the place of the Gauḍī in the enumeration of the Rītis in his *Karpūra-maṇjari* (i, 1); while Bhoja in the 11th century follows him in mentioning the Māgadhi, along with the Gauḍī, although he regards the former as a Khaṇḍa-rīti. But the Māgadhi as a separate Rīti did not have much recognition; it came into existence through the scholastic zeal for distinctions displayed by later writers, which led to a constant multiplication of the number of styles.

A HALLMARK OF MAN AND OF RELIGION

By

MRS. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

My Indian readers will probably know, that by 'hallmark' we mean the quite essential *lakṣaṇa* of anything, and that the figure so called stamped at the Goldsmiths' Hall on articles of precious metal, attests their purity. I here use the word to mean what is, for me, an essential quality in man's nature as an essential quality in all true religious teaching. Such teaching is not mainly concerned with man as 'one who is,' with man as 'being,' with man as maintaining this difference, that likeness, as to this or that. It sees in the man one-who-is-becoming; it sees him as willing to become a more, however he figure to himself that more. In particular it sees him as willing to become a more in the worthier, the better, the higher.

It is of profound interest to see this sense of man's nature, as presenting a 'more,' emerging into articulate thought in Indian culture. I have treated of it at some length in *Birth of Indian Psychology*¹ as attesting the new attitude of Analysis that was, it may be in consequence of the almost mythical Kapila's teaching, becoming felt. We see as it were the dawn of this outlook in the distinction, not earlier I think than the Brāhmaṇas, of the one Man into the duality of *nāma* and *rūpa*. But in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad we first come upon the idea of analysis as revealing all of man that was not 'seen' (*rūpa*) by the term 'more' (*bhūyas*). "Ay, verily, there is more than just names of this or that in *nāma*." "Sir, tell me that." And the teacher, as from a box, draws forth one mind-way after another. We have here as it were man in the New.

There is as yet no attempt at showing those contents as a series, as a classification. Translators have curiously overlooked this and have seen in the repeated 'more than' a progress from a less to a bigger or worthier content. R. E. HUME with his usual greater accuracy has just "more than," yet he writes of this context as "a progressive worship... up to the universal soul." But MAX MÜLLER has, for *bhūyas*, "better than"; DEUSSEN has "greater than"; the TATYA edition has "even greater than"; BOETHLINGK has "mächtiger als." Now there is no such order here meant. It is ruled out by the succession of selected terms. We are reminded in these of a child emptying his Christmas stocking of gifts. It is just a worth of man as a manifold, such as our modern analysis is ever giving us. And to the extent that he is a manifold he has a potency of "more" in his essential nature. We are putting up with man as a Less if we rest complacent in wording him by one word. As a Many we have found in him a More, a more various, a greater, a larger, a more manifold.

1. London : Luzac & Co., 1936.

We need this, he having heed to the manifold, to a degree we tend to overlook. Our life as a whole—and India needs not to be reminded of that—is a matter not of ‘ threescore years and ten,’ neither is it just that period followed immediately by a vague timeless ‘immortality.’ In that life as a whole come very many spans of life (*bhavā*) now here, now there. And in each span man may prove capable of now swifter, now slower becoming a ‘more’ than in the previous span. I had not long ago a case of this in the man we knew on earth as Cardinal MANNING. I met a lady who had received ‘psychically’ teachings of high spiritual value. These she, having heard them inwardly, published in a pamphlet as quasi-divine messages, thereby so impressing my venerable friend, the late EDMUND HOLMES, poet and philosopher, that he believed they were indeed of such a nature. Now I, when interviewing her, learnt by clair-audience that the unseen worder was present and was MANNING. HOLMES could not accept or indeed forgive this. He was in some lines strongly anti-Catholic, and held, as it seemed, that MANNING, unworthy in this or that on earth, would necessarily be valuing no better now in another world than he had valued on earth. We are often slow to do justice to the spiritual changes a man may undergo even in this one span of life ; and this rigidity of judgment pursues us yet more where should be more credit given to change, namely, where in another world the man’s conditions are in many ways so altered

Let us glance at another man known to us only as of a long past age : Maudgalyāna (Pali : Moggallāna), ranked by Buddhist scriptures with Sāriputra as the Śākyamuni’s chief disciples. He is always shown as possessed of very advanced psychic or supernormal powers, and might therewith have done much to bring the truth about the unseen near to men. It is true that to a certain degree he is recorded as having done this. The chief testimonies to this may be read in the two canonical works *Petavattu* and *Vimānavattu* and their Commentaries.¹ He is shown undertaking to visit the next world easy enough, India knows, for him to do in deep sleep : expressly in order to report to men how evil and good deeds there found fitting sequel. But what he did report, according to the records, was merely the physical fate of worthy and unworthy. We read nothing as to the result in a spiritual more or less in the persons he talked with. It was an examination of bodily results only : a worthless way of using a precious gift. It is when we seek a spiritual More in man that we are fit and ready to inquire into life as a matter, not of just ‘this world only,’ but of worlds.

And it is just that spiritual More in every man that religion is concerned withal if it be worthy of the name. A religion that is shown in formulas teaching this or that in a Less in man may have had a divinely inspired beginning, but it has been forced aside into unworthy ways, and altered. We may see the spiritual quest after a More at the very start of the Śākyamuni’s mission, when he bade men “seek after the self.” In his day young men

1. Published by the Pali Text Society. A translation of both is in preparation for the Sacred Books of the Buddhist Series by H. S. GEHMAN.

were taught this, in these words, by their Brahman teachers. And these words then meant "seek after God." Deity was then worshipped as the self, and it was a most lamentable misrendering by OLDENBERG,¹ that he translated this by "seek yourselves," thus giving the ancient idiom a modern, a European worth. No less lamentable was the modern European rendering of "be ye lamps unto yourselves" given by RHYS DAVIDS² to the closing words : *atta-dīpā viharatha, dhamma-dīpā viharatha* : live as they who have the Self as lamp, Dharma as lamp. We lose all the original force if we render this in the modern, the European way, instead of rendering it as translators of the Upaniṣads rightly render the former compound.

It is only in our so-called Mystics that we can read in English the Indian way, the way of, as Jesus said, "the kingdom of God is within you." "My Me is God," wrote St. Catherine of Genoa, "not by simple participation, but by a process of transformation." So, more in our own day, Anna BUNSTON :

O little lark, you need not fly
To seek your Master in the sky.
He treads our native sod.
Why should you sing aloft, apart ?
Sing to the heaven of my heart !
In me, in me is God !

Here is indeed a very More in man, a More in a divine Becoming. Man here in a Less, a very much less, is speaking, singing of himself as having 'within', as being in a way, the very Most. A dangerous, a heady teaching unless valued with right humility. That is, it is not so much the man here and now who is being spoken of ; it is not the actual, it is the potential man they speak of if they speak rightly. Else they forget the long, long way that lies between these extremes. If we remember that great Between, figured by the first Buddhist as a Road, a Way of Becoming, a Way of the worlds, then, as the Suttas put it, "doth the Way come into being ; then for us is there no more turning back, then do we see ourselves as further-farers in the life-divine."³

Lost to view now is that Buddhist symbol as meaning faring in the great Between of the worlds. The dropping out of 'becoming (*bhava*)', the insertion of 'eight parts' of the good life here as the Way, have practically reduced South Asian Buddhism to just ethics. Its hallmark has got erased. Never now do we hear it cited :—the hallmark of Becoming, of becoming a more (*bhīyyobhāva*). Yet was the word, simple and compound, once its teaching : to quote one of many such contexts : "that good values may persist, may be clarified, for their 'becoming more, for their expansion, for the 'making them

1. Vinaya Texts, I (S. Books of the East) He alone translated the first half of this volume.

2. *Buddhist Suttas* (S. B. E.) XI.

3. *Anguttara-Nikāya*, Pañcaka-Nipāta.

become,' for the perfecting of them, he brings forth desire, he endeavours, he stirs up energy, he makes firm the mind, struggles."¹ Nor do we ever hear cited how the Śākyamuni is shown saying, he spoke to his co-workers of the happy fate of the worthy who had passed over *in order to stir up* in them joy, that such a fate they too might look forward to.²

That new analysis of the more in mind proved when misdirected by monastic pessimism to be undoing of original Buddhism.

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1. Dīgha-Nikāya, XXI.
 2. Majjhima-Nikāya, No. V.

ANTARAGHARA

By

P. V. BAPAT

RHYS DAVIDS and OLDENBERG translate the word *antaraghara* as “within the houses” or “among the houses.” This word comes several times in the *Vinaya*, Vol. i. 40 ; ii. 215 ; iv. 176, 179-89, 199 and the translators RHYS DAVIDS and OLDENBERG have given notes on the word (*Vin. Texts*, i. 56, 59, 65). In one of these notes, they seem to hint at the right interpretation when they say (*Vin. Texts*, i. 59) : The *antaragharani* is the space in the village between the huts ; not exactly the same and yet in the following rules practically the same, as village (*gāma*). They realised that the latter meaning only was applicable in several cases but probably they could not account for that interpretation. So they continued to translate the word by “house or houses” (*Vin. Texts*, i. 56, 59) “a dwelling” (*ibid.*, iii. 290), “inner court” (*ibid.*, i. 65), etc. The passage in the *Vin.*, iv., 176 (*Pāṭidesaniya*, 1)

“Yo pana bhikkhu aññātikāya bhikkhuniyā *antaragharani* pavittḥāya
hatthato khādanīyaṃ vā bhojanīyaṃ sa-hatthā paṭiggahetvā”

is translated something like this :

“A Bhikkhu, when a bhikkhunī not related to him has entered *within the houses*,”

that this meaning is not correct is obvious from the following sentence (*Vin.* i. 40, *Mahāvagga*, I. 23.3)

“*Antaragharani* pavittḥo piṇḍāya carati.”

If he has entered *a house*, how can he go on a begging-round ?

This word occurs also in the *Visuddhimagga* i. 18 where we have *antaragharani pavisanto pi*.... PE MAUNG TIN also following the translators of the *Vinaya* renders the word by ‘enters among houses.’ How this translation is not satisfactory is seen further when on the next page we come to the passage (i. 19) :

“Idha bhikkhu *antaragharani* pavittḥo *vithim* paṭipanno okkhittacakkhu yugamattadassāvī su-samvuto gacchati”.

If *antaragharani* is ‘within the houses’ or ‘among the houses’ how is it possible to say of him as ‘following a road (*vithim paṭipanno*)? To avoid this difficulty PE MAUNG TIN seems to have added the words ‘of a village’ to ‘entering among the houses’. He translates thus : A brother here, on entering among the houses of a village and walking along the streets, goes lowering his eyes, looking before him not further than the distance of a plough, and is well-restrained.

In all these cases the word *antara* seems to be taken in the usual sense of 'within or among' 'inner or interior' etc. which will be presently shown to be not applicable here.

DHAMMAPĀLA, while explaining this word in the *Visuddhimagga*, says : "Antare antare gharāni ettha etassā ti vā *antaragharan* ti laddhavohāraṃ gocaragāmaṃ." *Antaragharan* means a village for alms because the houses, there, are at a distance from each other. DHAMMAPĀLA also seems to have not taken the word *antara* in the right sense, although the interpretation of the whole compound is given rightly.

The word *antara* here is to be taken rather in its unusual sense of 'exterior, lying outside, situated outside'. And for this we have the authority of PĀṆINI I. i. 36 :

"Antaraṃ bahiryopasaṃvyānayoḥ."

"The word *antara* is to be taken in the sense of *bahiryoga* (external, exterior) or *upasaṃvyāna* (undergarment)."

The explanation given in the *Siddhāntakaumudī* is :

"Antare antarā vā grhāḥ, bāhyā ityarthah ;

Antare antarā vā śātakāḥ, paridhāniyā ityarthah."

"The houses that are outside (i.e. the houses of a Caṇḍāla and the like, as explained by later interpreters) ; or the garments that are worn." Here the first interpretation only is applicable, namely 'the exterior, situated outside' APTÉ's Dictionary also gives this interpretation of the word *antara* as interpretation No. 6. And this interpretation alone can justify the explanation of the word in the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* (*Vin.* iv. 176) :

"*Antaragharan* nāma rathiyā, byūham, singhātakaṃ, gharan

Antaragharan means "the streets, blind lanes (*bhyūham*), squares and houses," which are all found in what DHAMMAPĀLA calls *gocaragāma*.

So the word *antaragharan* means 'the house or houses that are situated outside (i.e. outside the monastery), namely the village.' And it will be seen that this meaning alone is applicable in all the cases referred to above.

NOTES ON THE KĀTHA UPANIṢAD

By

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

SECOND VALLĪ

At the close of the first Vallī Naciketas has already made his choice and stated his position. It would be only logical to assume that the following verses, II.1-13, are spoken by Death ; Naciketas then interposing with his "Tell it" (*tad vada=brūhi nas tat* in I.29=*brūhi m'etam* in Sn 346) ; the remainder of the Vallī, from 15 onwards, consisting of Death's exposition of the Brahma doctrine, which he develops from the imperishable-syllable, Om. This interpretation will involve a reversal of the meaning usually attached to the words *atisrākṣiḥ* and *atyasrākṣiḥ* in II.3 and 11 ; this is discussed below. For the present we shall assume that *atisrākṣiḥ* in II.3 means, not "thou hast renounced" but "thou hast gotten", and shall discuss the application of this meaning in the context of the whole verse.

Observe the construction of the first two lines of each of vv.1-4. There is no question but that in vv.1, 2 and 4 we have to do with two "very different" (*dūram viparīte viśūci*) things ; which are, in the first two verses *śreyas*¹ and *preyas* (the "more glorious" and the "pleasant" or "dear") and in the fourth *vidyā* and *avidyā* ("science" ; and "nescience" ; i.e. empirical or estimative knowledge) ; *ca* in verses 2 and 4 is disjunctive and implies contrast. It would be far from unreasonable to expect a similar construction in the third verse. Let us see if it can be recognized there. *Abhidhyāyan*, "intensely contemplating", corresponds to *saṃparītya*² *vivinakti* in v. 2, which RAWSON very properly renders by "discriminates". *Kāmān* is in any case the object both of *abhidhyāyan* and of *atisrākṣiḥ*. Suppose now that *ca* is here also disjunctive, and that here also there is a contrast drawn between two very different things, viz. *priyān kāmān* and *priya-rūpān*³ *kāmān*, a distinction parallel to that of *satyāḥ kāmāḥ* ("true desires") from *satyāḥ kāmā anṛtenāpidhānāḥ* ("true desires overlaid by what is false") in CU.VIII.3.1-2. where moreover it is said that all these "true desires" or "real goods" are

1. With *śreyas* (as in RV. III 38.4 *śreyo vasānaś carati svarociḥ*) here cf. *śrī*- and *śremāṇa* in AB. VII. 15, and *śrī* in JUB. I.20.8. Perhaps the fullest explanation of *śrī* (a typically solar and regal property) is that given in SB.XI.4.3.1.

2. It is interesting to compare *saṃparītya* here with *parīta* in the TB. version of the Naciketas story, RAWSON p. 214 line 4 of the text. In both cases the literal sense is "going round" or "circumambulating" and the ultimate meaning, "considering and understanding" (not excluding the literal meaning, however, in TB). Śaṅkara's "*kruddha-iva*" has been discussed above.

3. A like pejorative use of *piya-rūpa* may be noted in A.II.54 and M.II.42.

to be gotten by going "there"; where indeed one goes every day, viz. to the Brahma world in deep sleep, but without finding the hidden treasure, just because of being "held back by the falsity" (*aṅṭena hi pratyūḍhāḥ*),¹ while per contra "One who goes hence having found already the Spirit (or his own Spiritual-essence) and those 'true desires' (or 'real goods'), becomes a 'Mover-at-will' in every world",² CU.VIII.1.6. Similarly, "It is not for desire (*kāmāya*) of beings (as they are in) themselves that beings are dear, but for desire of the Spirit that beings are dear (*priyāṇi*)", BU. II. 4. 5.³ The texts are innumerable in which to be "possessed of all desires" and to be

1. And this "from which one is debarred by falsity" (disorder, or irregularity or lack of form) is precisely the "house of Death", "Where Yama, Death, i-king, the place of heaven's defence, or arrest" (*yatrāvarodhanam divah*, RV. IX. 113.8, i.e. the Sun as in CU.VIII.6.5. *ādityam lokadvāram viduṣām prapadanam nirodho 'viduṣām* the "door" of Math.XXV.10 "and the door was shut", and the Egyptian "un-door". It is precisely at this "Death's doot" (*mitvu-mukha*, KU. I.11), the *sauram dvāram sūrya-maṇḍalam* "tena yānti parām gatim" of MU. VI 30, the *hiraṇmayena pātreṇa satyasyāpṛiṣṭam mukham* of Iṣā. 15 and MU. VI. 35, at this Porte or Kingsgate, or "threshold", that Naciketas, not yet a Comprehensor (*viduḥ, vidvān*) has been waiting for three nights. The Keeper of this Gate is the solar Angel with the Flaming Sword ("the opening is all covered over with rays", JUB.I.3.6), the Truth (*satyam haṁsā devatā*, JUB.I.5.3), Death (*pūṣann kurye yama sūrya prajāpatya*, Iṣā. 16 and MU.VI.35); he stands on guard (*apasedhanī tiṣṭhatī*) but cannot repel one in whom there is the like Truth (*neṣa yad anam apasedhet*, JUB.I.5.3). Nothing could better illustrate the consistency and universality of these formulæ than the words of Nicolas of Cusa, *De its Du* Ch. IX, "It is the wall of the Paradise where Thou abidest, which none can enter if he has not overcome the Truth that guards its gate".

The meaning of the "three nights" and of Death's "absence" has been explained in a previous Note.

2. The description of the liberated as "Mover-at-will" (*kāmācārin*), corresponding to "shall go in and out, and find pasture" in John X.9, is of frequent occurrence in the Upanishads, and can be found also in RV. IX.113. 9 *yatrānukāmaṃ caranam*, "where there is motion-at-will", or in other words, independence of local motion. Motion-at-will is a necessary consequence of deification (St. Paul, "Whoever is joined unto the Lord is one spirit"; I Gal.VI.17; "That art thou", CU.VI.8.9-11) if only because it is the Gate of the Spirit that "moveth as it will" (*yathā vaśam carati*, RV.X.168.4). John III.8 "shall go in and out, and find pasture" corresponds to TU. III. 10.5 *imān lokān kāmānni kāmārūpy anusamcaran*, "goes hither or thither in these worlds eating what food he will and in what shape he will". The most detailed description of this Motion-at-will, which depends upon an habitual *samādhi* occurs in A.I.254 f. For the exact equivalent in Chinese doctrine see Chuang Tzu, Ch. XIX, (GILES, 1889, p. 231).

3. St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* II.2.7 "But man is not to be loved for his own sake, but whatever is in man is to be loved for God's sake"; and 1.6.1 ad 1 and 2 "All things, by desiring their own perfection, desire God Himself" (in effect, *In omni bono, summum bonum*, sc. *Deus, desideratur*). BU.II.4.5 and IV.5 *na vā are lokānām kāmāya lokāḥ priyā bhavanti, ātmanastu kāmāya lokāḥ priyā bhavanti* are echoed in S.I.75 (*Udāna* 47) where the *attakāmo* is approved, as one who finds in the world "naught dearer than the Spiritual-essence" (*na...piyataram attanā kvaci*).

“without desire” are synonymous expressions ;¹ no real meaning, indeed, can be attached to either expression alone, since it is only where *all* is already one’s own that no *more* can even be thought of or desired (it is in this sense that *man* and *kam* are often interchangeable), and only where there is *nothing wanting* that one *cannot want*.

II.2 : *yoga-kṣemāt*. Before proceeding to a discussion of II.11 we shall explain the sense of the second half of II.2. As in the first line of this half-verse the contemplative (*dhīraḥ*) is said to choose between two things, so in the second line we might expect that the sluggard (or “fool”) is said to choose between *two* things. HUME’s version, based on the assumption that *yoga-kṣema* means *one* thing, is hardly grammatical English ; RAWSON makes the same assumption and produces a better version, in which “prefers the pleasant” is understood to imply “prefers the pleasant to the glorious”. But what is meant in our text is a choice between “two very different” habits : it is as between *yoga* and *kṣema* that the sluggard makes his choice, deciding for the latter ;² That this is the real intention will be immediately realised if we turn to TS.V.2.1.7 : here a distinction has already been drawn between those who by means of the liturgy win this world, and those who, striding the Viṣṇu strides, win yonder world, and as the text continues, “and so it is that the minds of some are set on *yoga* (*yoge ’nyāsām prajānām manah*)”³ and the minds of others on comfort (*kṣeme’ nyāsām*) ; and accordingly the Wanderer (*yāyāvraḥ = parivrājakaḥ*) lords it over the man-of-ease (*kṣemyasya iṣe*), and so too that the Wanderer sits him down upon (*adhyava-*

1. Equally in RV., Brāhmaṇas, and Upaniṣads, e.g. RV.IX.113.10-11, SB.X. 5.4.15, BU.IV 3 21, and CU VIII 12 6. With RV.IX 113.10-11 “Where are both desires and the consummation of desires, where the desires of him who desires are possessed” (*yatra kāmā nikāmāh kāmasya yatrāptāh kāmāh*) compare Trakhe’s “Whose very wants are endless pleasures, His life in wants and joys is infinite. And both are felt as His Supreme Delight”, Witelo *Lib. de intelligentiis*, XX “In quo est unio, delectatio est continua, et vita secundum se delectabilis est in eo”, and Dante, *Paradiso*, XXII.64-67 “There perfect, whole, and ripe is each desire ; in it alone is every part, there where it ever was, for it is not in space nor hath it poles”.

2. Just as in Sn. 220, *asamā ubho dūra-vihāra-vuttino, gihī dāraposi, amamā ca subbato*, “Unlike and widely divergent are the habits of the wedded householder and the holy man without an ‘I’”.

It is quite true that in the modern vernacular, *yogakṣema* is “means of livelihood,” “way of life”, or “habit”. In Pāli, moreover, *khemā* is often “peace” or “rest” in a good sense (not that of sloth), e.g. Sn. 896, *khemābhipassam avirāda-bhummam*, and *yogakhemā* occurs with the same meaning, e.g., Sn 79 *viriyam . yogakhemādhivahanam*, “energy that bears me onward to peace”. But in our text, the older distinction of a contemplative (anagogically “active”) from an active (anagogically “idle”) life is evidently preserved ; *yogakṣemāt + yogāc ca kṣemāc ca*.

3. “The mind is verily for men the means either of bondage or release,” MU. VI.34.

sati)¹ the man-of-ease" (*kṣemyam*). And so in our text the fool prefers the ease of the householder to the hard life of the yogī.²

II.11 : *kāmasyāpti*, the "attainment of desire". Can one conceive of a *summum bonum* otherwise, or think of the Brahman as in any respect deficient or in want? Can one think of one who becomes the Brahman as suffering a privation in any sense whatever? So far from this, *kāmasyāptim* in our text is as much as to say Ātman, for "In full possession of all acts, all desire (or good) . . . this is my Spirit, within the heart, this very Brahman; he who is assured (*addhā*)³ of this, that 'When I go hence, I shall be altogether Him,' for him there is no doubt" (*na vicikitsāsti* CU. III. 14.4⁴). Similarly CU.VIII.1.6 "He who goes hence, having found here the Spirit and those true goods (*satyān kāmān*), becometh a mover-at-will in every world". Our *kāmasyāpti* is assuredly a designation of the immortal Ātman, Brahman, "beyond whom there is nothing more". The expression *na vicikitsā-asti*, "no doubt remains" is especially pertinent, in view of KU.I.20-21, "This doubt (*vicikitsā*) there is about the man gone forth. . . even the Devas doubted in this respect of old"⁵; it is true that the matter in doubt is differently formu-

1. *Adhivāsa*, "sitting before a person's house without taking food till he ceases to oppose or refuse a demand (commonly called 'sitting in *dharmā*')," NW. The homeless wanderer is the master of the master of the house: *kṣemya*, from *kṣi*, "to dwell", being primarily "one who has a home" and secondarily "one who lives in comfort". It is of great interest to notice that the contemplative life (so often thought of as one of inaction) is here the really active life, and that the life of the householder (usually termed the active life) is here the really idle life. This is one way of seeing "action in inaction, and inaction in action" (BG.IV.18). But not the only way; for it need not be assumed that it is intended that the "active" life is "wrong" and the "contemplative" life "right" for every man. What is implied is the superiority of the "contemplative" life *as such* to the "active" life *as such*; a superiority that is also assumed in Christian doctrine, where it is implicit in the story of Martha and Mary, and explicit in St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* II-II.179-180. It is because the Indian householder is still of this persuasion that he still treats the wandering *sādhu* or *yogin*, the *sannyāsin* or "truly poor man", as his superior, and would rather serve even those who may be pretenders than run any risk of not serving those who are really what their cloth proclaims them.

It may be added that the relation of the Wanderer to the Householder is ultimately that of Mitra to Varuṇa, and Naciketas to Yama: Naciketas is precisely "sitting unfed" at Death's door, and truly a *bhikṣu*.

2. Closely related to the thought of our text is AB.VII.15, *Pāpo niṣadvaro jana, indra ic-carataḥ sakhā, caraiva, caraiva . . . sūryasya paśya śremāṇam, yo na tandra-yate caraṇś, caraiva, caraiva*.

3. *Addhā*, "certain", "ascertained", as in SB.II.3.1.29 "Certain is the (audible) incantation, certain the Spirit".

4. It is just inasmuch as there is still a doubt (*vicikitsā*) for him, that Naciketas is *na-cikitvān, na-ciketas*.

5. KU. I. 20.21 and 29 *yasmin idam vicikitsanti mṛtyo, yat sampaṛāye mahati brūhi nas tat* are closely paralleled and no doubt followed by Sn 346 where the question addressed to the Buddha is framed as follows, *Chind'eva no vicikiccham, brūhi me'tam: paṇinibuttam vedaya:* and 354 *nibbāyī so? ādu sa-upādi-seso? yathā vimutto, ahu*.

lated in KU. ("to be or not to be, after death"), but there is no essential difference, because "to be or not to be" and "to be or not to be in a state of privation" amount to the same thing. By way of further comment we can only add that "We desire a thing while as yet we do not possess it. When we have it, we love it, desire then falling away" (Eckhart, I,82), and ask and answer with Rūmī "What is love? Thou shalt know when thou becomest Me"¹ (*Mathnawī*, Bk. II, Introduction). There are no distinctions yonder of "a within and a without" (BU.IV.3.21 and 5.13) : no distinction, therefore, of what one desires from what one has, nor of what one knows from what one is.

II. 11 continued : *stoma-mahad urugāyam* (sc. *padam*), "The exceeding praised far-going (stride or step)."² With *stoma-mahat* compare II.15 *sarve vedā yat...āmananti*, "that which all the Vedas glorify", viz. *yat padam...tat te bravīmi* "that stride...of which I am about to tell thee", that is, of course, the third boon (*tṛtiyam varam*) of I. 19, the "last passage" (*sāmparāya*) about which Naciketas asks when he says "tell me that" (*brūhi nas tat*, I.29).³ The student can hardly by this time have failed to realise that the "three boons" correspond to the "three strides" of Viṣṇu. With the third boon, then, Naciketas is given to understand the meaning of "the end of the road, which is Viṣṇu's farthest stride" (*adhvanah pāram...tad viṣṇoḥ param-*

A definite answer occurs in S. III. 109 "It is an overstatement to say that when the body of one who has destroyed the foul issues has been cut off, he himself is broken up and destroyed and is no more after death" (*na hoti param maraṇam*). It is only for what is *anattā*, that "there is no hereafter" (*nāparam*, S. III. 118).

A systematic collation of parallel passages from the Upaniṣads and the Pīṭakas is much to be desired, both from the point of view of those whose interests are exegetical, and that of those whose primary interest is in literary history.

1. This is the answer to the question of "Love" as posed in the Middle Ages, *Utrum homo naturaliter diligit Deum plus quam semetipsum*?

2. On the solar character of Viṣṇu in RV see HOPKINS in JAOS. 16. cxlvii.

3. For the Buddhist parallel (a colloquy between Vaṅḡisa and the Buddha) see the citation from Sn 346 in a previous Note.

As the Brahman is here the "third born" (*tṛtiyam varam*), so in Muṇḍ. II. 2. 12 the Brahman is "most boon" (*varīṣṭham*).

Sāmparāya of KU. I. 29 (= *parāyaṇam* in Pīṭṣṇa Up. 110) may be compared with *sāmparāya* and *pārāyana* in Sn., where the former is used for "future life" as that about which there may be a wishful thinking, and the latter for "crossing over" or "transition" to a true "beyond" (Sn. 1130 *gamano so pāram gamāyā tasmā pārāyaṇam iti*). In S. V. 217 *maccupārāyano* is "crossing over death"; the verse in which the term occurs has been misunderstood; in reality it presents an antithesis to the previous verse, and in saying "He who lives a hundred years, he crosses over death" (*yo pi vassasatam jīve so pi maccupārāyano*), repeats the doctrine of SB. X. 2. 6. 7 "whosoever lives a hundred years, he, indeed, obtains that immortality" (the assumption being that in the full term of life, all that had to be done will have been done, one becomes *kṛtakṛtyah*, or in the often repeated words of the Pali texts *khīṇā jāti, vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ, kataṃ karaniyaṃ, nāparam, itthatāyāti*).

am padam, III.9), "the place of the farthest stride of the wide-stepping Viṣṇu, the far-striding Bull" (*urukramasya viṣṇoḥ... atra... urugāyasya vṛṣṇaḥ paramam padam*, RV. I. 154.6). This is assuredly the "last end" (*paramam gatim*) of VI. 10, and certainly not what Naciketas can be thought of as refusing, but rather as that of which he would know; for as SB. I. 9.3.10 and 20 expresses it, "That is the goal, that the support (*etām gatim, etām pratiṣṭhām*), now he moves with (and no longer under) the Sun".¹

II. 11 continued: *abhayam pāram* = *abhayam tūṭṣatām pāram* in III.2, i.e. *svarge loke (yatra) na bhayam kṛncanāsti*, I.12, "the place of no-fear, reached by those who cross over, in heaven-world (where) there is no fear whatever", and as the text continues "not there art thou", i.e. Death as Naciketas at first conceives him, *punar mṛtyu*.² There can be no doubt about the meaning of "no-fear". To have passed beyond fear is to have passed beyond all otherness, to have found the *advaitam*: for "Assuredly it is only from another (than oneself) that fear arises" (*dvitīyād vai bhayam bhavati*, BU. I. 4.2); and "When verily one finds the support 'no-fear' (*abhayam pratiṣṭhām*) in this unseen, despaired, inexplicable, placeless (*anīlayam*)", then is he one that has attained to 'no fear'" (Tu. II. 7).⁴ If the separated

1. *Aśvāvṛttam anuvartate*. This is the *raison d'être* of all "sunwise turns" (*pradakṣiṇit, prasavy-āvṛt*).

2. Naciketas, of course, as not yet a Comprehensor, conceives of Death, not "as he is yonder" but "as he is many in his children" (SB. X. 5. 2. 16) and as the cause of natural death (SB. X. 5. 2. 13). The distinction of *punar mṛtyu* from *Mṛtyu* himself, of death the "enemy" from Death the "friend" is clearly drawn in BU. I. 2. 7 where the conquest of the one is union with the other. with that Death, viz, "who does not die", "the Person in yonder Sun" (SB. X. 5. 2. 3) who, though Naciketas does not yet know it, is that very ultimate Person spoken of in III. 11 "beyond whom there is naught, that is the goal post and last end" (*puruṣān na param kiñcit, sā kāṣṭhā sāparā gatih*),—the Person of Iṣā 16, *asau puruṣaḥ so 'ham asmi*, "Yonder Person, I."

The same distinction is finely drawn in SB. X. 5. 2. 17 "Is Death near or far away? Both near and far away; for inasmuch as he is here on earth in the body he is near, and inasmuch as he is That One in yonder world, he is far away." It is "as he is here on earth in the body" (as an "infection," cf. JUB. IV. 9 etc) that Naciketas rightly says of the Beyond that "Thou art not there."

3. On the placelessness of God, see the discussion of II. 25.

4. Further, AV. X. 8.44 *tam eva vidvān na bibhāya mṛtyor ātmānam dhīram ajaram yuvānam* ("He who knows that contemplative, incorruptible, ever-youthful Spirit, has no fear of death"); TU. II. 9 *ānandam brahmaṇo vidvān na bibheti kāścana* ("He who knoweth beatitude in Brahman feareth nothing whatever," cf. "Perfect love casteth out fear"); Praśna Up. I. 10 *etat amṛtam abhayam etat parāyaṇam, etasmān na punar āvartante* ("That Sun is the immortal, that the crossing over to where there is 'no-fear', thence there is no coming back again"). The condition of 'no-fear', whether of death or anything whatever, is never referred, nor could it be referred, to any other or less state than that the *summum bonum* and Supreme Identity. The use of the term "no-fear" in our verse is therefore the strongest possible argument for a reference of the whole to a "last end" which if Naciketas had "renounced", he would have been a "simpleton" indeed.

Persons (Agni, Sūrya, Indra, Vāyu, and Death himself) perform their functions 'in fear of Him, of Brahman' (KU. II.3 and TU. II.8.1), this belongs to their separated Personality, and not their being in Him, in Whom, the Imperishable (*akṣara*) "are all the Devas in one combined" (AA. II.3.8). Professor RAWSON (p. 89) is perfectly right in identifying our *pratiṣṭhā* with that which is attained by Viṣṇu's third stride in SB. I. 9.3.10 and 20. But what is thus attained is not a sub-solar Elysium, still in the power of Death, it is the beatitude of those who have made their final crossing (*sāmparāya*, KU. I. 29) and have "entered in by the door" (*per ostium*, John X.1 = *sūrya-dvāreṇa*, Muṇḍ. I. 2.11)² to the Father, the Immortal Person (John X.7 and 9 and XIV. 6 and Muṇḍ. I. 2.11). This "heaven" into which one enters by the Sun-door is "beyond the falcon" (*imam upari-śyenam svargam lokam*, JB. III. 269), is the Empyrean "where no Sun shines" (KU. V. 15), the "vault apart from sorrow" (*nākam viśokam*)³ to which one attains, not by the twenty-one syllables⁴ of the Sāman chant, but with a twenty-second (*dvā-vimśena paramād ādityāḥ jayati*, CU. II. 10.5), only to be "known" by "one who is qualified to pass through the midst of this Sun" (*ka etam ādityam arhati samayañitum? Kas tad veda yat pareṇādityam?* JUB. I. 6.1 and 4).⁵ It is that "state of glory" which, as St. THOMAS says, "is not under the sun" (*Sum. Theol.* III Supp. 91.1 ad 1, cf. I. 103. 5 ad 1). If, finally, our "support" is the "world's support" (*jagataḥ pratiṣṭhā*) what other support can this be than that of the Brahman, the Breath⁶ "in whom the whole world stirs and is withdrawn" (KU. IV. 2), the ultimate Brahman, founded on which power the world-all shines resplendent" (Muṇḍ. III, 2.1), or than "the support that is the possession of the infinite-world that is set in the secret place" (KU. I. 14)?

1. Cf. MU. VI. 35 *Apāvṛṇu satyadharmāya viṣṇave*.

2. Note *ostium* in John X. I = *mukham* in Iṣā. 15, MU. VI. 30 and KU. I. 11 and III. 16; both as "entrance", "way in". For *mukha* as "entrance" of a city gate, approached by a bridge (*saṁkrama*) cf. *Arthaśāstra*, II, Ch. 21. It is in this sense that "the Mouth receives" (*mukha ādhatte*) the Comprehensor, JUB. III. 33.8 (misunderstood by OERTEL, JAOS XVI. 193).

3. Hermeneutically, *na-akam*, "without lack of any desire" (cf. TS. V. 3.7.1), -- *na hāsyā kaścana kāmō'nāpto bhavati ya evam veda*, JUB. III. 33.8, -- *kāmasyāpti* in our text, and cf. II.16 *akṣaram jñātvā, yo yad icchatī tasya, tat*.

4. Corresponding to the twenty-one worlds, or states of being, in the cosmos, viz. twelve months, four seasons, three worlds, and the Sun, AB. V. 1. 10. 3. "Now he who glows yonder (the Sun) is doubtless Death (Mrtyu), those (of his) offspring that are here below are mortal (*mriyante*), but those beyond (him), the Devas, are therewith immortal", SB. II. 3.3.7).

5. *Kas tad veda? Kas...mad-anyah*, "Who but I", Ku. II. 21. All that Death teaches Naciketas, who as his disciple does not yet "know", is an answer to the question "What is Death?", and could be summarised thus, by "Thou shalt know when thou becomest Me".

6. The Brahman, Akṣara, similarly represented by the "Breath" in AA. II. 3.8(5).

II. 11 continued : *atyasrākṣiḥ*. It does not appear needful to demonstrate at any greater length that II. 11 describes a *summum bonum* which Naciketas cannot possibly be thought of as having "rejected". It remains to be shown that *atyasrākṣiḥ* here and *atisrākṣiḥ* in II. 3 do not mean "Thou hast rejected." *Ati* presents no difficulty ; it is well known to be an intensive prefix, as in JUB. I. 3. 5 *atimucyate* "He is altogether freed" ; *ati* has precisely the effect of Latin *super*, and does not change the essential value of the roots to which it is attached. *Sṛj* is to "free", "let go", or "emanate", *passim*, and in the latter sense to "make" (SB. III. 2. 4. 6. *vinām...sṛṣṭvā* "producing a harp", XI. 1. 6. 9 *pāpmānam vā asṛkṣi* "I have brought forth evil", BU. IV. 3. 10 *sṛjate, sa hi kartā*. "He produces for himself, he is indeed the creator"), and so also to "acquire" or "obtain" (Manu, VIII. 140, *vṛddham sṛjet*, "He may take as interest" ; if *sṛj* is to "release", this is not in the sense "relinquish", but as one "sets off" or "sets agoing" what has been a latent property in or of the subject.¹ *Sṛṣṭi*, often rendered by "creation" (of the world) is in this sense, *passim*, precisely what St. Thomas describes as the "emanation of all being from the universal cause, which is God...the emanation of all being, from the non-being which is nothing" (*Sum. Theol.* I. 45 l.1.) On the one hand, such an emanation does

1. It is in this sense that one "releases" news, or that a film is "released" by a Cinema Company. The release is from potentiality to act, and always for the advantage of the subject. The acts of one who "releases" (*sṛjati*) and that of one who "discards" (*tyajati*) a thing are very different. A remarkable parallel to *sṛj* in this sense of "give effect to" or "reduce to act" can be cited in Witelo, *De intelligentiis*, XVIII, *Exumone potentiae activae cum exemplari, ad quod est ordinata, relinquitur delectatio, in qua est vita cognitiva the kāmasyaṣṭim...atyasrākṣiḥ* of our text corresponding exactly to Witelo's *relinquitur delectatio*, or as Death would have actually said *a te relicta est delectatio*.

2. Despite St. Thomas' use of emanatio (*loc. cit.*) the objection has been made that *sṛṣṭi* as "emanation" implies the existence of a "materiality" in God. We can only say, in the first place, that it is with the Spirit that the person fills these worlds, dividing himself (MU. VI. 26), it is by his knowledge of himself that Brahma is this All (BU. I. 4, 10), the emanation not of "matter", but of "children" (*prajāḥ, passim*), so that "He is one as he is in himself, and many as he is in his children" (SB. X. 5. 2. 16). In most contexts, indeed, it might well be preferable to render *sṛṣṭi* by "expression", rather than by "emanation" ("creation" is in any case inappropriate) : by "expression", that is, as this term is employed by Bonaventura to denote what is at the same time a "conception" and a "luminous raying". These are, in fact, images that recur again and again in our texts, where we meet again and again with the phrase *prajā asṛjata*, "expressed offspring" ; with the notion a production by *manas* as father out of *vāc* as mother. cf. also JUB. II. 9, 10 where the "rays" of the "Sun" are called his "sons." Bonaventura's "For all the eternal reasons are eternally conceived in the vestibule (*in vulva = yonau*) or womb (*utero = jāhare*) of the eternal wisdom" (*In Hexaem*, coll. 20, n. 5) parallels many of the most characteristic ontological formulations of the Vedic tradition, and if occurring in an Indian context would be spoken of as "Tantrik" (cf. my "La doctrine tantrique de la 'Bi-Unité divine'" in *Etudes Traditionnelles*, 42, 289-301, 1937). For Bonaventura's "expressionism" see BISSEN, *L'exemplarisme divin selon Saint Bonaventura*, 1929, p. 93.

not deprive the subject of anything (AV. X. 8. 29 ; BU. V. 1), on the contrary, the art remains in the artist and on the other, that which is thus emanated is for the use and advantage of the emanating subject for example, PB. VII. 6. 3 *vācam vyaśṛjata* = BU. VI. 4. 2 *striyam saśṛje*, and SB. IV 6. 9. 24 where *vācam viśṛjeran* is simply the converse of *vācam yamaḥ* "restraining the voice".¹ The basic value of *śṛj* is thus to "reduce from potentiality to act", to "utter", "express", "realise" and "make effective". When it is really a question of abandonment, the form *utsṛj* is employed, e.g. S.B. IX. 5. 1. 12 *utsṛjya (anṛtam)*, BU. IV 3. 35 *utsarjat (śarīram)*, and Nala, X. 29 *utsṛjya (bhāryām)*; but in JB. III. 235 *udasṛjata (paśūn)* is merely "released." There are not many occurrences of *atisṛj*: the most notable is in BU. I. 4. 6, *brahmaṇo 'tiśṛṣṭiḥ, yac chreyaso devān aśṛjata* "This was the Brahman's super-emanation, that he emanated the more glorious divinities", where the intensive force of *ati* is evident, and no other change in the value of *śṛj* is involved; in the corresponding text of SB. XI. 2. 3. 3, where there is no "*śreyasaḥ*", *śṛj* alone is used, without prefix. The only other use of *atisṛj* that I know of is in Kaus. Up. 1. 2. *tam atisṛjate*, "He (the Moon) lets him go freely", i.e. allows him to enter the Moon-door to heaven unhindered; just as we might speak of St. Peter admitting a soul to heaven, or of an examiner "passing" a student; nobody renounces anything, unless, indeed, we think of the examiner as "renouncing" his right to "flunk" the student.

The problem of a "materiality" in God does not, in fact, arise. On the one hand, it is obvious that all things are, in some sense, in God, because of his infinity (*anantatva*): in this sense the eternal reasons of all "material" things must be in him. On the other hand, Sanskrit has no word for "matter" in the sense of "concrete reality": for "that which fills space in such a manner that it can be conceived of and/or sensed, Sanskrit has only *nāma-rūpa*, "name" (idea, species, substantial form) and "phenomenon" (perceptual aspect, accidental form), or in other words the "intelligible" and the "sensible". "As far as there are 'name and phenomenon' so far this universe extends" (SB. XI, 2, 3, 3); it is by means of these that the Brahman is manifested, and the world a theophany (*ib.* 5). It is true that Sanskrit *mātrā* (measure) and (*nir*)*māṇa*—(measured out) are the etymological equivalents of matter and "material", and that these terms denote whatever belongs to the realm of continuous quantity; but what is thus "measured out" (by the Sun, cf. BLAKE'S "Ancient of Day") is not the physicist's "matter", even in its most mental form, but the possibilities of manifestation that inhere in the Spirit,—"*inhere*," in the sense that time inheres in eternity, eloquence in silence, or measureable space in the space that cannot be traversed. *Mātrā* is much nearer to the Scholastic "species" as characterised by "number" than to *materia* thought of as mass. It may be added that the Platonic and Neo-Platonic concept of "measure" (*metron*) accords with the Indian: the "unmeasured" is that which has not yet been defined, or future; the "measured" is the defined or finite content of the ordered cosmos; the "immeasurable" is the infinite, which is the source alike of the indefinite and the finite, and remains unaffected by the definition of what of it is definable.

1. Even in SE. I, 3, 9. 23 *atha vratam viśṛjate*, "Then he ceases from the operation" (sacrifice), *viśṛjate* (does not mean "rejects", but only "finishes with" in the same sense that a man "finishes with" the Mass when the office has been completed.

which no more lies within his competence than it lies within the power of the Sun to hold back one who gives the right answer (*naṣe yad enam apasedhet*, JUB. I. 5. 3). The doubly intensified *abhi-ati-sṛj* employed in AV. X. 5. 15=XVI. 1. 5, is also "to let pass", of *abhy-ati-mucyate* in JUB. I. 30. 4. It can be said, accordingly, that to make of *atisrākṣiḥ* and *atyasrākṣiḥ* in our Upaniṣad "Thou hast renounced" is to force and distort the normal meanings of *sṛj*, whether with or without the intensive prefix *ati*. Nor shall we find anything in our text that compels us to force or distort the essential values of *sṛj* in this way. If Śaṅkara himself does so, it is for the same reasons that he altogether changes the meaning of KU.VI. 4; concerned as he is only with Return (*nivṛtti*, *mḥava*, *abhava*) Śaṅkara deliberately ignores the divine procession (*pravṛtti*, *prabhava*, *vibhava*),¹ the *akṣara* is not merely for him the "Unwasting" but rather the "Unflowing", or "Non-proceeding Pleroma", *ūrṇam apravartin*, CU. III. 12.⁷² It is from the same point of view that Eckhart says that "In the birth of the Son all creatures went forth life and being, hence all things are lively imaged in the Son. Now when the soul returns again within, she loses the Son. .the soul has got to die to all the activity connoted by the divine nature if she is to enter the divine essence where God is altogether idle" I. 275-6).³ This is the "last step" (*Paramam padam*), indeed in the sense that henceforth one must "walk without feet," as Rūmī words it; but no more for the Vedānta than for Eckhart the whole story. To be unified with Death (which is the same thing as to have "conquered recurrent death") is to participate in all of Death's activities as well as in his "idleness". Varuṇa's "still waters" are not merely motionless, but also the Fountain of Life and everflowing source of the Rivers of Life (*sindhūnām upodaya*, RV. VIII. 41-2; their "stillness" or immutability consists in this, that in flowing forth, they are not diminished, "This is the lovely paradox, O men, that while the rivers flow, the waters are at rest" (*caranti yan nadyas tasthur āpah*, RV. V. 47. 5). The Self (*ātman*) "apart from any glimmer of a distinctive 'this' or 'such' or 'thus'" Śaṅkara, *Svāt-*

1. *Vibhava* is wrongly understood by the translators of Pali texts; *vibhū* is the same as *Vijan*, "to be distributively born", as in AV. X. 8. 13. *Vibhava* is "omnipresence", a universal as distinct from an individual "becoming", or "birth".

2. Perhaps the best explanation of the well-known term *Akṣara* (= Brahman) is that to be found in JUB. I. 43. 8 "Whom do you revere"? The *Akṣara*. How do you mean, 'Akṣara'? It is 'Akṣara' inasmuch as though it flows (*ksarat*) is not exhausted (*na kṣiyate*). The Brahman is the inexhaustible Fons Vitæ, the "inexhaustible well" (*avatam...anupakṣitam*, RV. X. 101. 5), Plenum (*pūrṇam*), of AV X. 8. 29 and BU. I. 5).

3. This in answer to the question, "How can there be death in him who says of himself that he is the life?". "Idle" is *avṛta*, *apravartin*; it is as *vṛtāya*, *cakravartin*, *rathin* that he proceeds, and this is Eckhart's "divine activity". The point of the cited text is that to know Him as "eternal rest, eternal work", one must have crossed over from the working to the rest: whoever's knowledge is of Mitra only knows not Varuṇa, but whoever returns to Varuṇa through Mitra possesses Mitrāvaruṇau both.

manirūpaṇa, 112, cf. S. I. 140 and M. II. 39 *nāparam itthatāyāti* is also the quickening Self and Sun of all things (RV. I. 115. 1), into which it enters "on wings of gladness and felicity" (Taitt. Up. II. 5, cf. my Two Vedantic hymns, *BSOS*, VIII, p. 96, Note 3). If the Son returns to the Father, the Father is always becoming the Son.¹ The transcendence of suchness is not a privation, but an "all-obtaining" (*sarvāpti*) the fulfilment of all desires and the realisation of all potentialities, from which "all" we cannot exclude those of formal manifestation. "Whoever is joined unto God is one spirit", as St. Paul expresses it; and the Spirit bloweth as it will, *carati yathāvaśam* (RV. I. 168. 4). It is with this will that the Comprehensor's will is one, when he says in RV. V. 46.1 "Like a knowing horse, I yoke myself to the pole (of the car and that I draw that ferries o'er and giveth aid, nor do I choose between a being loosed therefrom and a coming back again. May he, the waywise leader, guide me straight." Śrī Kṛṣṇa says of himself, "There is naught in the Three Worlds, O Pārtha, that remains for me to do (*kartavyam*)² nor aught ungotten that I yet might get, and yet I am in act" (*varta eva ca karmaṇi*, BG. III. 22). It is neither by "activity alone", nor yet by "inactivity" that Kṛṣṇa can be imitated: "He who seeth inaction in action, and action in inaction, is wholly in act" *kṛtsna-karma-kṛt*, BG. IV. 18 = *kṛtakṛtyaḥ*, AA. II. 5 and Mu. II. I; and S. I. 140 *kalamkarāṇyam...abbhaññasi*). In the same way it can be said, and is in fact said by the *āptakāmam*, *ātmakāmam* *akāmam*, of BU. IV. 3. 21, that "He whose desire, or love, is the Spirit, both hath his desire and is without desire, he findeth fulfilment of desire in not desiring."

It has been sufficiently shown that the things that Naciketas is supposed to have abandoned are not those things which are abandoned by a Comprehensor. It is not, in fact, "things" that one abandons, but only false appearances; just as one rejects the notion "rope" when a snake has been diag-

1. Hence the designation of Agni as Tanūnāvāt, "own grandson," and in analogous human custom, the transmission of names from grandfather to grandson.

2. More fully in BG. III. 17-18. *Kāryam na vidyate*, and *nāsti kartavyam* because in him there is no potentiality (*kṛtyā*) that has not however been reduced to act (*kṛtam*): and *naiva tasya kṛtenārtho nākṛtena* because *sarva-saṁsiddhārthah* and like Varuṇa in RV. I. 25. 11 *abhi paśyati kṛtāni yā ca kartvā* = I. 164. 20 *anyah abhi cākṣīti*.

On the other hand, when the Deity is thought of *inprincipio*, and as proceeding, *akṛtārtha* as in MU. II. 6, there are always "those things which God must will of necessity" (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* I. 45. 2 c.), i.e. *per necessitatem infallibilitatis* (and not *coactionis*, cf. BG. III. 18 b *na cāsya sarva-bhūteṣu kaścid-artha-vyapāśrayaḥ*). Hence in RV. I. 165. 9 *yāni kariṣyā kṛṇuhi*; IV. 18.2 *bahūni me akṛtā kartvāni*; VIII 102. 8 *ābhuva tvaṣṭā rūpeva taksyā* (i.e. from that "world" from which the worlds are hewn, X. 81. 4), balanced by S. I. 180 *na me vanasmin karāṇyam atthi*, spoken by the Buddha by whom all has been done that should be done. The Devayāna, in other words, is the way of procedure from potentiality to act, from action *per accidens* to action *per essentiam*.

nosed,¹ so one rejects any other appearance to which the mind has attached itself,² and comes into a possession of a truer knowledge, and in the last analysis of Truth itself; one renounces the reflection³ (*imago imaginata*) as soon as one perceives its source (*imago imaginans*).⁴

II. 14 : Naciketas urges Death to proceed to the answering of his question, Naciketas himself describing That of which he would learn, in terms

1. It is worthy of note that the example of the rope and the snake is employed by Sextus Empiricus (*Pyrrhonism*, I. 227, 228) precisely as in the Vedānta to illustrate the unreliability of all conceptions of reality based on sense-perception. At the same time (*ib.*, I. 19) Sextus points out that the Sceptics, of whom it was said that "they abolish phenomena" do nothing of the sort; they accept the actuality of phenomena, but "we question whether the underlying object is such as it appears, and our doubt does not concern the appearance itself but the account given of that appearance"; this also appears to be the Vedantic position, *māyāvāda*. This is certainly also the Christian position: Augustine, *De immort. animæ*, c. 12. n. 19 "Things are true in so far as they have being"; St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* I, 14. 9 "Things we see around us have distinct being outside the (individual) seer", but this *being* is not what we see, rather, *ib.* I. 13. 12 and 2, "Our intellect cannot comprehend simple subsisting forms, as they really *are* in themselves", and I. 13. 7 "Realities existing in nature are outside the order of sensible and intelligible existence"; Augustine, *Conf.* XI. "Our knowledge compared with Thine is ignorance" (cf. *avidyā*). When Augustine also says (*Soliloq. lib.* II. c. 5. n. 8) "What seems to me to be true is that which is", he is not saying that any appearance is "true" or that the senses of reason together can do any more than entertain opinion about the being of things as they are in themselves. "Creation is the emanation of being", which "being" is God (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I. 45. 1), to know their being, or ultimate reality or truth would be then to know them as they are in God, to know God, for which, as the Upaniṣads so often insist, the senses and the mind are inadequate.

It may be that the Greek Sceptics did not believe in the possibility of a true knowledge "science" as distinguished from "opinion", be this as it may, the Sceptics' position as cited above is indistinguishable from that of the Upaniṣads. We are far from assuming an "Indian influence" and in any case are not immediately interested in problems of literary history, but only in the truths expressed. It may, however, be observed in the present connection that what is said of relief in painting in the *Mahāyāna Sūtrālamkāra*, XIII, 17 and *Lamkāratāra, Sūtra*, NANJIO's ed. p. 91, appears with almost verbal identity in Sextus, (*Pyrrhonism*, I. 120) and in Hermes (*Lib.* XI. ii, 17a).

2. And which is therefore a matter of "fond belief", and to be distinguished from "faith", the nature of which "consists in knowledge alone" (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* II, 11. 47. 13 ad 2).

3. "For production (*genesis, janma*) is the image of being in nature (*hūle*, the "wood" of RV. X. 31. 7 and 81. 4 = Brahman in TB. 11. 8. 9. 6 h; *prakṛti*), and the thing produced (*gignomenon, jātam*) is an imitation of what is" (*mimēmia tou notos ātmanah pratimā*, SB. RI. 1. 6. 13), Plutarch, *Moralia*, 372, F.

4. The converse position is admirably illustrated by Aesop's story of the Dog and the Shadow, where the dog, crossing a bridge, and having a piece of meat in its mouth, sees the reflection in the water, and jumps in after it, thus losing the reality in pursuit of the appearance. Incidentally, we wish to recommend to those who interpret RV. "naturalistically", Plutarch's remarks on the Greeks who fail to distinguish between "Apollo and the sun", *ib.*, 400, D.

of the negative theology. In the first line, we agree with RAWSON's "Apart from duty and non-duty", though perhaps should prefer "Apart from what is or is not 'in order'". It is precisely from the plane of "conduct" that the liberated Comprehensor, the knower of Brahman, is enlarged : cf. CU. VIII. 4.1 where neither the well-done nor ill-done (*na suḥṛtam na duḥṛtam*) can cross the Bridge of the Spirit that holds these worlds apart ; MU. VI. 18, *vidvān puṇya-pāpe vihāya*, "The Comprehensor, putting away both merit and evil" (also in Muṇḍ., III. 1.3) ; Kaus. Up. I. 4, "This one, separated from the well-done and separated from the ill-done, as a comprehensor of the Brahman, verily goes forth unto Brahman" ; BG. V. 15 "The Lord accepts neither the evil nor the well-done of anyone" (cf. JUB. I. 5. 1-2) ; M. I. 135 "If you understand the parable of the raft, you must discard *dhamma*, and a fortiori *adhamma*" ; John III. 9 "Whoever is born of God, cannot sin" ; Galatians V. 18 "If you are led by the Spirit, you are not under the law" ; Eckhart, "There neither vice nor virtue ever entered in". In the second line *ḥṛtāḥṛtā* states the same position, and may be compared with Taitt. Up. II. 9 where the Comprehensor "is not vexed by the thought 'Why have I not done (*nākaravam*) the good? Why have I done (*akaravam*) the evil?'". At the same time the metaphysical technicality of the formula must not be overlooked. The "to be done" (*ḥṛtyā*, RV. X. 85. 28 ; etc., *karīṣyam*, I. 165.9, VII. 20.1, *karāṇīyam* M. 11.39) which has "not yet been done" (*akṛtam*) contrasts with that which "has been done" (*ḥṛtam*)¹ or "perfected" (*suḥṛtam*) by the "one who has done what there was to be done" *ḥṛtakṛtyah*, AA. II. 5, MU. II. 1), "who has done the whole task" (*ḥṛtsna-karma-ḥṛt* BG. IV. 18), as potentiality (=not-being as evil) with act (=being as good) Naciketas is asking to be told of That in which there is no distinction of potentiality from act, nature from essence. In connection with the third line, we cannot accept Professor RAWSON's distinction of "timeless" from "eternal". It is true that "There are two forms of Brahman,² Time (*kāla*) and the Timeless" (*akāla*). MU. VI. 15, and that "it is at the fiat of the Imperishable" (Brahman, BU. III. 8.9) that Sun and Moon, Heaven and Earth, and our times are separated. But this does not mean that any time of ours applies to him whose knowledge of all things is *sub-specie aeternitatis* ; it is a principle from which our time proceeds that is in him ; as Augustine so well says (Conf. XI. 13) we can-

1. *Ḥṛtam*, also the highest throw in dice, employed as a symbol of perfection, cf. CU. IV. 1.6 *yathā ḥṛtāya saṁyanti* ..., AB. VII. 15 *ḥṛtam ... saṁpadyate*, cf. Jeremy Taylor's expression, "the last throw for eternity." *Ḥṛtam* is that perfection to which all *ḥṛti* tends, hence AV. V. 9. 8 *ut ḥṛtam, ut ḥṛtyām*, "Up with thee, act. Up with thee, potentiality :", and Īśa. 16, *ḥṛtam smara*. "Be reminded of perfection."

2. In this connection, what does professor RAWSON (p. 135) mean by "his" (Śaṅkara's) two forms of Brahman? Does he think that Śaṅkara *invented* the doctrine of a single essence and two natures? Not to mention that this doctrine recurs again and again in RV., one might ask whether Śaṅkara was the *author* of BU. II. 3, or whether this was not already for him, *śruti*?

not ask what God was doing "before" he made the world, because time and the world are aspects of the same thing, and cannot be thought of apart.¹ It is a part of our ignorance (*avidyā*, cf. Ulrich of Strasburg *ignorantia divisiva est errantium*) that past and future, cause and effect are apparently divided from one another; no finite being has ever experienced a "now" otherwise than as "a short period of time"; what Naciketas asks is about a now without duration, "where every when is focussed".

II. 13 *vivṛtam sadma naciketasam manye*, literally "I consider Naciketas an opened house", or as RAWSON rightly renders "An open house, I think, is Naciketas", except that this overlooks the nuance "opened". The meaning is that Naciketas has once and for all broken open the house of life, and will never again be shut up in a "house", i.e. body-and-soul. Exactly the same is expressed in Sn. 19 *viraṭa kuṭi*, "opened hut", an expression which briefly summarises what is stated at greater length in the well known words of the Buddha "Never again shalt thou, O builder of houses, make a house for me : broken are all thy beams, thy ridge-pole shattered" (J. I. 76). For "house" as "body" cf. Manu VI. 76-77.²

II. 15 : *padam*, "step". With this word Death begins his exposition of the Brahman; it represents the "third boon" of I. 19 and looks forward to Viṣṇu's "third step" in III. 9. The word is especially appropriate here, because it is precisely this "end of the road, Viṣṇu's farthest stride" or "highest abode", where there is a "well of honey" (RV. I. 154.4) that is reached when the threshold of Death's house, of the Sun-gate and World-door, is crossed, as can be seen by a collation of MU. VI. 39 "unto Viṣṇu" with Iṣā. 15 and BU. VI. 15 "unto vision". A correlation of the "three boons" with the "three strides" of Viṣṇu is maintained throughout our text, and must always be borne in mind.

1. *Non enim erat 'tunc', ubi non erat 'tempus'*. Cf. DEUSSEN, *Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, p. 201, "space and time are derived from the subject. It is itself accordingly not in space and does not belong to time".

2. Cf. S. I. 8. (I. 2.9 *Taggha me kuṭikā natthi, kaccā natthi kulāvakā*, etc. In Sn. 372, etc. *lokaṃ vivatta-cchādo* may mean the same as *viraṭa kuṭi* or may have particularly reference to the breaking open of the roof.

3. The idea of an "empty house" in MU. VI. 10 "As there are none to touch fair women who enter into an empty house (*śūnya-gāre*), so the truly poor man (*sannyāsin*) does not touch the objects of the senses" is a different one, although not unrelated. MU. VI. 10 corresponds to S. I. 107 where the Buddha refers to himself as dwelling in an "empty house" or "bare cell" (*suññāgāra-gato mahā muni*).

Muṇḍ III. 2.4 *esa ātmā viśate brahma-dhāma*, "This Spiritual essence enters into the Brahma-home" is not stated explicitly by KU. II. 13, though it is the logical and immediate consequence of the breaking apart of all mundane habitation. It is in fact through the "roof-plate" of the broken house (apex of the heart, foramen of the skull, sun-door of the cosmos) that one enters into the Brahma-home; what Muṇḍ III. 2.4 implies that there is an open door, an "open house" of another and supra-mundane order, "open" to him whose psycho-physical habitation has once and for all been "broken open". There may be in Sn. 372 *vivatta-*

II. 23. The last two lines are admittedly difficult ; we render literally "By him whom He chooses, by him He may be grasped ; this one's Spiritual-essence unveils its proper form" (*tanum svām = svarūpam*). For the phrasing compare RV. V. 71.4 *tasmai tanvam vi sasre*, "to him unveils her form". It hardly appears that any doctrine of "Grace" is necessarily involved : compare SB. II. 3. 3.8 *sa yasya kāmāyate, tasya prāṇam ādāyodeti, sa mriyate.* "He takes unto himself the Breath of whomsoever He desires and he dies," that whomsoever He loves, He takes unto himself". The Spirit, indeed, moves always "as it will" (*yathā vaśam*, RV. X. 168.4, etc ; but this is in accordance with its own nature, and is a matter of "infallible necessity", and belongs to "those things which God must will of necessity" (St. Thomas, *Sum, Theol.* I. 45.2 c). Whoever approaches Him as like, to like. He cannot repel, He cannot but "choose" ; as in JUB. I. 5.3 *neše yad enam apasedhet.*

II.20 *aṇor aṇīyān mahato mahīyān* "less than infinitesimal, greater than great" ; with numerous parallels elsewhere in the Upaniṣads (CV. VI. 8.6, VI 12.2; Muṇḍ. 11. 2.2 etc). Cf. Dionysius, *De div. nom.* IX, 2-3, "Now God is called Great in his peculiar Greatness which giveth of itself to all things that are great and is poured upon all magnitude from outside and stretches far beyond it ... This Greatness is infinite, without quantity, and without number ... And Smallness, or Rarity, is attributed to God's nature because he is outside all solidity and distance and penetrates all things without let or hindrance ... This Smallness is without quantity or quality, it is irrepressible, infinite, unlimited, and while comprehending all things, is itself incomprehensible."¹

II. 25. "Who knows truly where he is?" (*ka itthā yatra veda saḥ*) : like RV. X. 168.3 *kuta ā babhūva*, "Whence has He come to be?", with its answer in KU. II. 18 *na kutaścīt na babhūva kaścīt*, "Neither hath He become from any 'where', nor hath He become 'anyone'". Professor RAWSON's suggestion of an "agnostic interpolation" (!) is ridiculous, and indeed profane.² One might in the same way ask "Who knows what He

cchado as direct reference to this breaking out of the roof : for the sun-door is actually *raśmibhiḥ saṁchannam* (UB. I. 3.6), and Buddha is said to have "opened the doors of immortality" (S. I. 138, etc.)

1. We take this opportunity to remark Dionysius, even more perhaps than Eckhart, represents for a European an almost indispensable preparation for any serious approach to the Upaniṣads.

2. In TS. V. 4.3.4 is "In what quarter is Rudra, or in what?" an "agnostic interpolation"? Agnostic : yes, but only as Eckhart uses the word Agnosia, and in the sense of the Docta Ignorantia of Nicholas of Cusa, and "*The Cloud of Unknowing*". The answer to TS. would be as for Brahman in MU. VI 17. "The quarters do not exist for him," or as for the Gale in JUB. III. 1.9 "The quarters are confused ; they are not discerned at night ... They enter into Him" (*muhyaṁti diśo na vai tā rātrim prajñāyante ... tā etam evāpiyanti*), in other words, as they are in Him, are *mūradevāḥ*. It is only "by day" that He can be said to enter into them. Mitrāvaruṇa, as Mitra sees the "infinite" by day, and as Varuṇa

is?" and answer with Erivgena that "God himself does not know 'what' He is, because He is not any 'what' ". In the same way God himself does not know "where" He is, because He is not any "where". As Eckhart says, "His only idiosyncrasy is being." All this does not contradict the "knowability of the Supreme Being implied in previous verses of KU. and elsewhere; all that it implies is that He cannot be known, but only known of, as thus or thus; whatever can be thought or said of Him, "No, no" (*neti, neti*). From amongst the innumerable Christian formulations of the negative theology, space permits a citation here only of St. Thomas, "Every relation which is predicated of God from time (or place) does not put something real in the eternal God, but only something according to our way of thinking ... Therefore if anyone in seeing God conceives something in his mind, this is not God, but one of God's effects" (*Sum. Theol.* III. 35. 5 c and 92.1 ad 4). Eckhart "To know God really you must know Him as the Unknown", and Nicolas of Cusa "Deus cum non possit nisi negative, extra intellectualem regionem, attingi" (*De fil. Dei*, p. 121). One only can know Him, who as Rūmī says, "cannot recognize *himself*," only one "whose place is the Placeless, and trace the Traceless" (Ode XXXI in NICHOLSON, *Shams-i-Tabriz*). Very pertinent also is Rūmī's "I play the tune of negation : Death will reveal the mystery" (*Mathnawī*, VI. 722).

THIRD VALLĪ

III. 1 : *ṛta*, "cosmic order, Greek *kosmos*, Latin *ordo*. -As the Sun is Truth (*satyam*, *passim*), so the Universe is Order : *īyam vā ṛtam usau (āditya) satyam*, TS. V. 1. 5. 9. *Rta* is the order of the universe, manifested under the Sun, and seen by whoever it may be that sees through and with the solar "Eye", the "Eye of Mitrāvaruṇau" (RV. V. 51.1, VII.61.1 and 63.1). JUB. III. 36.5 identifies *ṛtam* with *brahman* (*om ity etad evāksaram ṛtam*) ;

the "infinite" by night (RV. V. 62.8). "Direction" has no meaning "at night" in the same sense that "infinite cannot be traversed". The answer taken for granted by KU. II. 25 d is then that "No one knows", "No one", that is, who still is "anyone". *Itthā*, again, is not so much "truly" or "surely" as it is "thus", and therefore with the interrogative, "how?" *Itthā* is probably to be taken, then, with *yatra*, the question being "Who knows; what or where He is". the answer being that "He is neither in any wise nor anywhere", or as it is so often expressed in the Buddhist texts, *nāparam itthalāyāti*, "There is no further extension of being in any wise," or in the words of Erivgena, "God himself does not know 'what' He is, because He is not any 'what' ", or Dante's "It is not in space nor hath it poles" (*Paradiso* XXII. 67).

Professor RAWSON's "agnostic interpolation" recalls those scholars who used to see a satire in the "Frog Hymn" of RV.

"Questions" such as those of our text form an integral part of the scriptural "style", and are to be understood as if asked in *brahmodya*; the answers can usually be found elsewhere, or are in any case known to those to whom the question is supposed to be addressed : for example KU. IV. 3 and 4 *kim atra patiṣyate?* with CU. VIII. 4-5 *atiṣyate ... ātman*.

whose self-intention is therefore the act of "creation," as in BU. I. 4. 10 "In the beginning, this-cosmos was Brahman (*brahma vā idam agra āsīt*). That knew itself, and said 'I am Brahman.' Therewith that became the All." What Mitrāvaruṇau, *apara* and *para* Brahman, thus "know" or "see" is the "World picture (*jagac-citram*) painted by the Spiritual-essence (*ātman*) on the canvas of itself, in which it takes a great delight" (Śaṅkara, *Svāimani-ūpaṇa*, 95) : the "speculum aeternum," eternal mirror, in which God sees himself and all things, and in which those Contemplatives¹ who also gaze perceive likewise all things more clearly than in any other way, and so also see "themselves" more truly than "as they are in themselves" (Augustine and Boneventura) ;² for as BU. I. 4.10 continues, "Whoever of the Devas is awakened (*pratyabodhyata*) : thereunto, he indeed has become it, and so too in the case of Prophets and that of men... Yea, here and now (*etar-hi*), whoever knows that 'I am Brahman', enters into that 'this,' he becomes 'This All' (*sa idam sarvam bhavati*), nor can any Deva hinder him from thus becoming."⁴

With these conceptions of the "world-picture" that the twain "drink in" *pibantau*, from *pā* in the sense "feast upon with the eyes, ears, etc., cited by MW. from Manu) compare Genesis I. 31 "And God saw everything that he had made, and behold it was very good." It is in "Order" that this "goodness" consists : what God beheld was 'the admirable beauty of the universe (which) is made up of all things. In which even what is called evil, well-ordered and in its place, is the eminent commendation of what is good' (Augustine, *Enchir.* 10. 11), what God saw is "the most beautiful Order given to things by God, in which the universe consists" (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* I 25. 6 ad 3) ; "the universal form of this complex" Dante, *Paradiso*, XXXIII 90).

Ītam... parame parārdhe in our verse corresponds to *ītasya pade* in RV. X. 177. 1-2, "That which the Winged-one conceives by intellect, that which the Gandharva utters in the womb, that flashing, luminous noumenon the Redesmen are intent upon" (*ītam dyotamānam svaryam manīṣām ītasya pade kavayo nī pānti*). *Pānti* here, from *pā* "to protect," is nearer in value to *pibantau* from *pā* "to drink" than might at first appear ; for "to observe, notice, attend to, follow," cf. "heed," are recognized meanings of this other

1. *Kācid dhīraḥ* of KU. IV. 1, "Whatever Contemplative," not "a certain sage" as RAWSON renders.

2. "Speculum aeternum mentes se videntium ducit in cognitionem omnium creatorum, sicut dicit Augustinus (*De civ. Dei*. XII. 29) quod rectius ibi cognoscunt quam alibi . Unde melius videbo me in Deo quam in me ipso" (St Bonaventura, *I Sent.*, d. 35, a. unic, q. 1, fund. 3 and *In Hexam.*, col. 12, n. 9, cited in BISSEN, *L'Exemplarisme Divin selon Saint Bonaventura*, 1929, pp. 39, 41)

3. KU. VI. 4 *iha ced aśakad boddhum* : JUB IV. 19. 4 *pratibodha-viditam malam* Cf. "Buddha."

4. JUB. I. 5. 3 "The (solar Janus) is not able to drive him away ; for he invokes the Truth" ; *neṣe* in JUB. corresponding to *na ... īṣate* in BU.

pā (MW), and the interpretation in JUB. III. 36. 5 where the verse is discussed, is evidently correct,—“it is inasmuch as they ‘reflect upon’ that they are said to ‘protect’” (*yad...mīmāṃsante...tad...nīpānti*); or as we might put it, *ṛta-dyumnā manīṣām nīpānti*, “entertain the luminous idea of Order,” which “entertainment” is also a “maintenance.”¹ The distinction of *pānti*, “they reflect upon” and *pibantau*, “they imbibe,” in the very usual sense of “drink in mentally,” is far from absolute.

A full discussion of *ṛta* would be impossible here. But we cannot too strongly emphasize that this word is only properly translatable by its etymological equivalent, “Order.” As “order,” and therefore also “right” and “rite,” *ṛtam* is distinguishable from the “true” (*satyam*) as an application is distinguished from the principle in which it subsists more eminently. *Ṛta* is the “right” (not only in a moral sense, but in the broader sense of “correct”), *ṛtāvan* “in order” and “regular,” *anṛta* whatever is “inordinate” or “irregular” or “informal.” The coming into being of the Kosmos is the production of “Order” out of “Chaos” (*kha*,² as in RV. II. 28.5 *ṛdhyāma te varuṇa khām ṛtasya*), and this is specifically the Aryan operation (*vrata*) as distinguished from the incoperation of the Asuras. “These Comprehenders, Men-of-order, Redesmen (*vidvāṃsah . ṛtāvanah . karayah*) possess themselves of the Misers’ ultimate treasure that was hidden in the case (*mḍhim pañinām guhā hitam*), and having taken note of the disorders *anṛtā*, sc. of the ‘miserly’ Asuras), returned (from their foray), and took their stand upon the mighty Path” (RV. II. 24. 6-7), “shaped all this dusty-world, measuring out the homes that erst had been unmeasured” (RV. X. 56. 5), “Ye, Mitrāvaruṇau, Redesmen, fosterers of order, ye in whose hand is (—who maintain) order, have in ‘order’ realised your great design” *ṛtena mitrāvaruṇāv ṛtauṛddhāv ṛtasprśā kratum . bṛhantam āśāthe kavī*, RV. I. 2. 8-9).³

III. 1 continued : On the other hand, it is most unlikely that *sukṛtasya loke* means “in the righteous world” Mund. I. 2. 6-10 ridicules those who think that “this that has been earned by their merit and what has been well-

1. In RV. I. 2. 8 cited below, *ṛta-sprśā* : has this value quite literally, *sprś* “to touch, handle, take hold of” (MW) corresponding to “maintain,” literally “hold in hand.”

With *nī pānti* cf. RV. I. 1. 8. where Agni is *gopām ṛtasya*; and VIII. 26. 21 where Vāyu, the Gale of the Spirit, is *ṛtas-patī*. In the latter context, Vāyu as Tvaṣṭr’s “son-in-law” = husband of Sūrya = Sūrya, *ātma jagatas tasthuṣaś ca*, RV. I. 115. 1.

2. For some of the connotations of *kha* see my “*Kha* and other words denoting ‘Zero’ in connection with the metaphysics of space” in *BSOS* VII, 1934, pp. 487-497. Thence originate *sukha* and *duḥkha* (as remarked by Buddhaghosa, VM. 461).

3. *Kratu*, “design,” “purpose,” or “counsel” (as OT. passim, “the counsel of the Lord,”—*consilium sine dubitatione*). In KU. II. 11 *krator anantyaṃ*. But in KU. 11. 20 *akratu*, “purposeless,” “uncalculating,” without an individual will, cf. RV. IV. 46. 1 *na ...vasmi*, “not as I will, but as Thou wiltest.”

4. *Concreato fu ordine e costruito alle sustanzie*, Dante, *Paradiso*, XXIX. 31 (the *sustanzie* being, as is clear from the following lines, *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*).

done (*puṇyaḥ, sukṛtaḥ*) is the Brahma-world... the foci who delight in *that* (world won by merit) as their 'better.'¹ (*śreyasaḥ*, cf. KU. II. 2) ... having come into being (*bhūtvā*) at the summit of contingent being (*nākasya pṛsthe = bhavāgre*),² remain in this world or a worse." Similarly JUB. I. 3. 1-3,

1. The Empyrean Brahma-world is more truly "not made" (*akṛta*, "uncreated") than "well made" (*sukṛta*), unless we understand by "well made," "self-made" (*svakṛta*), in accordance with Taitt. Up. II. 7. Śamkara must have had this text in mind; but his further interpretation of *ṛta* as *karma-phala* is impossible in a context dealing with the *parama parārdha*, where there are certainly no "rewards" and to which there is no admission by "merit" (*puṇya*) but only by "qualification" (*āhāna*) RV. X. 63. 4

Here may be noticed KU. II. 24 and RAWSON'S annotations. Let us observe, in the first place, that the Upaniṣads, the *māna kāṇḍa*, are gnostic treatises by hypothesis, and not ethical treatises: their concern is with the art of knowing God, or in other words with the contemplative life. We cannot expect to find any considerable part of these texts devoted to the exposition of prudence. The most that can be expected in these contexts is a full recognition of the indispensable dispositive value of "means," and this is just what we find in KU. II. 24 and the corresponding Muṇḍ. Up. III. 2. 3 (which RAWSON very properly cites, p. 115), cf. BG. II. 44: it is very clear, however, that the ethical means, however indispensable, are not ends in themselves but *means* to an end beyond themselves. This is also the Christian doctrine: prudence is essential to the active life, but accidental to the contemplative life (St Thomas, *Sum Theol* II-II, 180. 2 "The moral virtues do not belong to the contemplative life essentially. On the other hand, the moral virtues belong to the contemplative life dispositively" ("Theirs is said to be the contemplative life who are chiefly intent on the contemplation of truth. The contemplative life, as regards the essence of the action pertains to the intellect," and must be distinguished from the mere observation of things by the senses or the intellect and from the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, *ib.* 180.1,—the last observation showing very clearly that neither "science" nor "philosophy" in the modern senses of the words pertains to the contemplative life, but to the active life) It is not, therefore, any defect in the Upaniṣads that they are not expositive of ethics; those "who are especially intent on external actions" are expected to obey the laws of ritual and conduct (*karma* in both senses) which are laid down in the Dharma Śāstras, in which the first principles with which alone the Upaniṣads are concerned are applied to specific contingencies, which obedience is also and at the same time an indispensable preparation or qualification for the contemplative life, as asserted in our texts, KU. II. 24 and Muṇḍ. III. 2. 3, BU. IV. 4. 9.

2. *Nākasya Pṛsthe* is not "at the back of Heaven," in the sense of on the farther side of Heaven, "but just on this side of Heaven"; in the same way that in AV. X. 7. 38 *krāntam salilasya pṛsthe* is "proceeding on the face of the waters." The Heavens above and the Waters below are thought of as having their backs turned towards us.

In the same way the Nākasads or "Vault-sitters" are on this side of vonder Sun, while the Pañcacūdāḥ are on the other side of the Sun (SB. VIII. 6. 1. 14, cf. TS. V. 3. 7); a clear distinction of the highest station of the cosmic Devas from the supra-cosmic Gandharvaloka, and thus of what is obtainable by sacrifice alone, and what by gnosis (with or without an actual performance of the rite), cf. the similar distinction of the mundane Devas from the supra-mundane Gandharvas in SB. III. 2. 4. The highest station of the mundane Devas is an Elysium, that of the Gandharvas the Empyrean. That in TS. V. 3. 7. 2 the Pañcacūdās are called "Apsarases"

where there is no admission to the Sun "by what thou hast done ill or well" (*idam pāpam akar...yo vai puṇyakt syāt*); cf. RV. VIII. 70. 3 "None attaineth him by works or sacrifices" (*na kiṣ ṭam karmaṇā naśat...na yajñair*), BG. V. 8 "By no means ought a harnessed man, a knower of the principle, consider that 'I am the doer of anything'" (*naiva kiṃcit karomiti yukto manyeta tattvavit*) and in accordance with this both JUB. I. 3. 3 "Thou (God) art the doer thereof" (*tvam vai tasya kartā'si*), and Tauler, *Following of Christ*, 16, 17 "By their works they cannot go in again...If any man is to come to God, he must be empty of all works and let God work alone."¹

III. 1 continued: *Parame parārdhe*=*parame vyoman*, "in uttermost empyrean" (RV. X. 129.7). Cf. RV. I. 164.10 and Praśna I. 11 *pañcapādām diva...pare ardhe pītaram, apare (ardhe) vicakṣaṇam* "Five-footed Father in the farther half of heaven" (beyond the Sun), the Far-seer (Sun) in the lower half," where again it is a question of two aspects of deity, *para* and *apara* Brahman, Varuṇa and Mitra, etc., of whom the one sees by means of the other as being his "Eye" (RV. X. 88. 13 b, AV. X. 7. 33, Buddhist *cakkhum loke*, etc.); and of the distinction of an Empyrean from an Elysium. It is the former, the Empyrean, that is referred to in KU. V. 15, "There no sun shines, nor moon, nor any star," cf. Apoc. XXI. 23 "And the city had no need of the sun." It is, moreover, precisely to this "farther half" that Brahman, after emanating the lower and the higher cosmic deities, retires *atha brahmaiva parārdham agacchad*),—i.e. "rested on the seventh day,"—and thence that he "descended from heaven" or more literally "went down again by means of name and aspect, or phenomenon" (*pratyavaid rūpeṇa caiva nāmnā ca* whereby¹ the Devas, originally mortal, became immortal (SB. XI. 2. 3. 1-6). In the citation of RV. I. 164. 10 above, we retained *pañcapādām* because this epithet of the "Father" (cf. RV. x. 82.1 Viśvakarma, "Father of the Eye," i.e. of the Sun) lends itself to a further demonstration of the

"who wait upon the Sacrificer in yonder world" is consistent with the story of Purūravas and Urvaśi (SB XI. 5. 1), his final reunion with Urvaśi in the Gandharvaloka being evidently "in high heaven" (*brhad divā*, RV. V. 41. 19).

1. "The works of a man who is led by the Holy Ghost, are the works of the Holy Ghost rather than his own" (St Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* II-I. 93. 6 ad. 1).

2. "The image (*pratimā*) of the Year which men revere (*upāsate*) in Thee, O Night," TS. V. 7. 2. 1: "Mitra is the Day, Varuṇa the Night," PB. XXV. 10.10.

3. In the *te brahmaṇāpuh amṛtam* of the text, the instrumental value of *brahmaṇā* is significant, and should be retained in translation. Needless to say that it is as Agni or the Sun that the Brahman comes back into the cosmos, and that to say that the cosmic Devas "obtain immortality by means of the Brahman" (manifested by name and aspect) is the same as to say with RV. I. 31. 7 "Thou, Agni (*vicakṣaṇe* in v. 6 like *vicakṣaṇam* in I. 164. 10, *vipaśyati* in III. 62. 9, and Vipassi as former Buddha in D. II. 35) does appoint the mortal unto highest immortality," or with IV. 53. 2 "Thou, Savitr erst for the Devas, whom we worship, brought forth their immortality, highest of all participations; and furthermore by way of gift to men didst open up the sequence of their lives."

Father's nature; *pañcapādām pīṭaram* corresponding, for example, to the *akṣaram pañcavidham* of AA. II. 3. 8, and to the "fivefold Prajāpati, Year and Gale" of SB. VI. 1. 2. 17 f. the five forms or selves being those of the seasons or quarters; with which Śaṅkara's gloss on Praśna I. 11 is in full agreement, the "five feet" being explained as the "five seasons," which are the "feet" of the Annual-self of the Sun, by which feet (or rays) his procession is effected (*padair . . . āvartate*). Similarly in MU. II. 6, where Prajāpati, "dividing himself fivefold," proceeds accordingly; the whole context "He, indeed, being of unaccomplished purpose because of his remaining within this heart of ours, considered, 'Let me enjoy, or experience, objects' (*sa vā eṣo 'smād hṛdantarād akṣārtho 'manyatārthān aśnāmīti*), wherefore breaking open these openings (the doorways of the sense perceptions), and now arisen, by means of his five rays eats of the objects of the senses" *atha khānīmāni bhīt-vodītaḥ pañcabhir naśmibhir viśayān atti*) throws a vivid light not merely on the present passage, but also upon KU. IV. 1 and 6.

III. 1, concluded: *Chāyā-tapau*, "shadow and glowing or light": "so different," as RAWSON says, although one and the same, are the immanent and transcendent "selves," the taster and the looker on, God and Godhead, Mitra and Varuṇa, *apara* and *para* Brahman. Cf. KU. VI. 5 where again the Brahman is to be seen "in the Brahma world," in his highest aspect, as *chāyā-tapau*. Similarly BÖHME, *Three Principles*, XIV. 76 "And the deep of the darkness is as great as the habitation of the light; and they stand not one distant from the other, but together in one another, and neither of them hath beginning nor end." "Mitra is the day, Varuṇa the night" (PB. XXV. 10. 10); "Mitra and Varuṇa are a conjoint pair" (SB. IX. 5. 1. 54). Considered together, it can be said of the Supreme Identity that "His shadow is life and his shadow death" (RV. X. 121. 2), for he is indeed the Year that "separates (gives distinct being to) some and unifies (slays) others" (AA. III. 2. 3); "I kill and I make alive" (Deut. XXXII. 39). Considered apart Agni or the Sun are both "shadow" as "likeness" (RV. V. 44. 6 and GB. I. 3) and "shadow" as "shelter from the heat" (RV. VI. 16. 38), "for in his shadow is all this universe" (SB. VIII. 7. 3. 13), cf. Isaiah XXV. 4 and XXXII. 2 and Lamentations IV. 20. In other words it is the sheltering Light that is the "shadow," and the Darkness that is the "burning heat." At the same time, from the point of view of the absolutely negative theology it can also be said that the Akṣara (Brahman) that it is "without either shadow or darkness, without a within or without" (BU. III. 8.8); "He is, by that alone is he apprehended" (KU. VI. 12), like Damascene, *De fid. orth.* I, "He who is is the principal of all names applied to God."¹

III. 2: The symbol of the Bridge (*setu*) is of the highest significance in the Vedic as well as in other traditions; this is the Cinvat bridge of the Avesta and the "Brig of Dread" in folk-lore. The theme demands a detailed exposi-

1. For a fuller discussion see my *Chāyā*, in *JAOS.* 55, 1935.

tion elsewhere. Here we shall remark (1) that the Bridge identified with Brahman in our text is elsewhere identified with the Ātman, e.g. CU. VIII. 4. 4. (*ya ātmā sa setuḥ*),¹ BU. IV. 4. 22 (*aja ātmā...eṣa setuḥ*), Muṇḍ. II. 2.5 *tam evaikaṃ jānatha ātmānam (anīṭasyaiṣa setuḥ)*, cf. RV. X. 61. 16 (Sun, or Soma) *vipras...svasetuḥ*, and John XIV. 6 "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life", and (2) that the word *setu* itself, according to its derivation from *sī* to "bind," as though with cords, is most significant, not only when it means a "bond" or "fetter", as in RV. IX. 73. 4, but also in its more usual sense of "bridge". For the Bridge of the Spirit is literally a "tie" that links together Heaven and Earth, the Sun to the heart; the solar Spirit is the Pontifex; the symbolism of the Bridge coincides with that of the "Thread-spirit" (*sūtrātman*), and its peculiar aptitude must have been even more apparent when bridges were usually made of rope, and not as they are now solid constructions of stone or steel, than it is to-day. Whoever has seen a rope-bridge, extended like a spider's thread (which we say advisedly, because the related symbolism of the solar Spider is also involved) from shore to shore of a raging Himalayan torrent, can well appreciate the words of KU. III. 14 b "Strait as a razor's edge, hard to be passed over (*duratyayā*, cf. RV. VII. 65. 3 *setū duratyetū .mitrāvaruṇā*), a difficult path"!

III. 3-4 : The Chariot is here, as usual, the body, or rather body and all that we usually mean by "soul". RAWSON, in a useful discussion (p. 216) scarcely brings out the consistency of the various "parables". We propose to consider only one point, in its bearing on the *Milindapañho* version. In KU. the Ātman, as RAWSON rightly expresses it, is the "lord of the chariot", i.e. the master who drives about in it, knowing and willing its course, though he delegates the actual operation of the vehicle to an assistant or coachman (the distinction of *rathin* from *sārathin* being that of passenger from driver), in AA. II. 3. 8 we have the very usual formulation according to which the Breath of Spirit "takes up its stand upon" (*prāṇo 'dhiṣṭhathi*) its vehicle, which is accordingly its "stand" (*adhiṣṭhānam*, CU. VIII. 12. 1), cf. BG. XV. 9 *adhiṣṭhāya*, cited in a Note above; in MU. II. 6 the Ātman is the "instigator" (*pracodayitṛ*) who sets up the body in possession of conscious, and this is again the "taking of a stand" (*avasthānam*) or hypostasis. In each case the distinctness of the Ātman from the *buddhi*, *manas*, *indriyāni*, etc. is emphatic, and the same as that of the Knower of the field from the field itself in BG. XIII. If the steeds, the senses, are sometimes unruly (KU. III.5) we have the situation described in BG. V. 6, "Then indeed the Ātman has to behave as an enemy, at war with what is Not-the-ātman" (*anātmanas tu śatruṭve vartetātmaiva śatruvat*), the Spirit wars with the flesh. The *Milindapañho* does not, with the word *anattā*, deny the Ātman, but merely asserts, in accordance with so many other of the Pali texts, that *this* (chariot), *like this* (commonly called "Nāgasena"), "is not the Spirit", or "is not my

1. Cf. *viprā viprasya bṛhato vipāścītaḥ (sarituh)* in RV. V. 81. 1 and *tram agne agninā viprasya...samidhyase* in VIII. 4v. 13.

spirit", "not-ātman" (*na me so attā*, "This is not my spirit", *passim*). The Buddha, as Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS has recently remarked (*JRAS.* 1937, p. 259), took the existence of the Ātman for granted. We should add that in KU. III. 9, the correspondence of *viññāna* with the *buddhi* of III. 3 is to be noted; and furthermore, in the second line, the construction of the first is repeated, so that we have *manah-pragrahavān narah*, where *manah-pragraha-* corresponds to *viññāna-sārathiḥ* and *-vān narah* to *yas tu* in the first line, and accordingly, "the man who has mind as reins", not "the man who has mind well-reined" if this means, as it seems to mean, "who curbs his own mind", for that is the business, not of the *nara* but of the *buddhi*. The steeds will not be unruly, if controlled by *viññāna* (*buddhi*) curbing the senses, not directly, but by means of the *manas*.¹ It is the man without *viññāna* (discrimination), the man whose *manas* (reason) has not been harnessed, whose steeds are unruly, who does not reach the goal, as stated in KU. III. 7, of which III. 9 states the converse. The man's fault in 7 consists in not having attached the reins to the bit, and given them into the hands of his coachman; his merit in 9, in having done just this. Whatever happens, the Ātman will not be affected; but when the vehicle is unmade at death, and the Spirit ascends, the "man" So-and-so, he who thought in terms of "I" and "mine", will not be "in it", will not have "found himself", or "known who he is"; there will be nothing left of him, of So-and-so, but his *karma*, or in other words tendencies, to be inherited by others. The point may seem to be a fine one, but it seems to us important to preserve, as in the text itself, the hierarchy of the powers, and not to confuse the "man", of whom the senses are a part, with that one of his powers, of which it is the business to control the senses. Such a confusion would imply a participation of the senses themselves in their own government—a truly "democratic", situation, and like all conceptions of "self-government" in the sense of "government of the people by the people", an impossible thing, since it is impossible for any power to function simultaneously in one and the same relation both actively and passively.

1. Verse 9 is very nearly a paraphrase of RV. V. 81 *yuñjate mana uta yuñjate dhiyah viprā viprasaya bṛhato vipāścitaḥ* (*savituh*) where *dhiyah*, "contemplations" (*dhyānāni*) corresponds to the *buddhi* and *viññāna* of our text, and *yo yunkte dhiyah* to the *dhirah*, "contemplative" of KU. IV. 1. We take this opportunity to remark that the customary renderings of *dhi* and *dhirah* as "thought" and "wise" are most inadequate; it is not by "thinking" that the vision of God is attained, but in "contemplation." "Thinking, as the modern philosopher "thinks," pertains to the active life, and is far from what is meant by *dhi*. Cf. St Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* I. 34. 1 and 2, "When the intellect attains to the form of truth (i.e. *svarūpam sampadyate*: when there is *adequatio rei et intellectus*, in *samādhi*), it does not think, but perfectly contemplates the truth," and Richard of St. Victor, *De Contempl.* I. 4, distinguishing between contemplation, meditation, and cogitation ("contemplation is the soul's clear and free dwelling upon the object of its gaze; meditation is the survey of the mind while occupied in searching for the truth; and cogitation is the mind's glance which is prone to wander").

III. 10-11 : Most of RAWSON's difficulties arise from his belief in an "evolution" of Indian thought, and consequent preoccupation with literary history. He reaches nevertheless the right conclusion as regards *avyakta*, the "Unmanifested", in the light of BG. VIII. 18-21 (cf. II. 25, 28 and VII. 24), when he says, p. 139, that "the *avyakta* is the supreme Person's own nature". For the Supreme Identity is precisely the identity of a manifested *essence* and an unmanifested *nature*, "being and non-being" (*sadasat*), and in this sense "beyond" both : The Supreme Identity, in other words, is *vyaktāvyakta*, "Shown and Unshown"; just as *Prajāpati* is repeatedly spoken of as *niruktānirukta*, and as in RV. X. 129. 2 the Supreme Identity is "at once spirated and despirated" *ānīd avātam tad ekam*).¹ That the *avyakta* of our text is not the Sāṃkhyan *pradhāna* (primary matter, the "lower *prakṛti*" of BG. VII. 5, nature divided from essence) appears immediately from the treatment of the "two *avyaktas*" in BG. II. 28 and VIII. 18-21: of which one (the Sāṃkhyan *avyakta* — *pradhāna*) is that from which, and the other that *to* which all beings proceed ; just as there are two *amātrās*, one the not-yet-measured out (*nirmāta*) from which "chaos" all things are measured out, and the other the immeasurable ; the *vyakta* lying in between the two *avyaktas*, just as *mātrā* (etymologically "matter", but more precisely, the realm of number) lies between the two *amātrās*.. Nothing in the bearing of KU. III. 11 would be changed if we substituted *vyaktaḥ param avyaktam*. what RAWSON fails to realise is that the *ātmā mahān* is precisely that *vyakta* beyond which lies the *avyakta*, the Unshown, or better, Unshowable. Now this *ātman*, this *mahat*, is precisely the Lord of the Chariot, the *rathin* of KU. III. 3 : in other words, the Supernal Sun, the solar Ātman of RV. I 115. 1, correctly identified by Śaṃkara (and DEUSSEN) with Hiraṇyagarbha² ; that Sun, viz. whose disk is the gateway of Death's house the way into the Person who is "beyond" both the Light of the Sun (*vyakta*) and the Divine Darkness (*avyakta*) "where no Sun shines" (KU. V. 15), and "beyond which there is nothing whatsoever ; that is the pillar (*kāṣṭhā*), that the last step" (KU. III. 11 and IV. 9, cf. BG. VII. 7) *Ātmā mahān* is almost a cliché for the "Sun", the manifested (*āvis*) God as distinguished from the unmanifested (*guhā*) Godhead, Mitra as distinguished from Varuṇa, *apara* from *para* Brahman. *Mahān aja ātmā* is the Sun in BU. IV 4. 22, the Lord and Master of the All. And if, as will presently appear, in connection with KU. V. 13 *eko vaśī*, this Sun is also Death

1. ECKHART, "Equally spirated, despirated, where these two abysses hang, there is the Supreme Being" (*Dädu zwei abgründe in einer glieheit swebent gegeistet un engegeistet da ist ein höher wesen*, PFEIFFER, p. 517).

2. RAWSON's argument against the equation *ātmā mahān hiraṇyagarbha* is so weak that he has to support it by at least two false assumptions, (1) that the doctrine of the two forms of Brahman is specifically Śaṃkara's, who therefore drags in the Hiraṇyagarbha to support "his doctrine," and (2) that Śaṃkara understands by *ātmā mahān* the "individual self" (it is, of course, the composite *ratha*, the *saviñjāna kāya*, that is the individual self or "I", the *rathin*, whose vehicle it is, being the Universal Self or Spirit).

himself, this too is in accordance with the designation of Death as *mahātmā* in I. 16.¹ So too in KU. II. 22 *mahāntam vibhum ātmānam* "the great and omnipresent Self" in Rawson's version is in the same way none but the Sun, "the Self of all that moves or is at rest" of RV. I. 115. 1. The whole logic of the enunciated hierarchy depends upon an intelligible sequence on the one hand of what is cosmic (*artha, manas, buddhi*) and on the other of *ātmā mahān, avyaktā, puruṣa* : *ātmā mahān*, and *mahat* of the following verse are the sun, the "manifested" (*vyaktā*; what is beyond the Sun, "unmanifested" (*avyaktā*) : and beyond the unmanifested", the Person, the Supreme Identity of *vyaktāvyaktā, sadasat*, Mitrāvaruṇau, *apara* and *para* Brahman, "That One both spirant and despirated" of RV. X. 129. 2. This priority of the Person to the Sun is stated more briefly already in RV. X. 90. 2-3, where the "Lord of immortality, uprisen on food" is the Sun, and "great as His greatness may be (*etāvān asya mahimā*), superior unto him is the Person" *ato jyāyāṁś ca puruṣaḥ*).

III. 11, *kāṣṭhā*, "post" or "pillar", RAWSON'S "end", and my "goal-post", above.² The meaning of the word can be more fully developed, so as to show how it stands in the present context for "last end". *Kāṣṭhā* occurred in a significant relation in JUB. I. 20 where, as usual, Heaven and Earth are "pillared apart (*viṣkabdhau*) by a third principle, which is variously designated, and here by the "atmosphere" (*antarikṣa*), hermeneutically "inter-axle" (*antary-akṣa*), and thus "as two wheels are propped apart by the axle-tree (*akṣeṇa*), or as two tree-plank (*palāśe*) by a post (*kāṣṭhena*)".³ The "atmosphere" is "*ya evāyam pavata*, i.e. the Gale of the Spirit, Vāyu : it is, in fact the Spirit (*ātman*) that both holds apart these worlds and connects them, as a bridge connects the banks of a river (RV. X. 61. 16, BU.

1. In JUB. III. 1-3 (= CU. IV 3 with some variations) the "greatness" (*mahiman*) of the Spirit (*ātman*), the Spiritual-essence of Devas and of mortals (*ātmā devānām uta martyānām*, cf. RV. I. 115. 1), the Sun completely risen (i.e. the Sun that no more rises or sets cf. CU. III. 11, Sol, Irivictus), the Shepherd of the Universe, and Seizer (*grahaḥ*) and Devourer (*babhasaḥ* in CU. preferable to *raṣasaḥ* in JUB of the four powers (Agni, Āditya, Candramas, Diśaḥ considered as functional Persons who come forth and return) consists in this, that "not being eaten himself, he devours whatever eats" (*yad adantum*, in JUB, preferable to *yad anannam* in CU). It is just in this way that Death in KU. I. 16 is *mahātmā*, and by the same token the Sun, as elsewhere, passim. The identity of Love and Death represented in the equation of Kāmadeva-Māra in Buddhist texts, goes back to the oldest sources.

2. *Kāṣṭhā* here as "goal," as in RV. VII. 93. 3 and IX. 21. 7 (GRASSMANN. Ziel der Rennbahn), cf. *kāṣṭha-bhṛt* in SB. as "leading to a mark or aim." *Kāṣṭhā* in the derivative sense of "way", found several times in RV., (the "post" giving its name to the "course") is not impertinent to *kāṣṭhā* as "goal post" also, because the Axis of the Universe is, although the end of the way in any given world, is also the "way up and down the world" considered in the plural, the trunk of the Tree, with its branches, in this sense, corresponding to "Jacob's ladder" with its rungs.

3. Better, perhaps "as two *palāśas* (i.e. root and branches) are separated by the trunk."

IV. 4. 22, CU. VIII. 4. 4. etc.)), cf. RV. X. 85. 12. where the axle-tree of the cosmic chariot is the "distributive breath" (*vyāna*). The two wheels of the cosmic chariot are Heaven and Earth, or Sun and Moon, the axle their mover (RV. I. 30. 19, V. 29. 4, X. 85. 18, X. 89. 4, etc.). A full discussion of the various aspects of the Axis of the Universe, *skambha* = Greek *stauros*, cannot be undertaken here; this "axis" or "pillar" is the "end" because it passes through the navel or centre of all planes of being, towards which, therefore, all paths converge. The word *palāśe* rendered above by "two tree-planks", i.e. two planes or platforms of *palāśa* wood, representing Heaven and Earth, may be noted, however, as of considerable interest, because in RV. X. 135. 1 it is precisely "in the fair *palāśa tree*" (*vrkṣe su-palāśe*) that Yama's Paradise is located; this "Tree of Life" beyond the Sun being analogous to the "Tree of Life", or rather "of the knowledge of good and evil" of which the trunk connects the earthly and heavenly poles.

(To be continued)

ECHO-WORDS IN TODA*

By

M. B. EMENEAU

In the languages of India, Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, and Munda, "echo-words", as they have been called, are frequent. A small and in its meagreness tantalizing amount has been written on this phenomenon. Not all the possible references are accessible to me at the present time, but some references may be given to indicate to the interested reader where discussions of the subject are to be found. Most of the grammars of Dravidian languages mention the subject; e.g. A. H. ARDEN, *A progressive grammar of common Tamil* (4th edition revised by A. C. CLAYTON; Madras, Christian Literature Society for India, 1934), on p. 301 under the heading "Colloquialisms" gives a few examples without however describing the formation or the function of the forms. HAROLD SPENCER, *A Kanarese grammar* (Mysore, Wesleyan Miss. Press, 1914), p. 208, gives a list of words of this type showing a number of different formations, none of which is exactly described. The corresponding section in F. KITTEL, *A grammar of the Kannaḍa language* (Mangalore, Basel Mission Book Depository, 1903), is on pp. 304-5; this treatment also is somewhat unsatisfactory. W. W. WINFIELD, *A grammar of the Kui language* (Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1928), on p. 146 in a section "Balance of words and phrases" gives examples of the phenomenon for the Kui language; that the account is incomplete seems clear when one compares the facts given for Kuvi, a very closely related dialect, in the Circular of the Linguistic Society of India referred to below. The So:ra: language, one of the Munda group, seems to be particularly rich in formations of this kind; see G. V. RAMAMURTI, *A manual of the So:ra: (or Savara) language* (Madras, Superintendent, Government Press, 1931), especially pp. 150-2. I am unable to give references for the Indo-Aryan languages, apart from those in the next paragraph, but the phenomenon seems to be somewhat better known for these than for the Dravidian and the Munda languages.

* Acknowledgment is due to the American Council of Learned Societies, whose support made possible the work of which this paper represents a small part. The paper was read at the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference at Trivandrum in 1937. The phonetic symbols used are in general those approved by the IPA. The writing is strictly phonemic. Some of the symbols used need explanation. *o* and *o:* are mid, mixed, rounded vowels. All successions of vowels represent diphthongs. *tc* is a unitary affricate, palatalized post-dental. The italics *t*, *d*, *s* are alveolar phonemes, distinct both from the dentals or post-dentals and from the retroflex phonemes. *sh* represents the palatalized alveolar sibilant phoneme. *l* is a voiceless retroflex lateral, a distinct phoneme in this language from the voiced retroflex lateral and from the voiced and voiceless alveolar laterals. Of the three tremulant phonemes, *r* is a voiceless post-dental trill, *ɾ* a voiceless retroflex trill, *ɽ* a voiced post-dental one-flap phoneme.

A general discussion of the problem was published by the Linguistic Society of India in its earliest publications, which, being in the form of cyclo-styled sheets, will unfortunately not be accessible for many scholars.¹ The references are : Circular 3 (14th May 1928), pp. 7-8, in which the discussion was initiated by Prof. S. K. CHATTERJI; Circular 4 (25th June 1928), p. 2 (A. D. AZAHAR on Panjabi and Urdu), pp. 8-10 (Prof. SIDDHESHWAR VARMA on Lahndi, Bhadarwahi, and Kashmiri), pp. 13-14 (Prof. L. V. RAMASWAMI AYYAR on Kuvi, Brahui, and the south Dravidian languages), p. 16 (Pt. GAURI SHANKAR on Dogrī; the same material also in *Indian Linguistics*, vol. 1, parts II-IV, "A short sketch of Dogrī dialect," p. 81 of the monograph). In these contributions some interesting facts emerged, not least of which for Dravidian studies is the indication that while Kuvi of central India shows a formation similar to that found in most of the other Dravidian languages and to that to be described in this paper for Toda, Brahui on the other hand has a formation of a different character, whose parallel is perhaps to be found in some of the Iranian or the Indo-Aryan dialects.

Valuable as some of these contributions have been, nowhere have I been able to find a clear statement of the formations and functions of "echo-words" in any one language (with the possible exception of the description for So:ra:). It is evident from most of the accounts that several different formations are found in each language and, although exact functional descriptions are almost entirely lacking, it can be suspected that the different formations have different functions. Comparative study within each of the language stocks and the further study of the possible interactions between the stocks will give valid results only after such descriptive accounts are at hand for the separate languages.

In this paper I propose to give a detailed account of one formation and its function in the Dravidian language spoken by the Todas of the Nilgiris. I shall ignore at this time the type of alliterative and rhyming compound seen in such sentences as the common Toda greeting : 'sūd,sod 'uʷʌta: "is the news good?" A literal translation would be : "news-noise good-query?" sud is found only in this compound as a variant of südy, which is obviously derived from Sanskrit *śuddhi*, and sod is from Sanskrit *śabda*. Both words are borrowings in Toda through the medium probably of Badaga. The formation which will be discussed is a reduplicative one with the insertion of a substitution morpheme between the stem and the reduplicating portion.

Nouns make an extended form by partial end reduplication with insertion of an element between the noun and the reduplicating portion. Toda nouns are of various forms, usually monosyllabic of type CVC" or CV:C" (C" denoting an indefinite number of consonants), less frequently disyllabic or with more syllables than two, the first syllable in these cases always bearing the accent. For the purpose of stating this formation they may all be schematized as CVX or CV:X, X representing all that follows the vowel or

1. I am indebted to Prof. L. V. RAMASWAMI AYYAR for a loan of these circulars.

diphthong of the first or of the only syllable. Either C or X or both may be zero. The inserted element is -ki- or -ki:-, with a short vowel when the vowel (V) of the noun is a short vowel or a short rising diphthong *ua* or *uu* and with the long vowel when the vowel (V:) of the noun is a long vowel, a long rising or falling diphthong (*iu*:, *ua*:, *ue*:, *uu*:, *o:u*, *a:u*) the triphthong *ua:u*, or a short falling diphthong (*öu*, *au*). The extended formation then is made up of the original noun, the inserted element, and the part of the noun following the first vowel or diphthong, i.e. X. It may be formulated thus, with accents written :

CVX > 'CVX-,ki-X and CV:X > 'CV:X-,ki:-X.

In the preceding paragraph I have called *ki/ki*: an "inserted element." Further analysis will make clear its unique position in the economy of the language. This is seen from two criteria. First, the complexes -ki-X and -ki:-X have a secondary accent on the first syllable or if the complex is monosyllabic on the only syllable, the primary accent being on the first or on the only syllable of the complex CVX or CV:X, i.e. on the stem syllable. In this the formation resembles compounds. Suffixes on the other hand are unaccented. Contrast 'uɽ, ɽiɽ with 'uɽa:m "buffaloes." Secondly, suffixes with which this element has a superficial affinity, can be stated as morphemes which show no sandhi variations (e.g. -ti 3rd personal ending in some paradigms of the verb), or in some cases as clusters of morphemes (e.g. -k, -g dative suffix) whose variations are selected on principles different from those which regulate sandhi between words or between members of compounds. The initial consonant of this element however varies according to the rules for sandhi between words or between members of compounds. Consequently, we must evaluate the complex -ki-X/-ki:-X as if it were the second member of a compound, though it is to be understood that such a complex can never stand as an independent word (if it should coincide with an actual word in form apart from the matter of accent, it does not do so in meaning and the resemblance is accidental and of no significance). The element -ki-/ki:- then cannot be considered to be a suffix ; it must be described as a morpheme which substitutes for the CV part of the stem.

The sandhi rules regulating the form of -k- in these formations are : after vowels or diphthongs and after any consonant but the nasal *m* or the velar consonants *k*, *g*, *x*, -k- > -x- ; after *m*, -k- > -g- ; after the velar consonants -k- is assimilated completely to the velar consonant and the resulting long consonant is shortened (in intervocalic position after a short vowel the voiceless stop *k* closes the syllable and is phonetically long, though evaluated phonemically as short), i.e. -kk- > -k-, -gk- > -g-, -xk- > -x-. The element is written formulaically with *k*, since as was just stated the complex -ki-X/-ki:-X is evaluated as if it were the second member of a compound, i.e. as if it could stand as an independent word, in which case it must begin with *k*, no initial *g* or *x* being found in the language.

Two other phonetic rules must be invoked in these formations : *i:y* > *i*:

and $iy > i$. The first is seen to operate elsewhere in 'ti:uyi "it did not scorch" < *'ti:yuyi. This latter hypothetical form is postulated on such analogies as 'kuus-ti "he will do": 'kury-uyi "he did not do": : 'ars-ti "he knows, will know": 'ary-uyi "he did not know": : 'ti:s-ti "it will scorch": *'ti:y-uyi. Another morphological set showing the same rule operating is 'podenuur "if I come": 'podnuur "if he comes": 'podyuur "if you come": : 'uɖenuur "if I say": 'uɖnuur "if he says": 'uɖyuur "if you say": : 'pi:enuur "if I go": 'pi:nuur "if he goes": *'pi:yuur "if you go" > 'pi:uur. Examples of the operation of the rule in this formation are: 'no:ym,gi:m < *'no:ym,gi:ym from no:ym "dispute, assembly," 'pa:ym,gi:m < *'pa:ym,gi:ym from pa:ym "story of actual event," 'pa:ym,gi:m < *'ko:y,xɪ:y from ko:y "unripe fruit," 'kua:y,xɪ: < *'kua:y,xɪ:y from kua:y "bamboo pot used at ti:-dairies." The parallel rule $iy > i$ operates in such forms as 'koy,xɪ: < *'koy,xiy from koy "hand," 'nuɣ,xɪ: < *'nuɣ,xiy, from nuɣ "ghee." To find this rule operating elsewhere we must look to relationship terms. "Elder brother or parallel male cousin" is represented by on or the reduplicated form 'onon, "elder sister or parallel female cousin" by okn or the reduplicated form 'okok, "father's sister, mother's brother's wife, or spouse's mother" by mimy or the reduplicated form 'mimimy < *'mimymimy. The word for "mother or mother's sister or parallel female cousin" is af; its reduplicated form 'afuf shows irregularity in the vowel of the reduplication. For "father or father's brother or parallel male cousin" we find in aɖ 'eyɪ; the latter is made from a stem ey (seen also in the vocative 'eya:), with reduplication $iy > i$; the vowel in the reduplication is irregular. In this last form we see the operation of the rule $iy > i$.

Further examples of the formation are :

'nɪɪ,xɪɪ	from nɪɪ "jackal "
'eɪɪ,xɪɪ	.. eɪɪ "bone "
'ɪɪ,xɪɪ	.. ɪɪ "rat "
'püɪ,xɪɪ	.. püɪ "tiger "
'kōb,xib	.. kōb "vessel "
'ogm,gigm	.. ogm "rope "
'todzmo,xidzmox	.. up "salt "
'up,xip	.. 'todzmox "woman "
'uɪ,xɪɪ	.. uɪ "female buffalo "
'kuaɪ,xɪɪ	.. kuaɪ, "mud "
'uas,kisk	.. uask "grain-pounder "
'kuuɪ,ging	.. kuuɪ "bell "
'ka:,ki:k	.. ka:k "crow "
'me:ɪ,xɪ:ɪ	.. me:ɪ "tree "
'ni:ɪ,xɪ:ɪ	.. ni:ɪ "water "
'ü:ɪof,xɪ:ɪof	.. 'ü:ɪof "line, row "
'kō:r,xɪ:r	.. kō:r "pool "

'po:t,xi:t	„ po:t " song "
'u:,xi:	„ u: " piece "
'kuw,xi:x	„ kuw:x " owl "
'nõu,xi:	„ nõu " song "
'mauw,xi:	„ mauw " rain "
'kiu:n,xi:n	„ kiu:n " mushroom "
'ua:r,xi:r	„ ua:r " Ochlandra sp. (a bam boo-like plant)
'kue:!,xi:!	„ kue:! " tube, flute, curl "
'kuw:,xi:f	„ kuw:f " Kota "
'to:u,xi:	„ to:u " plank "
'ka:w,xi:	„ ka:w " forked stick "
'kuaw:,xi:	„ kua:w " carrion "

In all these examples it is the uninflected form of the noun that forms the base of the formation. A few examples have been found in which a form with inflectional suffix is the base; in these the suffix is found in both X's. E.g. 'mox,kixk from moxk, dative of mox "child, boy, son" (note that the consonant combination -xkk- simplifies to -xk-); 'kuw:f,ki:fk from kuw:fk, dative of kuw:f "Kota"; 'me:nt,ki:ntk, from me:ntk, dative of me:nt "tree" me:nš xi:nts from locative of me:nt; 'ko:t,kı:tk from kō:tk, dative kō:r "pool." Such instances are rare since appropriate contexts are rare, but it seems probable that, given the context, such forms may be made ad infinitum.

The function of the formation is to refer to a specimen which the speaker does not care to identify from among a hypothesized collection of identical discrete entities of infinite number or from a hypothesized infinite extension of a non-discrete handleable entity. When the noun denotes the demeanour¹ of another object, it seems to be treated as if it denoted a non-discrete handleable entity; the formation then denotes a specimen divided from the infinitely continuous quality, relation, etc. In some cases the collection of discrete entities by implication includes all other entities that might replace the expressed entity in the situation envisaged in the utterance. In a few instances 'ofody "all" is added to the formation, and the whole word then denotes all the unidentified specimens of the hypothesized extension. The forms are used in negative statements, prohibitions, commands, questions, and hypothetical clauses; i.e. it is denied that the unidentified specimen formed or forms or will form an element of a situation, or it is prohibited or commanded that it should form an element of a situation, or it is asked whether it formed or forms or will form part of a situation, or it is hypothesized as part of a situation. An affirmation that the unidentified specimen forms part of a situation has been found only with 'ofody "all" and no other use could be elicited from the informants.

1. i.e. when it is an abstract noun; see L. BLOOMFIELD, *Language*,² 205.

'aθ 'peɾoθy,xiɾoθy 'xuywuyi "he did not make any complaint at all."

'o:n 'poɿy,kiɿyku:t 'fuxeni "I did not enter any dairy at all."

'mo:nm, gi:nm, ofoɿy 'fi:futci "all my self-respect is gone."

'atfok 'madty 'tano:ɿk 'ni:ɿoɿyxuurt 'tuur,xi:r,ofoɿy 'xuurtɿn "then the woman [not a Toda woman] poured water for her husband (to wash) and gave him all kinds of food and the like."

'peɾoθy,xiɾoθy 'xusfuɿoti "do not make any complaint at all."

'ni: 'peɾoθy,xiɾoθy 'xusfuɿɿtc "you should not make any complaint at all."

'no:y 'kua:u,xi: 'θuɿdfuɿɿsk "let the dog not eat any carrion."

'kō:r,xi:r,utɿfuɿɿsk "may no one die at all (in the meantime before we have finished the second funeral)."

'kō:t,ki:tɿk 'fukoɿi "do not enter any pool (or river or the like) at all."

'me :ɿt,ki :ɿtk 'ōtyoɿi "do not climb any tree (or anything else climbable) at all."

'ob, xib,inem 'kuɿrk 'uttca : "have you put in your pocket any knife at all?"

'poɿy,kiɿyk 'fuktca : "did you enter any dairy at all?"

'kuɿp,xip 'θua:nf "sweep out any rubbish that may be there."

'kuɿp,xip,ofoɿy 'θua:nf "sweep out all the rubbish that may be there."

'peɾoθy,xiɾoθy 'xuy "make some complaint or other."

'me :ɿts,xi :ɿts 'θu :x "hang yourself on some tree or other (or on anything else on which one can hang oneself)"; an abusive expression.

Verbs also may make a similar formation. The rules for making the forms are the same as for nouns, but apply not to completed forms but to the stem only. Interestingly, only one of the two stems of a verb can be thus treated. In Toda the primary stem is the basis used in forming the negative tenseless paradigm (e.g. 'kuy-eni "I am not doing, did not do, shall not do"), a future tense which is usually voluntative ('kuy-kin "I will do"), the imperative (kuy "do"), and a number of other formations. The secondary stem, made from the primary by some modification, is the basis for the present-future tense ('kus-pini "I shall do, am doing"), the past tense ('kus-spini "I did"), the prohibitive ('kus-oti "do not do"), the gerund (kus "doing, having done"), and a number of other formations, and by composition a number of modal and aspectual forms (e.g. 'kusfuɿpini "I shall certainly do," 'kusutɿpini "I shall do in spite of everything," 'kussus-pini "I have done," 'kussupini "I habitually do"). It is this secondary stem only that can have the substitution morpheme and reduplication. The negative of the first given of these compounded forms is in most cases made by negating, not the nuclear verb stem, but the auxiliary stem. So to 'kusfuɿtpini "I shall certainly do" corresponds the tenseless negative 'kusfuɿɿdeni. Forms of this mode, which I call asseverative, are in ordinary speech much more common than the simple verb forms, and in fact tend to lose their modal force and to be used as the equivalents of the simple forms.

In the reduplicative formation under discussion, uncompounded forms are conceivable, e.g. in the prohibitive ('pu,kikoṭi "do not enter at all"), though in the negative tenseless paradigm they are impossible since the primary stem does not undergo the modification. But in all the examples that occur in the material it is the asseverative form that is found.

This verb formation is found in negative statements, prohibitions, and questions. Hypothetical clauses are no doubt to be found, but I have no examples. Affirmative statements and commands with these forms have not occurred in the material, and affirmative statements could not be elicited from the informants, though it is possible that given the proper context they may occur. The function of the forms is, parallel to the function of the noun formations, to denote a specimen, unidentified by the speaker, of the action denoted by the verb, separated from a hypothesized infinite extension of the verbal action, discrete extension if the verb stem refers to an action regarded as punctual, non-discrete if to an action regarded as durative. This specimen is affirmed not to form an element of the situation, or it is commanded that it should form an element of the situation, or it is asked whether it forms part of a situation.

'o:n 'poḷyk 'tu,kikfuṭeni "I shall not enter the dairy at all." The dairy is a particular one, the action of entering is an unidentified one from the infinite number of possible cases. With this contrast 'o:n 'poḷykiḷyk 'fuxeni "I shall not enter any dairy," and 'o:n 'apoḷyk 'fuxeni "I shall not enter that dairy." (Stems: pux-, puk-.)

'o:n 'al 'uθ,xiḷfuṭeni "I shall not stay there at all." (Stems: uḷuθ-.)

'i:nk 'fod, xidfuṭoti "do not come here at all." (Stems: poḷx-, pod- with irregularities.)

'ang 'inem 'oshty,xishtyfuṭoti "do not tell him at all about anything." (Stems: ṡsht-, ṡshty-.)

'ang 'oshty,xishtyfuṭoti "do not tell him at all (about this matter)."

'uḷk 'uḷ:dy,xiḷyfuṭc "you should not run at all to the buffaloes (i. e. you should not run at all to catch buffaloes at this funeral)." (Stems: uḷ:d-, uḷ:dy-.)

'uḷ, faṭy,xiḷyfuṭc "you should not catch buffaloes at all (at a funeral)." (Stems: paṭ-, paṭy-.)

'puṣa:sxuḷk 'fi:xiḷfuṭc "you should not at all go near the child-birth-hut (or you will be polluted)." (Stems: puḷx-, pi:- with irregularities.)

'al 'θuḍ,xidfuṭca: "did you eat at all there?" (Stems: tuḷn-, tuḍ-.)

'poḷyk'fu, kikfuṭca: "did you enter the dairy at all?"

These formations, both of nouns and verbs, are said by my informants to be very frequent in conversation. They are however very rare in the material that was dictated to me and it was only after I accidentally discovered their existence that on my insistence such forms were used at all in the texts dictated. They do not occur at all in my large collection of song-

texts and it is probable that they are never used in songs. The impression gained is that, as in other Dravidian languages where similar formations are used, they are felt to be highly useful and racy forms, but somewhat too undignified to be used in literature, or in songs which may take the place of literature with an illiterate people. In the prose texts dictated to me the forms occur generally in conversational passages, and their rarity even here may be due to a feeling that the process of dictation is too serious and dignified a matter to allow of their use.

It is perhaps premature to attempt a comparative treatment of the substitution morpheme that appears in the formation discussed, particularly in view of the lack of authoritative descriptions for most of the Dravidian languages. However, examination of the printed grammars together with my own work on the Toda, Kota, Coorg and Kolami languages and my observations on Tamil and Kannada supplies sufficient data for a preliminary comparative treatment.

The morpheme is found in the following forms :

Tamil	-kɪ-/kɪ:-
Toda	-kɪ-/kɪ:-
Kannada	-gi-/gi:-
Kota	-gi-/gi:-
Coorg	gu-/gu:-
Telugu	-gi-/gi:-
Kuvi	-gi-/gi:-
Kolami	-gi-/gi:-

Brahui does not use this morpheme, nor apparently does Malayalam. For Tulu there is no information, and for the northern Dravidian languages, Kurukh, Gondi, etc. no grammars are available to me at present.

All of these languages show the vowels i/i:, except Coorg, which has u/ur:. These vowels of Coorg are phonemically valid for this language, but result secondarily from original i/i:, as I shall demonstrate elsewhere. It may be concluded then that the vowel in primitive Dravidian was i/i:.

The question of the consonant is more difficult and is involved in the whole question of initial voiceless and voiced stops in Dravidian. Tamil and Toda both show k. In Toda no initial voiced stop phonemes are found (nor is there an initial v-phoneme). In Tamil also no initial voiced stop phonemes are found in words other than borrowings from Sanskrit, which may be ruled out as evidence for Dravidian phenomena. In all other languages represented in the table voiced stops occur initially, both in Dravidian and in borrowed words (it is not yet clear for Kolami whether Dravidian words begin with voiced stops.) The conclusion then seems obvious that for these languages g is the phonemically correct consonant in this morpheme.

Confirmatory evidence can be given for Kota and Coorg. In each of these two languages and in Toda, I have recorded a story, or rather a tale built around a motif, whose point lies in a word-play on the second member of an echo-word of the kind described in this paper. In all three versions a

man who fears that there may be a tiger in his vicinity talks aloud, to himself or to his domestic animals, and says that they must guard against any possible tiger. In his speech "any possible tiger" is represented by the echo-word. The tiger hears, and thinks that it is the tiger of the echo-word but does not know what is the nature of the creature named in the second member of the compound, though it fears that the creature is even more dreadful than itself. When something unexpected then happens to the tiger, it imagines that the agency is the unknown creature. This story-motif I shall treat elsewhere. At the moment the point of interest is the form taken by the meaningless word in isolation. In Toda it is, as we should expect from the treatment above, *kisy*, with initial *k*. In Kota "tiger" is *puḍj* and the meaningless word is *gidj*, with initial *g*. In Coorg "tiger" is 'nari and the meaningless word is 'guṛi, with initial *g*. In the latter two languages, it is evident that the morpheme begins with *g*. For the other languages this particular piece of confirmatory evidence is lacking at present. In Kannaḍa we find however sentences of the type : 'huli 'illa 'gili 'illa "there are no tigers at all." Here the initial *g*, combined with the occurrence in the language of initial *g* in meaningful words is sufficient evidence that *g* is the initial of the morpheme. Similar evidence is no doubt to be found for the other languages of the table.

May we conclude then that the Kannaḍa, Kota, Coorg, Telugu, Kuvi, and Kolami evidence warrants us in setting up the primitive Dravidian morphemes as *-gi/-gi:-*, and in regarding the *k*-forms of Tamil and Toda as the results of changes made within these two languages? My bracketing of Tamil and Toda does not of course commit me to the opinion that these two languages are more closely connected with each other than either is with some other of the southern group; in fact, I am of the provisional opinion that Toda is more closely connected with Kannaḍa than with Tamil, and consequently that the phenomena of the initial stops are the results of independent development in the two languages. It seems useless to attempt to answer our question as to the primitive Dravidian form of the morphemes until the larger question has been settled of the possible initial stops in primitive Dravidian. This question has been discussed, notably by BLOCH in *Sanskrit et Dravidien* (*BSL* 24), in which paper he suggests that primitive Dravidian had in initial position only voiced stops. This is diametrically the opposite of the usual view of Dravidian scholars, viz. that primitive Dravidian had in initial position only voiceless stops; this view finds expression, e.g. in K. V. SUBBAIYA, A primer of Dravidian phonology (*Indian Antiquary* 38 [1909], 195 and in L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, Kui words and Dravidian origins (*Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, 4 [1930], 171-2). It is assumed that accent-shifts and assimilation will explain the initial voiced stops of those languages that have them. But it seems that the problem is still far from a solution and, until a solution has been reached, it is futile to attempt to decide between *-ki/-ki:-* and *-gi/-gi:-* as the primitive Dravidian form of the substitution morpheme in echo-words.

SAMBHAJI ANGRIA : 1733-1741

By

SURENDRANATH SEN

When Sekhoji died there were none at Kolaba to fill up his place. He died without any issue. His wife performed *Sali* and the widows of Kanhoji hastily summoned Manaji from the Sidi's land. But the whereabouts of Sambhaji, the next in succession, were still unknown ; probably he was out with his fleet. Sambhaji received the unhappy news at Jaigad, but three weeks elapsed before he arrived at Kolaba. On his way he had to touch at the important station of Suvarnadurg. His absence did not prejudice Sambhaji's cause in the least. Under the shadow of death, the Angria brothers forgot their personal grievances, and overwhelmed by the unexpected calamity, they realised the need of united action. Haughty and overbearing as Sambhaji was, he was not blind to the difficulties of his position and made a genuine effort to conciliate his brothers. Like Sekhoji, he conferred important offices on them. To Dhondji was entrusted the civil administration of Kolaba, while Manaji was appointed to command the fleet. The merits of Tulaji and Yesaji were also similarly recognised. But Sekhoji's death had apparently disheartened the Marathas, and cessation of arms became the common talk of the camp and court.

Meanwhile the allies were not idle. They were unremitting in their military and diplomatic exertions. Sekhoji died in the last week of August ; a month later Sidi Sat visited Bombay in person. About the same time came Sidi Masud, the chief Admiral of the imperial fleet, from Surat. They were closely closeted with the Governor discussing ways and means for recovering the lost territories. In December a formal treaty was concluded between the seven Sidi chiefs and the Government of Bombay, and they were pledged to join their respective forces by land and sea to wage a war of extermination against the Angrias. Captains Inchbird and Macneale were sent with reinforcement to Anjanvel and Rajpuri. The English cruiser fleet under Captain Frampton Lewis set out on their accustomed mission. The disaster of 1731 left the Bombay authorities unshaken in their resolution and they persisted in their futile efforts to confine the enemy fleet in the harbour of Kolaba. Commodore Lewis succeeded no better than his predecessor. On the 6th of November the Kolaba fleet slipped out of the port after sun-set, and in the chase that followed the pursuers came out the second best. Eleven days later they overtook an Angrian *ghurab* near Antigheria and fired a few shots at it, but it does not appear that much damage was done, for the *ghurab* got into a river out of the enemy's reach. This was the only achievement of the English squadron during the season and the Angria's fleet kept the sea as usual. Apparently its efficiency was still unimpaired and the allies soon realised that Sambhaji was as good a sailor as his father and elder brother.

In May 1734 the English decided to build a new man-of-war as the Council pointed out—"Our marine force is considerably diminished at a time that the common enemy Angria has greatly increased his, having his whole fleet now at Gereah consisting of thirteen grabs and thirty gallivats and as he is but too well acquainted with our circumstances in spite of all our endeavours to prevent it. It is to be feared he will be out earlier than usual the next fair season with his whole fleet trusting to the superiority of his numbers and may greatly distress the trade of this coast and ports". But within a few months all fears were set at rest and Bombay learnt with delight that Angria brothers were united no more and their maritime ascendancy might very soon be a thing of the past.

What led to the civil war we do not precisely know. In a contemporary letter, attributed to Lakshmibai Angria, the blame is laid entirely at the door of Sambhaji. But Lakshmibai was herself an avowed partisan and her version need not be taken at its face value. She says that in 1733 Sambhaji had left the administration of Kolaba entirely to her and Manaji. They had been unsparing in their exertions and done their duty to the best of their abilities. When Sambhaji returned in 1734 they had really expected approbation and appreciation from him but received nothing but unmerited rebuke. At length Lakshmibai was turned out of Kolaba on a charge of maladministration. Manaji fled to Revdanda when he learnt that his life was aimed at. Meanwhile the Sidis assaulted one of the outposts of Thal, but Sambhaji left for Suvarnadurg without providing for its defence. His brother's indifference towards Kolaba led Manaji to seize Chaul, enlist the support of the Portuguese and the English and to take upon himself the government of this important station. With the help of the Portuguese he surprised Kolaba and put out the eyes of Yesaji. Sambhaji was a short-tempered person and he had himself been guilty of insubordination during the life time of Sekhoji. It is quite likely that the party feelings at Satara accentuated if not encouraged this dissension in the Angria family. Sambhaji was suspected of a friendly understanding with the Pratinidhi, while Manaji enjoyed the confidence of the Peshwa. In any case Sambhaji's version of this affair has not come down to us, and whoever might be most to blame this unfortunate incident caused a permanent breach between the two brothers and, for the time being, the embarrassment of Sambhaji offered a welcome relief to the Sidis.

Clever as Lakshmibai's defence of her protégé is, there is little doubt that Manaji was impelled more by motives of self-aggrandisement than impulses of loyalty and patriotism. The English were at the moment the worst enemy of the Maratna empire and the remaining strongholds of the Sidis would have capitulated long ago but for the reinforcement they regularly received from Bombay. To seek English and Portuguese alliance against Sambhaji was, therefore, nothing but treason against the State of which Manaji professed to be a dutiful subject. The English naturally welcomed this excellent opportunity of weakening Angria, and Captain James Ingham proceeded to Chaul to encourage Manaji in his evil designs. Manaji, how-

ever, needed no prompting from outside. He had already gathered round him a sufficiently large body of adherents and had matured a well conceived scheme against Kolaba. He needed nothing but munitions and money for the success of his enterprise and the English hastened to remove this deficiency. "We are convinced", they wrote on the 6th December 1734, "that it would be a very great advantage to us to keep up the dissension between the two brothers and thereby divide their force, and if Manajee succeeds in his design on Colabbo, he will greatly distress his brother, and for a want of a fleet will not have it in his power to prejudice us; should he hereafter be inclined so to do; it is, therefore, agreed that we advance him for the present four thousand rupees and supply him with the stores desired, being seven small iron guns, two hundred shot, thirty barrels of powder, twenty slabs of lead, three thousand small shot for partridge and twenty pieces of Dargaree. And that Captain James Ingham do return to Chaul to supply him with the money as he may have occasion for it and to take all opportunity of spurring him up to carry on his resentments against his brother." In February 1735, they further decided to keep the Bombay "cruisers at port to be ready to prevent the ill consequences of any attempt Sambojee may make on Colabbo".

The family feud at Kolaba was clearly to the interests of the English, but it was equally detrimental to the best interests of the Maratha empire. It is, therefore, strange that neither Shahu nor the Peshwa Bajirao I made a serious effort to bring the two adversaries to reason and to restore that unity without which the war could not be brought to a happy conclusion. The Peshwa unfortunately preferred to be misled by personal feelings and pursue a policy of "divide and rule". He decided that the fleet and territories of Kanhoji should be divided between Sambhaji and Manaji. Sambhaji did indeed retain his father's title of SARKHEL but Manaji obtained the independent government of Kolaba with the new title of VAZARTMAV. The Peshwa did not find any difficulty in securing the royal approval for this unfair decision and Manaji informed his Bombay friends in December, 1735 "that the Sou Rojah had sent him a commission appointing him Governor of the District of Colabbo with as full powers as his father and brothers enjoy'd and at the same time the Sou Rojah had ordered him to supply his brother Sambajee with grain for the subsistence of his possessors to the southward which orders he says he is obliged to comply with in return Sambajee is to deliver up to Manajee two grabs that formerly belonged to the Colabbo fleet." Sambhaji naturally resented this decision and was never reconciled to the partition which, he complained, had been caused by the Peshwa with the deliberate design of perpetuating dissension in his family, and unfortunately the charge was not altogether unfounded.

It is not difficult to surmise that his preoccupations at home prevented Sambhaji from conducting the siege operation at Anjanvel and Govalkot as effectively as he would like. And to add to his difficulties, his territories had

been invaded by Sambhaji of Kolhapur. In December of 1735 Shahu brought about a good understanding between the chief of Gheria and the ruler of Sawanta Wari and an angry remonstrance from his powerful cousin brought the weak Raja of Kolhapur to reason. With all these troubles at home and abroad Sambhaji cannot be blamed for the scanty success with which his arms were attended. He was not altogether idle or inactive for the Sidi often communicated to Bombay alarming rumours about Sambhaji's intended expeditions against his country. Sambhaji himself attributed his lack of success to the activities of the English fleet of invigilation. In a letter to Shahu he explained that an English squadron was constantly on the look out for his fleet and it was due to its interference that his ships could not be employed against Sidi's strongholds for any length of time. Like his late brother, Sambhaji also urged the necessity of peace with the English and the Portuguese, and before the year was out his fleet brought a valuable prize to Suvar-nadurg which offered Sambhaji a welcome opportunity for opening negotiations with Bombay.

The prize in question was the *DERBY*, Captain Anselm, and the story of its capture may be very well reproduced in the language of that officer. "The 26th December at five in the morn (in 17° N. Lat. about 16 leagues from shore) fell in with four galivats and five grabs belonging to Angria, they attacked us by six o'clock in morn having so little wind all day that our ship would neither stay nor wear, they took care we should not bring any guns to bear on them but what we got out of our stern ports which we kept close firing, by eight o'clock they destroyed most of our rigging, at ten carried the Mizzen mast by the Board, at one shot away our main mast and at the same time received two double headed shot between wind and water aloft which was secured, found two foot water in the hold and still proved leaky, soon after they loaded two double headed shot in the Fore-mast, continued on in our engagement till four or five o'clock in the afternoon, then thought it in vain to proceed, so submitted.

Seven of our men were kill'd, five more their legs shot off and many others wounded.

There is one hundred and fifteen of us now prisoners with Angria. He seems to insist on peace or no redemption for us which we leave to Your Honour's disposition if convenient to restore us." Captain Anselm's hints went unheeded and during the next few months the English fleet was repeatedly sent out to find out and punish Sambhaji's squadron but the contemporary records mention no fresh contest with Angria, although in March 1736, the *Rose*, the *Caroline* and the *Neptune* encountered the squadron of "Khem Savant" now an ally of Angria and captured one of his ghurabs. Sambhaji sincerely wanted peace and he himself took the initiative soon afterwards.

On the 7th May 1736 "the President acquainted the Board" that two days since he received a letter from Caitan de Souza Captain of Choul advis-

ing him that one Mowa (Moro?) Punt was arrived there with full powers from Sambhajee Angria to treat with us for making peace and had desired him to send down Captain Inchbird to hear what proposals he had to make intimating that this might prove a favourable opportunity for getting away our people prisoners with Angria." The Bombay authorities received the message with suspicion but ultimately agreed to send Captain Inchbird to Chaul with a view to explore all avenues of securing the release of the English prisoners. Captain Inchbird accordingly proceeded to Chaul and discovered before long the real reason of Sambhaji's pacific attitude. He wanted to recover Kolaba and was eager to secure the neutrality of the English by restoring the *Derby* and its crew. Moro Pant, therefore, requested Inchbird to send an envoy to Gheria and the Bombay government expressed their disapproval of these terms in no uncertain manner. They apprehended that Sambhaji would break the peace as soon as his main object was attained and to send an envoy to Gheria would expose them to the contempt of their neighbours. Captain Inchbird was consequently ordered "to acquaint Samboji's Vakeel that we cannot agree to any such conditions, but that if his master is so desirous of a peace as he pretends that he first release all the prisoners of our nation as a mark of his sincerity, when we shall be ready to hear and agree to any reasonable terms for making peace." Sambhaji responded by sending fifteen of his prisoners to Chaul, and Inchbird was for a second time sent there to confer with Angria's agent. The Bombay government could not persuade themselves that the release of fifteen common sailors formed a sufficient evidence of Sambhaji's sincerity, and though they were still unwilling to send any of their employees to Sambhaji's headquarters, the president "was desired to write Sambhaji (in answer to his letter) that if he is desirous of coming to terms of peace with us we will agree upon a cessation of arms for six months upon his delivering up our prisoners, when he will have time and opportunity to send proper persons hither with such proposals as he thinks fit to offer." Inchbird, however, soon perceived that Sambhaji meant business, and a journey to Gheria would not only mean no risk but would be entirely to the profit of those of his countrymen who were held prisoners by Angria. His official superiors were at first unwilling to give him the necessary permission but he ultimately had his way. His mission was fully justified and the English prisoners were all set at liberty, and it was decided to present to Captain Inchbird about Rs. 500 in appreciation of his good conduct. After this Sambhaji might expect a respite for six months at least, if not permanent peace, if he kept his hands off Kolaba, but not only did the English not reciprocate his courtesy but attacked his fleets "at a place call'd Baccanore a little to the northward of Mangalore" and captured one of his *ghurabs*.

The only justification that we can discover for this apparent breach of faith is to be found in the following entry in the Bombay Public consultation of the 26th November, 1736,—“The President acquaints the Board that on the return of our cruisers from the southward, Captain Inchbird had inform-

ed him that an Embassadour from the Carnatic Rajah was with Sambhaji Angria, who he supposes may have been soliciting him for assistance in his expedition against the Malabars by convoying and protecting his army and provisions, and Captain Lewis had inform'd him that the day after our fleet left Gereah they received intelligence by a Boat that five of Sambhaji's Grabs and ten Gallivats were gone out, and they believe stood to the southward, and as by our last advices from Tellichery we find that some of our garrison people were assisting at the siege of a Fort in the Caranees possession with suspicion but ultimately agreed to send Captain Inchbird to Chaul with a view to explore all convoy of Sambhaji's Grabs might be attended with dire consequences." Four cruisers were, therefore, sent for the protection of the English settlement at Tellicherry and it was this squadron that fell upon Angria's *Ghurabs* near Mangalore. Sambhaji was naturally incensed and did not renew his correspondence with Bombay until 1738. He might very well argue that his fleet had been molested during a truce without any just offence whatever, for, he had offered none. The presence of a Kanerese envoy provided no proof positive of his alliance or even enmity with the Karnatik Raja. 1736 was evidently an unlucky year for Sambhaji. His pacific efforts had ended in failure and humiliation for him, and Manaji's credit at the court of Satara was visibly improving while Sambhaji's influence had steadily declined.

The annihilation of the Sidi became an obsession with Shahu at this moment, and Sambhaji's traducers insinuated that he had a secret understanding with the enemy. In 1737, Sidi Sat took advantage of the dissension between the Angria brothers and surprised Bankot with the help of the English. Sambhaji could not be justly blamed for this mishap, the Peshwa being responsible for the defence of Bankot and several other stations conquered from the Sidi. The Peshwa's agents tried to console Shahu as best as they could and at last Chimnaji Appa had to take the field. Elated by his late success Sidi Sat invaded the district of Kolaba and was defeated and slain by Chimnaji's force at a place called Charai. Manaji's contingent naturally co-operated with Chimnaji's army and the new lord of Kolaba gained the golden opinion of his sovereign. The death of Sidi Sat was followed by a peace between the Marathas and their Abyssinian neighbours, but Sambhaji soon found fresh opportunities of rehabilitating his reputation.

In 1737 war broke out between the Marathas and the Portuguese. This is not the place to examine its causes or even to attempt a detailed narrative. Suffice it to say that Maratha success was both rapid and decisive. The Portuguese evacuated their military stations one after another and made their stand at Bassein which stood a prolonged siege. The Angria brothers identified themselves with the Maratha cause, but in spite of their undoubted superiority on the sea, communication between Goa and Bassein was seldom interrupted. The reason is obvious. Sambhaji and Manaji never made any united effort to cut off the enemy fleet, nor did they attempt a systematic

blockade of Bassein. Concerted action was out of the question as the two brothers continued to be open enemies till the last. Nor were they at any stage in a position to devote their undivided attention to the Portuguese. The Maratha empire was apparently at peace with Bombay but Sambhaji was not. Consequently his ports were often blockaded by the English fleet. Moreover the very tradition of the coast created fresh enemies for him as we shall see, and Sambhaji could not rely even on the good faith of the Peshwa. His record for the next five years was as brilliant as that of his father and single-handed he fought the English, the Portuguese, the Dutch and, last but not least, the joint forces of Kolaba and Poona.

In 1737 Sambhaji captured a few unimportant trading boats on their way to Bombay. The English fleet failed to check his depredations, and though the financial loss caused by him was inconsiderable, it was apprehended that grain boats might fear to visit the English island unless their safe passage was ensured. It was, therefore, decided to blockade his ports and Commodore Bagwell set out for Gheria on the 28th September, 1738. After paying a visit to the Savant's country Bagwell appeared before Gheria and anchored his ship with a view to keep a constant watch over the enemy. This was a mistake as he soon realised. On the 3rd November as he reported to Bombay, "about twelve at night about thirty of Angrias gallivats came out of Gerreah and attacked the *Dolphin* and *Dulbadull* galivats, the latter was boarded by seven of them and after smart firing about fifty of the enemy on board him, they set her on fire by having in a pot of combustibles, the master seeing that and the impossibility of saving her he blew her up." Next morning the Commodore held a consultation of all the captains and "it was their opinion we ought not to lye anchor for that we gave the enemy advantages thereby, over gallivats and boats were liable to be taken or destroyed." The Commodore frankly told the Bombay Government that they had underestimated Sambhaji's strength and resources and concluded his letter thus : - "I assure your Honours that lying so near his fort is a great gall to him and am sorry and obliged to leave it ; but as our strength is not sufficient to withstanding him and we cannot I think share the fleet we have for I assure Your Honour he is a stronger enemy than you or a great many think him to be I doubt not you'll think the same when this comes to hand." On the 22nd December Bagwell got an opportunity of attacking the Gheria fleet which had come out of the harbour. The English compelled the Angria's vessels to return to their port after suffering considerable damage.

But earlier in the year Sambhaji had taken rich prizes from the Portuguese and the Dutch. His fleet captured the Portuguese *Palaxo* of war *São Miguel* and, according to a contemporary Portuguese letter, the vessel carried a cargo of ivory worth 10,000 *Xerafins*. About the same time three Portuguese *parangues* fell into Sambhaji's hand, and one of these boats carried forty thousand Rupees in cash alone. Elated with this success, Sambhaji's

squadron proceeded southwards with the avowed intention of intercepting the Portuguese merchant fleet conveying provision from the ports of Kanara. The capture of this fleet might compel the besieged garrison of Bassein to capitulate immediately for lack of provision, but luckily for them Sambhaji allowed himself to be diverted. On the 23rd March, he sighted three Dutch vessels near Barcelora and captured two of them. Next year the Dutch sent a fleet of eight men-of-war and some light vessels to punish Angria. The Portuguese Viceroy welcomed the Dutch fleet at Agoada and proposed an alliance against the common enemy. But Sambhaji was apparently too strong for them.

In March, 1739, Sambhaji's fleet sailed once more for the south and advanced as far as Mangalore. It was clear that he intended to make some amends for his mistake of the previous year by intercepting the Portuguese provision fleet. But he was foiled in his attempt by a gallant Portuguese captain, Antonio de Brito Freire. Sambhaji's fleet was numerically superior to that of his enemy, but his opponent was a better seaman and he attributed his success to superior artillery. If Sambhaji was disappointed in his projects against the Portuguese, his efforts against Bombay met with better success. His fleet often appeared in the neighbourhood of that island and in May the Bombay Government decided to release the Angria prisoners "as the expense of maintaining them exceeded the value of their labour and also in the hope that Sambhaji will also release the prisoners then with him or those who may fall into his hands in future." This courtesy on the part of Bombay made a good impression on Sambhaji and he expressed his readiness to compose his differences with the English. The terms proposed by Sambhaji were, however, considered extravagant, and we are informed that his envoys proposed that the English "should not navigate these waters without taking his passes" or in the alternative pay him two crores of Rupees annually in lieu thereof. Negotiations, however, still continued, and Mr. Rigby, the Marine Superintendent of Bombay, was sent to Gheria with the double mission of treating for peace and blockading Angria's headquarters. Sambhaji had suggested a cessation of arms, but to this the English would not agree. Rigby, however, could not tarry long before Gheria and before the peace parleys could be opened he went in pursuit of Sambhaji's fleet. The journey ended disastrously for him as the fleet was overtaken by a storm and Rigby went down with three of his best vessels. Sambhaji's men in the meantime captured the *Anne* near Diu head.

In January 1740, Sambhaji's fleet made an unsuccessful attack on the English squadron consisting of the *Harrington*, *Pulteney* and the *Ceres*, but in the same month he captured the entire Portuguese flotilla of the south. Next month the victorious fleet appeared before Bombay to prejudice its commerce and to demonstrate that Sambhaji was the master of the neighbouring seas. This demonstration was probably intended to conceal his real designs, for next month he invaded Kolaba and would doubtless reduce that

principality had not the English fleet and Peshwa's army hurried to Manaji's rescue. He was about to be caught in a trap when he succeeded in effecting his escape with Manaji's complicity. But nothing could reconcile Sambhaji to the loss of Kolaba and in 1741 he settled his differences with Sidi and simultaneously opened negotiations with the Portuguese and the English, but before anything tangible could be achieved he died on the 12th December 1741.

SOURCES :

Kāfiyat Yādī

PARASNIS : *Itihas Sangraha*

Brahmendra Swami

Bombay Public Consultations (India Office)

Contemporary Portuguese Pamphlets and Records in the Arquivo Ultramarino of Lisbon.

For a comprehensive bibliography see SEN, *Military Systems of the Marathas*.

A MANUSCRIPT OF THE STHĀNĀNGA SŪTRA ILLUSTRATED IN THE EARLY WESTERN INDIAN STYLE

Bv

W. NORMAN BROWN

A finely illustrated manuscript of the canonical Śvetāmbara Jaina work, the *Sthānānga Sūtra* (*Ṭhānamgasutta*), belonging to Mr. ROBERT GARRETT, of Baltimore, has a number of interesting features that deserve to be put on record. It is, I believe, the first illustrated example of that text to be reported, and we can therefore add that text to the number of Śvetāmbara works which pious patrons had artists enrich with paintings. Further, it bears a copying date of *Samvat* 1588 *vaise vaisākha vadī* 6 *guruvarā* (Thursday, April 8, 1501 A.D.), and from this fact we are able to add to our knowledge of manuscript manufacture and miniature painting at that period. For the size of the folios is larger than that of other known positively dated manuscripts of approximately A.D. 1500, and the workmanship of the paintings, while essentially typical of the period, is better than that of most of their known dated contemporaries.

Typical manuscripts of this time are as follows :

[Examples of folios or paintings reproduced in full size in my *Kalpasūtra* book (for references see pp. 2-3)]

1. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. B17.2277. Kalpasūtra and Kālaka-ūṅkathānaka. Samvat 1554. 9 lines. 11.8 by 4.25 inches
2. Ibid. B22.364. Kalpasūtra. Samvat 1551. 7 lines. 8.13 by 4.25 inches.
3. Heeramañeck Galleries, New York. Hc. Kalpasūtra. Samvat 1577. 7 lines. 10.25 by 4.25 inches.
4. Ibid. Hd. Kalpasūtra. Samvat 1559. 9 lines. 9.6 by 4.2 inches.
5. Ibid. He. Kalpasūtra. Samvat 1569. 7 lines. 9.6 by 4.25 inches.

[Example reproduced in full size and full colour in my *Kālaka* book, figure 25.]

6. Vijaya Dharma Lakṣmī Jñāna library, Agra. 1632 75 Kālaka-cāryakathā Samvat 1549. 9 lines. 10.25 by 4.25 inches.

1. *The Story of Kālaka* ... by W. NORMAN BROWN, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1933.

2. *A Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpasūtra* ... by W. NORMAN BROWN, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1934.

Mr. GARRET's manuscript is conspicuously larger than these and differs in format.¹ It measures 12.5 by 4.8 inches, and the number of lines of writing is 13. Such large folios and even larger become common in the 17th and 18th centuries; and while it is impossible to say that this is the earliest manuscript ever to use such a large size, it is evident that it is an early example. Most of the Jain manuscripts of the rest of the 16th century continue to employ the smaller sizes (see my *Kālaka* book, figure 38; I have photographs of other unpublished paintings dated in the latter part of the 16th century).

The paintings, which are four in number, use much gold and blue and give a brilliant effect, as is common in this art during the latter part of the 15th century and in the 16th century. The drawing is careful, with sure lines, and the paint is laid on to correspond exactly to the drawing by no means the invariable case with this style of painting. There is a profusion of fine detail, worked out with precision. Although the best period of the Early Western Indian style, in my opinion, is from about 1350 to 1450,² these illustrations are among the best of their own time.

Description of the Illustrations

Figure 1. Mahāvīra's Samavasaraṇa (Cf. my *Kalpasūtra*, p. 38, figure 80). A Samavasaraṇa may be round or square, as is noted there. In this painting a triple parasol surmounts Mahāvīra, four attendants wait upon him, and two dignāgas pour water over him with their upraised trunks. Before him are two dancing girls, probably apsarasas. At the extreme top of the painting is a bent tree.

Figure 2. Mahāvīra preaching (presumably the *Sthanāṅga Sūtra*). Cf. my *Kalpasūtra*, p. 40, figures 85, 86. He sits on the conventional seat, which has for its back a spired throne tilted back, that is, a symbolic representation of the shrine in which he is ideally conceived as sitting (see my *Kālaka*, pp. 118, 128). His auditors are arranged in four rows, not to show that some occupy a higher position than others, but to fulfil the convention of this art that one figure should not trespass upon the ground of another. Under Mahāvīra's right arm is his broom; in his right hand is a manuscript of palm-leaf or his mouth cloth. The white pattern over his golden coloured robe merely indicates that the robe is white; no ornamentation is meant. In the topmost register sit two laymen, perhaps kings, or possibly gods, who are regularly represented as kings. They wear beards, as is frequent in this art, although the Jain sādhus speak with disapproval of beards as being dirty.

1. The manuscript has 90 folios numbered consecutively from 1 to 90, with additional numbers from 121 to 210 in the upper right hand corner. The latter numbering shows that the manuscript with at least one another was combined in a collection.

2. See an article which I am publishing in the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* for 1937, on the subject "Early Western Indian Miniature Painting at around 1400 A.D."

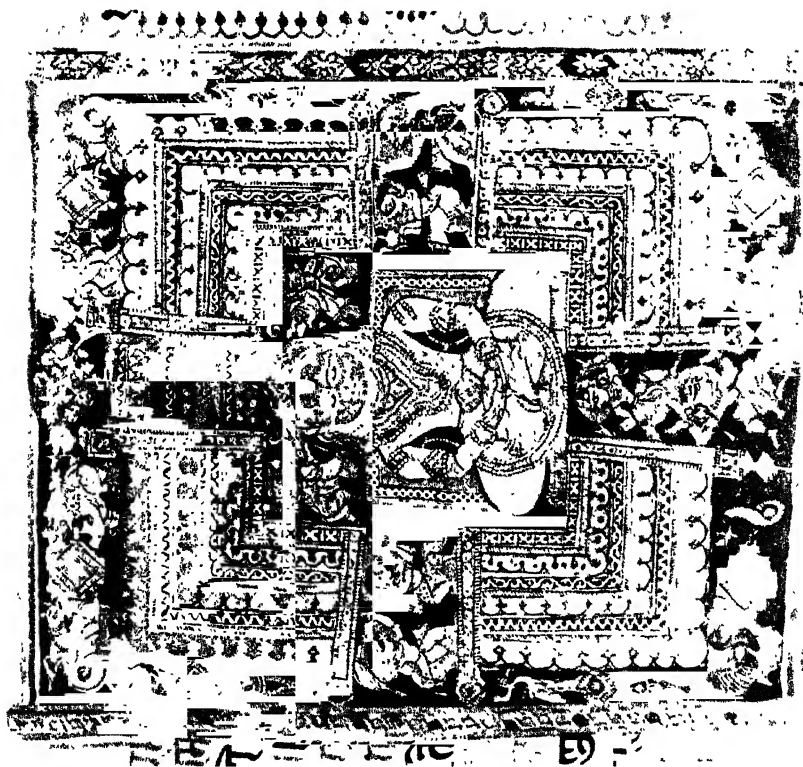


FIG. 1. Mahāvīra's samavasaraṇa

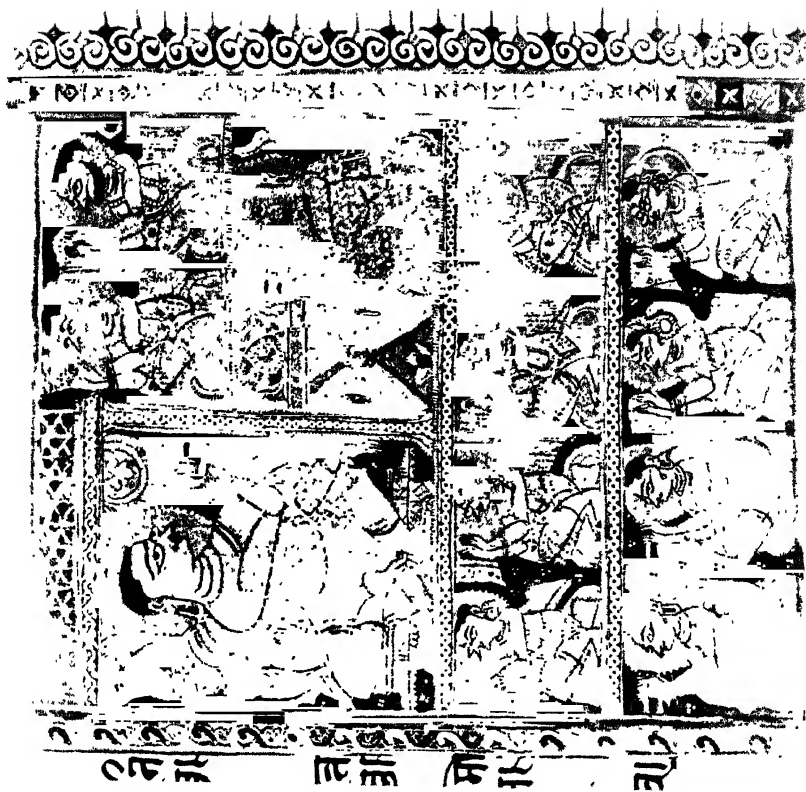


FIG. 2. Mahāvīra preaching

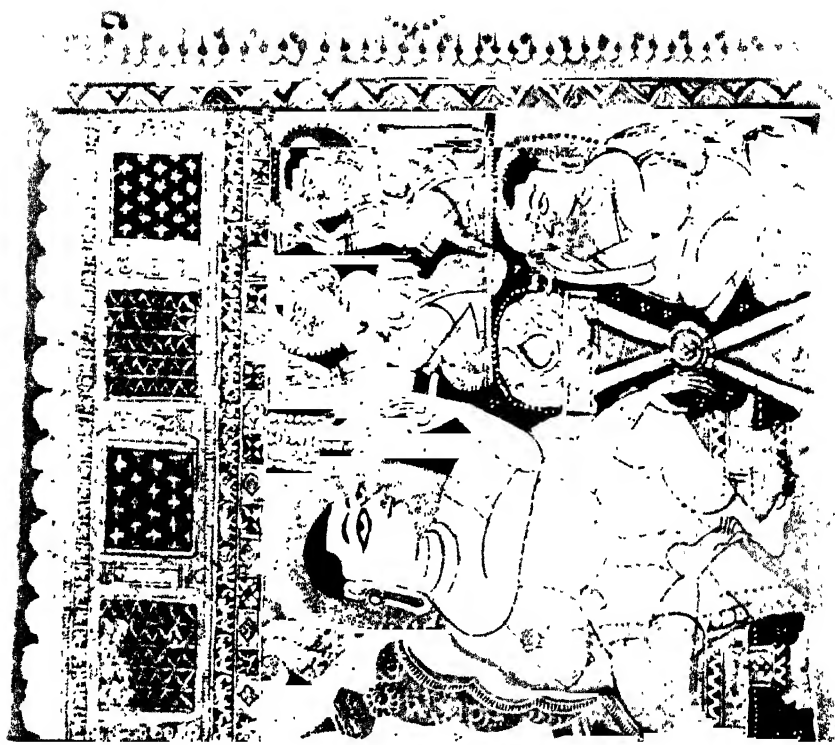


Fig. 3. Mahauras, god 3.



Fig. 4. Part of Mahauras audience as he reaches

This fact and the Vaishnava U-shaped mark on the foreheads might indicate that the artist who made the illustration was a Hindu—these Vaishnava marks are frequent in the Jain paintings, although by no means invariable, and it may well be that the patrons of the Jain manuscripts gave their commissions indifferently to their co-religionists and to Hindus. The two men appear to be waving scarves. On the second register, and meant to be facing Mahāvīra, is a monk, perhaps intended for Mahāvīra's chief disciple Indra-bhūti Gautama, and in front of the monk is the *sthāpanācārya*, the stand with the symbolic representation of the absent guru, who in this case is present and needs no representation. On the third register are four laymen, three smooth-shaven and one bearded. On the bottom register are two nuns, distinguishable from monks by their robes which extend up behind the neck, both holding manuscripts (or mouth-cloths), and behind them two laywomen, who, like the men, seem to be waving scarves.

Figure 3. Mahāvīra preaching (presumably the *Sthānānga Sūtra*). This scene corresponds to the upper part of Figure 2. Overhead is an elaborate architectural setting, with a balcony containing pierced stone or wooden panels separated by columns. I am inclined to think that the material is meant to be wood, and the two rows of hamsas and lions are shown as though painted, for painted wooden shrines are frequent with the Jains of Gujarat.

Figure 4. Part of Mahāvīra's audience as he preaches. This scene corresponds to the lower part of Figure 2. Unfortunately, at some time the folio was repaired with transparent gummed paper and only part of the faces in the top register can be seen clearly. The three registers of the painting are separated by two carefully executed ornamental rows, one showing hamsas, the other a geometrical design. In the top register are four monks; in the middle register four laymen; in the bottom register two nuns and two laywomen. As usual in this art the designs of the clothing are clearly distinguished.

PARALLEL PASSAGES IN THE DAŚAVAİKĀLIKA AND THE ĀCĀRĀṄGA

By

A. M. GHATAGE.

The chronology of the different books of the Ardha-Māgadhi canon is as yet unsettled except in a general way, by which some books like the Ācārāṅga, Sūtrakṛtāṅga are assigned to the oldest stratum while others like the metrical Painṇas are said to form the latest additions. Other books are put in different places between these two extreme limits. When we come to decide more exactly the place of a particular book and its relative chronology with reference to some other work of the canon, we find that such general considerations are of no great use and the relative chronology of any two books of the canon or even parts of books must be decided by a close comparison of these works with each other, with a view to find out which is older and which is younger.

There are three chapters in the Daśavaikālika which have a very close parallel in three chapters of the second part of the Ācārāṅga, from which an attempt can be made to decide the relative chronology of these two books of the canon. These parallel passages were already noted by W. SCHUBRING and PATWARDHAN who have also concluded about their chronology. SCHUBRING has expressed his opinion that the Daśavaikālika is younger of the two and naturally draws upon the passages of the Ācārāṅga in writing its own chapters. Prof. PATWARDHAN has also come to the same conclusion and expresses it with greater conviction. Before, however, these conclusions can be accepted, it is necessary to go through their arguments and also to compare both the texts more closely.

The view that the chapters of the Daśavaikālika are younger and draw for their sources on the Ācārāṅga appears to be based upon considerations of a general nature, that the latter work is older and that the Daśavaikālika is accepted by all to be a work of a compilatory character. Here it must be pointed out that both the parts of the Ācārāṅga cannot claim the same antiquity and the second part from which all the three parallels are to be derived is considerably younger than the first one. Another reason for this supposition must have been the general impression that the language of the prose portions of the canon shows an older form than the one used in the metrical portions and because the passages in the Ācārāṅga are in prose and those of the Daśavaikālika are in verse, the verses must be younger. Prof. PATWARDHAN further thinks that this position is strengthened by the fact that Das. VIII 49 makes a reference to Āyāra., thus showing its acquaintance with it.

All these considerations of more or less general nature are not sufficient to prove the relative chronology of these few parallel passages. That Ācārāṅga

is one of the oldest books of the canon may be accepted in a general sense, but the text itself is found in two distinct parts of different ages, and while the first part can be said to be fairly old, the second is younger. As all the parallel passages occur in the second part only the high antiquity of the first part is not sufficient unless it is proved that the second Śrutaskandha is also equally old or older than the Das. The other fact that the Das. is admittedly a compilation made by Sejjambhava for the benefit of his son is not sufficient in calling them as versification of the prose of the Ācārāṅga. The reference to Ācāra. in the Das. verse is at best doubtful. We are thrown back upon an actual comparison of all the parallel passages to decide the chronology, and no argument of a general nature would settle the case one way or the other.

I give below the two texts in parallel columns where some kind of verbal agreement is to be found. Generally the topics of all these chapters are the same and the contents of both the books are nearly the same.

ĀCĀRĀṄGA

DAŚAVAİKĀLIKA

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. II. 1.1.1. se jjaṃ puṇa jāṇejjā :
 <i>asaṇaṃ vā pāṇaṃ vā khāmaṃ vā</i>
 <i>sāimaṃ vā pāṇehiṃ vā paṇae-</i>
 <i>hiṃ vā biēhiṃ vā hariehiṃ</i>
 <i>vā saṃsattaṃ ummissaṃ sīo-</i>
 <i>daeṇa vā osittaṃ rayasā vā</i>
 <i>parighāsiyaṃ tahappagāraṃ asa-</i>
 <i>ṇaṃ vā ...</i></p> | <p>V. 1.57 asañam pāṇagaṃ vā vi khāi-
 maṃ sāimaṃ tahā
 pupphesu hojja ummissaṃ bīesu
 hariesu vā </p> <p>V. 1.59. asañam pāṇagaṃ vā vi
 khāimaṃ sāimaṃ tahā
 udagaṃsi hojja nikkhattaṃ uttinga-
 paṇagesu vā </p> <p>V. 1.72. vikkāyamāṇaṃ pasaḍhaṃ
 raeṇa pariphāsiyaṃ </p> |
| <p>2. II. 1.1.2. se taṃ āyāe egaṃtaṃ
 <i>avakkamejjā ahe jhāmathaṃ-</i>
 <i>ḍilaṃsi vā ...</i> tao saṃjayāṃ eva
 <i>pariṭṭhavejjā </i></p> | <p>V. 1.85-86.
 hattheṇa taṃ gaheṇaṃ egaṃtaṃ
 avakkame
 egaṃtaṃ avakkamittā acittaṃ paḍi-
 lehiyā
 jayaṃ pariṭhavejja pariṭhappa
 paḍikkame </p> |
| <p>3. II. 1.1.3. <i>taruṇiyaṃ vā chivāḍḍiṃ</i>
 <i>anabhikkantabhajjiyaṃ</i> pehāe...
 no paḍigāhejjā </p> | <p>V. 2.20. taruṇiyaṃ vā chivāḍḍiṃ āmi-
 yaṃ bhajjiyaṃ saṃ
 dintiyaṃ paḍiyāikkhe na me kappai
 tārisaṃ </p> |
| <p>4. II. 1.3.9. <i>tivvadesiyaṃ vā vāsaṃ</i>
 <i>vāsamāṇaṃ</i> pehāe, <i>tivvadesiyaṃ</i>
 <i>vā mahiyaṃ</i> saṃnivayamāṇaṃ
 pehāe <i>mahāvāeṇa</i> rayaṃ samub-
 bhūtaṃ pehāe <i>tiricchapātimaṃ</i> vā
 pāṇā saṃthaḍā saṃnivayamāṇā
 pehāe...</p> | <p>V. 1.8. na carejja vāse vāsante mahi-
 yāe va paḍantie
 mahāvāe ya vāyante tricchasampāi-
 mesu vā </p> |

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5. II. 1.5.2. se tattha parakkama-māṇe payalejja vā *pavaḍcēja* vā, se tattha payalamāṇe vā *pavaḍa-māṇe* vā ...
6. II. 1.5.6. se jjaṃ puna jānejjā *samaṇaṃ* vā *māhaṇaṃ* vā gāma-piṇḍolagam vā atihim vā puvva-paviṭṭhaṃ pehāe no te uvāikkamma pavisejja vā obhāsejja vā se tam āyāe egamtam avakkamejjā aṇāvāyam asamloe citthejjā aha puṇa evaṃ jānejjā *padisehie* vā *dinne* vā *tao tammi nivaṭṭie*, tao saṃjayāṃ eva pavisejja vā obhāsejja vā
7. II. 1.6.2. no gahavaikulassa da-gacchaḍḍaṇamattae citthejjā ... no gāhāvaikulassa *sinānassa* vā *vaccassa* vā *saṃloe* sapadiduvāre citthejjā, no gāhāvaikulassa *ālo-yam* vā *thiggalam* vā *samdhū* vā *dagabhavanam* vā ... nijjhāejjā
8. II. 1.6.4. tahappagāreṇa purekammakaena *hatthena* vā (matteṇa vā *davvie* vā *bhāyaṇena* vā) ap-hāsuyam aṇesaṇijjaṃ jāva no padigāhejjā
9. II. 1.6.5-6. no purekammaena u-da-ulleṇa tahappagāreṇa *udaullena* hattheṇa vā 4 asaṇaṃ vā 4 aphā-suyaṃ aṇesaṇijjaṃ jāva no padigāhejjā | no *udaullena sasiniddhe-na* sesaṃ taṃ ceva evaṃ *sasarakkhe udaulle sasiniddhe mattiyā ose*, *hariyāle hīṃgulae manosilā amjane loṇe geruya-vanṇiyasēdi-ya-soraṭṭhiya-piṭṭhakukkusa-kae-ya-ukkutṭha-saṃsaṭṭheṇa* |
- V. 1.5. pavaḍante va se tattha pak-khalante va saṃjae |
- V. 2.10-11. *samaṇaṃ māhaṇaṃ* vā vi kivaṇaṃ vā vaṇimagam uvasamkamantaṃ bhattatṭhā pāna-tṭhāe va saṃjae tam aikkamittu na pavise na citthe-cakkhugoyare egamtam avakkamittā tattha citthej-ja saṃjae
- V. 2.13. *padisehie* vā *dinne* vā *tao tammi nivaṭṭie*
- V. 1.25 *sinānassa* ya *vaccassa* *saṃlo-gam* parivajjae
- V. 1.15 *āloyam* *thiggalam* *dāram* *samdhū* *dagabhavanāni* ya *caranto* na *vinijjhāe* *saṃkaṭṭhānam* *vivajjae*
- V. 1.32 *purekammena* *hatthena* *da-vie* *bhāyaṇena* vā
- V. 1.33-34. evaṃ--
udaulle *sasiniddhe* *sasarakkhe* *matṭi-yā-ūse* |
hariyāle hīṃgulae *manosilā amjane loṇe* |
geruya vanṇiya sēdiya soraṭṭhiya piṭṭha kukkusakaye ya |
ukkattamasamsatthe *samsatthe* *ce-va* *bodhavve* |

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10. II. 1.6.10. se jjaṃ puṇa jāṇejjā *asaṇaṃ* vā (*pāṇagaṃ* vā *khāim-aṃ* vā *sāimaṃ* vā *agaṇinikkhi-ttaṃ* tahappagāraṃ *asaṇaṃ* vā 4 aphāsuyaṃ jāva no paḍigāhejjā | assamjae bhikkhupadiyāe *osimca-māṇe* vā *nissimcamāṇe* vā āmajja-māṇe vā pamajjamāṇe vā *oyāre-māṇe* vā *uyattemāṇe* vā agaṇijīve himsejjā |
11. II. 1.7.1. assamjae bhikkhupadi-yāe *pīdhaṃ* vā *phalagaṃ* vā *nis-seṇṇiṃ* vā udūhalaṃ vā āhattu *ussaviyā* duruhejjā se tattha *du-ruhamāṇe* payalejja vā *pavadejja* vā, se tattha payalamāṇe pavada-māṇe *hatthaṃ* vā *pāyaṃ* vā ... *lūsejjā* pāṇāṇi vā abhihaṇijja .. taṃ tahappagāraṃ *māloha-ḍaṃ* asaṇaṃ vā 4 jāva no paḍigā-hejjā |
12. II. 1.7.7. aha puna evaṃ *jāṇe-jjā* *cirādhoyaṃ* aṃbilaṃ yok-kaṃtaṃ *parinataṃ* viddhat-thaṃ phāsuyaṃ jāva paḍigāhe-jjā,
13. II. 1.8.3. se jjaṃ puṇa jāṇejjā *sāluyaṃ* vā *virāliyaṃ* vā *sāsav-nāliyaṃ* vā
14. II. 1.10.2. se *egaio* maṇunnaṃ bhoyaṇajāyaṃ paḍigāhettā paṃ-teṇa bhoyaṇeṇa paḍicchāei : *mā metāṃ dāiyaṃ saṃtaṃ datthū-ṇaṃ sayamāye*,
15. II. 1.10.3. se *egaio* annataraṃ bhoyaṇajāyaṃ paḍigāhettā *bhad-dayaṃ* (*bhaddayaṃ*) *bhoccā vi-vañṇaṃ virasaṃ āharati* |
- V. 1.61. *asaṇaṃ* pāṇagaṃ vā vi khāi-maṃ sāimaṃ tahā | agaṇimsi hojja nikkhittaraṃ
- V. 1.63. evaṃ ussakkīyā osakkīyā ujjāliyā pajjāliyā nivvāviyā us-simciyā nissimciyā uvvattiyā oyā-riyā dae |
- V. 1.67 69
nissenṇim phalagaṃ pīdhaṃ ussavit-tāṇa māruhe |
maṃcakilaṃ ca pāsāyaṃ samaṇa-ttāe va dāvae ||
durūhamāṇi pavadejjā hatthaṃ yā-yam ca lūsae |
puḍhaviṇṇi ve vi himsejjā je ya taṃ nissiyā jagā |
tamhā mālohadam bhikkhaṃ na paḍigenṇhanti samjayā |
- V. 1.76-77.
jaṃ jāṇejja cirādhoyaṃ maie daṃ-saṇeṇa vā |
ajivaṃ pariṇayaṃ naccā paḍigāhe-jja saṃjaye |
- V. 2.18. sāluyaṃ vā virāliyaṃ ku-muyaṃ uppalanāliyaṃ |
muṇāliyaṃ sāsavaṇāliyaṃ.
- V. 2.31. siyā *egaio* laddhuṃ lobhe-ṇa viṇigūhai |
mā meyaṃ dāiyaṃ saṃtaṃ datthū-ṇaṃ sayamāye ||
- V. 2.33. siyā *egaio* laddhuṃ vivhaṃ pāṇabhoyaṇaṃ |
bhaddagaṃ bhaddagaṃ bhoccā vi-vaṇṇaṃ virasaṃ āhare |

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16. II. 1.10.4. assim̐ khalu padigāhiyaṃsi *appe siyā bhoṇajāē bahu-ujjhiyadhammie*, tahappagāraṃ no paḍigahejjā |
17. II. 1.10.5. se jjaṃ puṇa jāṇejjā *bahuyatthiyaṃ* vā maṃsaṃ ma-cchaṃ vā *bahukaṃṭagaṃ*, assim̐ khalu padigāhiyaṃsi *appe siyā bhoṇajāē bahuujjhiyadhammie*, tahappagāraṃ
18. II. 1.111. ime piṇḍe ime loc ime *tittae* ime *kaḍuyae* ime *kaṣāe* ime *ambile* ime *mahure*
19. II. 4.1.13. pannavaṃ se bhikkhū vā 2 *aṃtalikkhe* ti vā *gujjhānucarie* ti vā *sammucchie* ti vā *ni-vaie* vā *paoe vadejja* vā *vuṭṭha-valāhage* tti |
20. II. 4.2.7. se bhikkhū vā 2 *manu-ssaṃ* vā goṇaṃ vā mahisaṃ vā migāṃ vā *pasuṃ* vā *pakkhim* vā *sirisivaṃ* vā jalayaraṃ vā se ttaṃ parivūḍhakāyaṃ pehāe no evaṃ vadejjā *thulle* ti vā *pameile* ti vā vaṭṭe ti vā *vajjhe* ti vā *pāime* ti vā |
21. II. 4.2.9. se bhikkhū vā 2 virū-varūvāo *gāo* pehāe no evaṃ vadejjā, taṃ jahā : *dojjhā* ti vā *dammā* ti vā *gorahā* ti vā *vāhimā* ti vā *rahajoggā* ti vā |
22. II. 4.2.10. se bhikkhū vā 2 virū-varūvāo *gāo* pehāe evaṃ vadejjā, taṃ jahā *juvaṃ gave* tti vā *dhe-nū* ti vā *rasavāi* ti vā *hasse* ti vā *mahalle* ti vā mahavvae ti vā *saṃvahaṇe* ti vā |
- V. 1.74. *appe siyā bhoṇajāē bahu-ujjhiyadhammie* |
dintiyaṃ paḍiyāikkhe na me kappai tārisaṃ ||
- V. 1.73. *bahuatthiyaṃ* poggalaṃ aṇimisaṃ vā *bahukaṃṭayaṃ* |
- V. 1.97. *tittagaṃ* va *kaḍuyaṃ* va *ka-sāyaṃ*
ambilaṃ va *mahuraṃ* *lavaṇaṃ* vā |
- VII. 52-53.
taheva mehaṃ va ṇahaṃ va māṇa-vaṃ na deva deva tti gīraṃ vacjā |
saṃmucchie unnae yā paoe vacjja vā vuṭṭha balāhaga tti |
aṃtalikkhatti ṇaṃ būyā gujjhānucariyatti ya |
- VII. 22.
taheva maṇusaṃ pasuṃ pakkhim̐ vā vi sirisivaṃ |
thūle pameile vajjhe paime tti ya no vae |
- VII. 24.
taheva *gāo* dojjhāo *dammā* goraha-ga tti ya |
vāhimā rahajogga tti nevaṃ bhāsejja pannavaṃ ||
- VII. 25.
juvaṃ gave tti ṇaṃ būyā dhenuṃ rasadaya tti ya |
rahasse mahallae vā vi vae saṃvahaṇe tti ya ||

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23. II. 4.2.11. se bhikkhū vā 2 *taheva gaṃtum ujjāṇaṃ pavvayāṇi vaṇāṇi ya, rukkhā mahallā pehāe* no evaṃ vadejjā *pāsāyajoggā* ti vā *toraṇajoggā* ti vā *gihajoggā* ti vā *phalihajoggā* ti vā *aggalajoggā* ti vā *nāvājoggā* ti vā *udagajoggā* ti vā *doṇi-piḍha-caṃgaveranaṃ gala-kuliya - jaṃta-laṭṭhi-nābhi-gaṃḍi-āsaṇa - sayāṇa - jāṇa - uvassayā - joggā* ti vā |

24. II. 4.2.12. se bhikkhū vā 2 *take va gaṃtum ujjāṇaṃ pavvayāṇi vaṇāṇi vā rukkhā mahallā pehāe* evaṃ vadejjā : taṃ jahā : *jā-timaṇṭā* ti vā *dīhavaṭṭā* ti vā *ma-hālayā* ti vā *payālasālā* ti vā *pāsādiyā* ti vā |

25. II. 4.2.13. se bhikkhū vā 2 *bahusaṃbhūtā vaṇaphalā* pehāe no evaṃ vadejjā, taṃ jahā : *pakkā* ti vā *pātakhajjā* ti vā *velociyā* ti vā *ṭālā* ti vā *pehā* ti vā |

26. II. 4.2.14. se bhikkhū vā 2 *bahusaṃbhūtā vaṇaphalā* pehāe evaṃ vadejjā, taṃ jahā : *asaṃthaḍā* ti vā *bahuṇivvaṭṭimaphalā* ti vā *bahusaṃbhūyā* ti vā *bhūtarūvā* ti vā *evappagāraṃ bhāsaṃ asāvajjaṃ jāva bhāsejjā* |

27. II. 4.2.15. se bhikkhū vā 2 *bahusaṃbhūyāo osahio* pehāe tahā vi tāo no evaṃ vadejjā, taṃ jahā : *pakkā* ti vā *niliyā* ti vā *chavīti* vā *lāimā* ti vā *bhajjimāti* vā *bahukhajjimā* ti vā |

VII. 26-29.

taheva gaṃtum ujjāṇaṃ pavvayāṇi vaṇāṇi ya |
 rukkhā mahalla pehāe nevaṃ bhāsejja pannavaṃ ||
 alaṃ pāsāyakhambāṇaṃ toraṇāṇa gihāṇa ya |
 phalihaggalanāvāṇaṃ alaṃ udagadoṇiṇaṃ ||
 piḍhae caṃgabere ya naṃgale maṃmaṃ siyā |
 jaṃtalaṭṭhi ya nābhi vā gaṃḍiyā va alaṃ siyā ||
 āsaṇaṃ sayāṇaṃ jāṇaṃ hojjā vā kiṃcuvassae |

VII. 30-31.

taheva gaṃtum ujjāṇaṃ pavvayāṇi vaṇāṇi ya |
 rukkhā mahalla pehāe evaṃ bhāsejja pannavaṃ ||
 jāimaṃtā ime rukkhā dīhavaṭṭā mahālayā |
 payāyasālā viḍimā vae darisaṇi tti ya ||

VII. 32.

tahā phalāiṃ pakkāiṃ pāyakhajjāiṃ no vae |
 veloīyāiṃ ṭālāiṃ vehimāiṃ ti no vae |

VII. 33. asaṃthaḍā ime aṃbā bahunivvaṭṭimā phalā |

vaejja bahusaṃbhūyā bhūyarūva tti vā puṇo ||

VII. 34.

tahosahio pakkāo niliyāo chavī i ya |
 lāimā bhajjimāo tti pihukhajja tti no vae ||

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28. II. 4.2.16. se bhikkhū vā 2 bahusaṃbhūyāo osahīo pehāe tahā vi tāo evaṃ vadejjā, taṃ jahā : *rūḍhā* ti vā *bahusaṃbhūtā* ti vā *thirā* ti vā *ūsāḍhā* ti vā *gabbhiyā* ti vā *pasūtā* ti vā *sasārā* ti vā eyappagāraṃ bhāsaṃ asāvajjaṃ jāva bhāsejjā |

29. II. 15.29. tao ṇaṃ samaṇe bhagavaṃ Mahāvīre uppanṇāna-damṣaṇadhare Goyamādīṇaṃ samaṇāṇaṃ niggamthāṇaṃ paṃca mahavvayāiṃ sabhāvaṇāiṃ chaj-jīvanikāyāiṃ āikkhai bhāsai parūvei, taṃ jahā : puḍhaviḷkē jāva tasakē |

30. II. 15. paḍhamāṃ bhante mahavvayaṃ paccakkhāmi savvaṃ pāṇāivāyaṃ, se suhumaṃ vā bāyaraṃ vā tasaṃ vā thāvaram vā neva sayam pāṇivāyaṃ karejjā 3 jāvajjivāe tīvihaṃ tīviheṇaṃ maṇasā vayasā kāyasā tassa bhaṃte paḍikkamāmi nimdāmi garahāmi appāṇaṃ vosirāmi.

V.. 35. rūḍhā bahusaṃbhūyā thirā ūsāḍhā vi ya | gabbhiyāo pasūyāo sasārāo tti ālave ||

IV. imā khalu sā chajjīvaṇiyā nā-majjhayaṇaṃ samaṇeṇaṃ bhagavayā Mahāvīreṇaṃ kāsavenaṃ paveiyā... taṃ jahā : puḍhavi-kāiyā ... tasakāiyā

IV. paḍhame bhaṃte mahavvāe pāṇāivāyāo veramaṇaṃ , savvaṃ bhaṃte pāṇāivāyaṃ paccakkhāmi, se suhumaṃ vā bāyaram vā tasaṃ vā thāvaram vā neva sayam pāṇe aivāejjā nevaṇṇhi pāṇe aivāyāvejjā pāṇe aivāyante vi anne na samaṇujāṇāmi, tīvihaṃ tīviheṇaṃ maṇeṇa vāyāe kēṇaṃ na karemi... tassa bhaṃte paḍikkamāmi nimdāmi garahāmi appāṇaṃ vosirāmi ;

An exact parallel of this very nature is to be found in the remaining portions dealing with the other four vows, which need not be repeated here, as the first comparison is sufficient for all the purposes.

Before we note down the result of this comparison it is to be pointed out that though apparently the text of the Ācārāṅga is in prose, there are indications in the text itself which would go to show that in its original form it was in metrical form or at least contained many metrical lines. In fact what is proved by SCHUBRING for the first Śrutaskandha of the book is true of the second as well, though to a less extent. We can note the following lines in the part chosen for comparison : samie sahite sayā jae Ay. II. 1.1. 14 ; II. 1.2.7 ; paḍisehie vā dinne vā tao tammi niyaṭṭie Ay. II. 1.5.6 ; sasarakkhe uḍaule sasiṇiddhe maṭṭiyā ose | hariyāle himḡulae maṇosilā amjaṇe loṇe | geruya-vanṇiya-seḍḍiya-soraṭṭhiya-piṭṭhakkusakae ya | Ay. II. 1.6.6 ; sāluyaṃ vā virāliyaṃ Ay. II. 1.8.3 ; mā metaṃ dāiyaṃ santaṃ daṭṭhūṇaṃ sayam āie | Ay. II. 1.10.2 ; bhaddayaṃ bhaddayaṃ bhoccā vivaṇṇaṃ virasaṃ āhare | Ay. II.

1.10.3 ; appe siyā bhoyaṇajāe bahuujjhiyadhammie | Ay. II. 1.10.4 ; bahu-
yatthiyam vā maṃsam maccham vā bahukaṇṭagam | Ay. II. 1.10.5 ; vedejja
vā vuṭṭhabalāhage tti | Ay. II. 4.1.13 ; taheva gamtum ujjāṇam pavvayāṇi
vaṇāṇi vā | rukkhā mahallā pehāe | Ay. II. 4.2.11.

This list can be greatly extended if we make slight changes usually of dropping the disjunctive particle *vā* or *ti vā* which would turn many of these prose passages into perfect metrical lines. But what is more important for our present purpose is the fact that all these metrical lines also occur in the Daśavaikālika in exactly the same form, where they are preserved in their original metrical garb.

From the comparison itself we can make out the following points :—

1. In most of the parallel passages the order of the words to be enumerated is the same. Cp. Nos. 4, 7, 9, 14, 15, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 27 and nearly all the remaining passages with slight changes in them. Now it is impossible to believe that exactly the same order of the words can be kept throughout if we regard the Daśavaikālika passages to be a versification of the prose of the Ācārāṅga. It is more natural to suppose that the verses were re-written in prose where the order can be easily preserved.

2. It is equally striking that to read the prose passages as verses we are required to drop merely the particles like *vā* or *ti vā* which have no sense of their own, and again it appears more probable to suppose that they were added by the writer who turned the original verses into prose, than the other way.

3. We have further individual cases by examining which one can clearly see the process of turning the verses into prose. The mechanical method of inserting the disjunctive particle after every word has led the prose writer to produce passages which have no meaning. Thus we find the compound *udagadoni* of the verse written as *udagajogga tti vā doṇi* ; the sentence *dammā gorahagā* into *dammā ti vā gorahagā ti vā* ; *nīliyāo chavī* into *nīliyā ti vā chavī ti vā*—all these prose passages giving no consistent meaning.

4. It is impossible to suppose that the same order to such an extent can be preserved in changing the prose into verses, particularly in such a case as No. 18 where the words in the same order have given two lines of such a refined metre as Svāgatā.

5. In the prose passages we find the order of the words which are otherwise in prose somewhat peculiar and not the normal one. Cp. *vadejja vā vuṭṭhabalāhage tti* ; *taheva gamtum ujjāṇam pavvayāṇi vaṇāṇi vā* ; *aha puna evam jāṇejjā cirādhoyam* etc.

6. In one case we find that the verse uses the form *uvassae* as Loc. sing. which the writer of the prose has understood as the Nom. and has added the word in the list of things in No. 23.

All these considerations go to show that out of the two parallel texts the one found in the Daśavaikālika is the older and is preserved in the original form while the prose of the Ācārāṅga is younger and is a mutilation of the original verses.

BUDDHISM IN THE KĀṬHAKA-UPANIṢAD ?

By

HELMUTH VON GLASENAPP

The last two stanzas of the 4th valli of the *Kāṭhaka-Upaniṣad* (4. 14 15) are as follows :

*yathodakam durge vṛstam parvatesu vidhāvatī,
evam dharmān prthak paśyams tā evānuvidhāvatī, 14
yathodakam śuddhe śuddham āśiktam tādṛg eva bhavati
evam muner vijānata ātmā bhavati Gautama ! 15*

“ Just as water that rain showered down to a defile loses itself in the mountains, so also a man who looks upon the dharmas separately loses himself in them. As pure water poured into pure water becomes the same, so also the ātman of the wise muni, o Gautama ”

Professor and Mrs. W. GEIGER¹ have already drawn our attention to the fact that the word “ dharma ” has here a special meaning which reminds us of the use of this term in the sacred books of the Buddhists. They translate the passage as follows : “ Wer so die Dinge (Objekte, Erscheinungen) einzeln betrachtet, läuft hinter ihnen her nach allen Richtungen, d. h. er kann sich nicht auf das Reale konzentrieren. ” There seems indeed to be no doubt that here philosophers are warned against pursuing separate phenomena (*dharmas* without a *dharmin*) and that according to the opinion of the Upaniṣad salvation can be attained only by him who holds the monistic view of the Upaniṣads and believes in a Universal Soul.

Professor STCHERBATSKY² writes : “ What emerges from the passage of the *Kāṭhaka* cited above is that there was a doctrine opposed to the reigning soul theory, that it maintained the existence of subtle elements and separate elements (*prthag dharma*) and that such a doctrine, in the opinion of the author did not lead to salvation. Śāṅkara in his commentary agrees that Buddhism is alluded to, but, very bluntly, he interprets “ dharma ” as meaning here individual soul. As a matter of fact, *dharmas* never occurs with this meaning in the Upaniṣads. Its occurrence in the *Kāṭhaka* leaves the impression that it is a catch-word, referring to a foreign and new doctrine, some *anātmā-dharma* theory.”

I think that Prof. STCHERBATSKY's opinion is corroborated by the Buddhist texts. For in several passages of the Pāli Tipiṭaka the simile of the

1. M. and W. GEIGER : *Pāli 'Dhamma.'* Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil. Klasse XXXI, 1 (München 1921) p. 9.

2. Th. STCHERBATSKY : *The Central Conception of Buddhism and the meaning of the word "Dharma"* (Prize Publication Fund, vol. VII) London 1923, p. 68 f.

water that rain poured down on the mountains is made use of to explain the Buddhist theory that gradually one thing (*dhamma*) begets another, so that at the end apparently trifling causes have very important consequences.

The allegory occurs (with only small variants) in *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* 12, 23, 27 (vol. II, p. 32 of the Pāli Text Society's edition) and 55, 38, 2 (vol. V, p. 396); *Āṅguttara-Nikāya* 3 Nr. 93, 5 (vol. I, p. 243), 4 Nr. 147, 2 (vol. II, p. 140), 10 Nr. 61, 3 and 6, and Nr. 62, 3 and 6 (vol. V, p. 114 f; 117, 119).

The parable itself has the following form in *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*: "*Seyya-thāpi bhikkhave uparipabbate phullaphrusitake deve vassante tam udakam yathā ninnam pavattamānam pabbata-kandara-padarasākkhā paripūrenti, pabbata-kandara-padara-sākkhā paripūrā kusubbhe paripūrenti, kusubbhā paripūrā mahāsobbhe paripūrenti, mahāsobbhā paripūra kunnadiyo paripūrenti, kunnadiyo paripūrā mahānadiyo paripūrenti, mahānadiyo paripūrā mahāsamuddam sāgaram paripūrenti, evam eva kho bhikkhave...*"

These lines are translated as follows :¹

"Just as when, brethren, on some hill-top when rain is falling in thick drops, that water, coursing according to the slope, fills the hill-side clefts and chasms and gullies, these being filled up fill the tarns, these being filled up fill the lakes, these being filled up fill the little rivers, these being filled up fill the great rivers, and the great rivers being filled up fill the sea, the ocean : Even so, brethren . . ."

After this the different things which by and by lead to good or bad consequences are enumerated.

Ang. 4 Nr. 147 confines itself to explaining that the hearing of the Law, the discussion of the Law, calm (*samatha*), and introspection (*vipassanā*), if properly cultivated, gradually bring about (*anupubbenā*) the destruction of the *āsavas*. *Saṃy.* 55, 38 says the same of the three jewels.

Ang. 10 Nr. 61 and 62 show the different things which lead to *avijjā* or *viññā*; in Nr. 62 the effect of *avijjā* viz. *taṇhā* is also added to the series. The different links of the two chains, when put in juxtaposition, are as follows :

asappurisa-saṃseva
asaddhamma-savana
asaddhiya
ayoniso-manasikāra
asatā-sampajañña
indriyāsaṃvara
3 duccharita
5 nīvaraṇa
avijjā
(bhava-taṇhā)

sappurisa-saṃseva
saddhamma-savana
saddhā
yoniso-manasikāra
sati-sampajañña
indriya-saṃvara
3 sucārita
4 satipaṭṭhāna
7 bojjhanga
vijjā-vimutti

1. *The Book of Kindred Sayings*, translated by Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS and E. H. WOODWARD, vol. II, p. 27.

Saṃyutta XII, 23, which bears the name "Upanisā,"¹ shows the causal connection between the 12 *nidānas* of the *paṭiccasamuppāda* from *avijjā* to *jāti*; the effect of *jāti* (in the place of *jarāmarāṇa-soka-parideva-dukkha-domanassupāyasa*) is *dukkha*. From *dukkha* *saddhā* is produced and this is then the cause of the gradual rise of the different mental conditions which end in salvation. The following table when read in descending order shows the gradual development of *dukkha*, when read in ascending order the salvation from *dukkha* :

1. avijjā	23. khayenāṇa
2. saṅkhāra	22. vimutti
3. viññāṇa	21. virāga
4. nāma-rūpa	20. nibbidā
5. salāyatana	19. yathābhūtam-nāṇadassana
6. phassa	18. samādhī
7. vedanā	17. sukha
8. taṇhā	16. passaddhī
9. upādāna	15. pīti
10. bhava	14. pāmojja
11. jāti	13. saddhā
12. dukkha	

Ang. 3 Nr. 93, 5 contains only the links 14 to 18 of the ascending order.

The sense of all these passages² is the same : one *dharma* is the cause of the production of another, and salvation can only be reached step by step by him who knows the connection of the different *dharma*s and is able to eliminate the bad ones and to produce good ones.³ The word *dharma* (Pāli : *dhamma*) is used here of course in the sense which it has everywhere in the *Suttapiṭaka* and not as the philosophical technical term of the elaborate Hīnayāna systems. For in the *Suttapiṭaka* there is not yet the tendency to draw up a list of 75 or more *dharma*s as "ultimate elements of existence" and to reduce all other *dharma*s to them, as I shall show elsewhere.

In any case : the Pāli passage seems to my mind to have some direct or indirect relation to the words in the Upaniṣad and is qualified to elucidate them. Now the question of chronology arises. The *Kāthaka-Upaniṣad* belongs to the older set of Upaniṣads and is generally believed to be pre-Buddhistic. If for other reasons the relation to the passage in the Tipiṭaka does not invalidate this theory we have to assume that the two last stanzas of the fourth

1 The word *upaniṣā* is etymologically = Sanskrit *upaniṣad*, in which form it is also given in Buddhist Sanskrit text, e.g. in Vasubandhu's *Abhidharma-kośa*, translated by LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, vol. II, pp. 106, 245. It is used as a synonym of *hetu*, *pratyaya* "cause".

2 A similar allegory is also given in *Saṃyutta* 12, 69, 3 f. (vol. II, p. 118).

3 *Majjh. Nikāya* I, p. 223 it is said : "pāpake akusale dhamme nādhivāseti, pajahati, vinodeti, byanikaroti, anabhāvam gameti", and Ang. I, p. 11 is said of the "appamāda" : *yena anuppannā vā kusalā dhammā uppaṇṇanti uppannā vā akusalā dhammā parihāyanti*.

vallī, which stand in no close connection to the preceding ones, are a later addition to the text which formerly concluded with the emphatic words : *etad vai tat*. Otherwise we must surmise that the simile of the rain is an old simile of a pre-Buddhistic *anātma-vāda*,¹ which the Buddhists themselves had adopted when they revived an ancient doctrine (*Saṃy.* Vol. II, p. 105).

1. On pre-Buddhistic *anātma-vāda*, see STCHERBATSKY, l. c., p. 65 ff. ; H. JACOBI *Die Entwicklung der Gottesidee bei den Indern* (Bonn 1923), p. 25 ; H. von GLASENAPP *Der Buddhismus in Indien und im Fernen Osten* (Berlin 1936), p. 32 f.

PURVA

By

D. R. BHANDARKAR

The word *pūrvā* occurs in many inscriptions, and appears to have been used in a sense afterwards lost to it. The expression *asyām pūrvāyām* or *ēṭasyām pūrvāyām* is met with first in the Kushāṇa, and, afterwards in the Gupta, inscriptions. In the first group of records it occurs in various Prakrit forms, and the phrase has been translated by BÜHLER thus : "on this (*date specified*) as above" (*E. I.*, Vol. I., p. 381 ff. and Vol. II, p. 202 ff.). And he has been followed by Prof. LÜDERS (*I.A.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 36 ff.) and Prof. VOGEL (*E.I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 176). In the case of the Gupta records, FLEET has in every case added the footnote : 'supply *tithau*.' This no doubt seems to receive support from the specification of the date found in some Plates of the later Chaulukya kings of Aṇahīlapāṭaka, namely, *asyām saṁvatsara-māsa-pakṣa-vāra-pūrvāyām tithau* with slight variants (see D. R. BHANDARKAR'S *A List of the Inscr. of North Ind.*, Nos. 451, 455, 478 ; cf. also No. 241). But here the word *tithau* actually occurs in this text. And, as a matter of fact, what that *tithi* is has been specified in every one of these Chaulukya records. And it seems not a little suspicious that in all cases where the phrase *asyām* or *ēṭasyām pūrvāyām* is used, whether in the Kushāṇa or Gupta records, there is not a single instance where the word *tithau* is employed as in the specification of the date in Chaulukya grants just referred to. Next, what we have to note is that no *tithi* has at all been specified in any one of the Kushāṇa epigraphs and that, on the contrary, there is evidence that the days mentioned there are solar (compare, e.g. Nos. 16, 20, 29, 32 and so forth of LÜDERS' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* &c., where the number standing after *di* or *divasa* exceeds fifteen which is the maximum number of a *pakṣa*). What then becomes of the word *pūrvā* occurring in the Kushāṇa records? The word *tithau* cannot possibly be understood after it, because none of them makes mention of any *tithi*. It is true that in the Gupta inscriptions *tithis* are mentioned in the specification of dates, but it does not follow that in the expression *asyām pūrvāyām*, when it occurs in any one of them, we have to understand *tithau* as FLEET has invariably done. If his view is accepted, how is it possible to interpret the expression *asyām divasa-pūrvāyām* which is found in l. 7 of his No. 10? We cannot possibly understand *tithau* after it as FLEET has done in the footnote attached to it. First because no *tithi* has been actually specified in this record. And secondly because the word *divasa* here must mean the day intervening between sunrise and sunset, and may sometimes comprise more than one *tithi*. We have therefore to seek for some other meaning for *pūrvā*. Let us find out in what other inscriptions the word occurs. Thus it is found in v. 12 on p. 192 of *E. I.*, Vol. IX

and, above all, in v. 44 of the celebrated Mandasōr Inscription of Kumāragupta I. and Bandhuvarman (*Gupta Inscr.*, No. 18), where, however, FLEET remarks : "supply *praśastiḥ*." This is a curious proposal, because at one time the word *tithau* and at another the word *praśastiḥ* is understood by FLEET after *pūrvvā*. The question arises : why not take *pūrvvā* as a substantive as seems natural, instead of taking it as an adjective? Because it is rather strange that, in all these cases which are many, we find we have to supply either *tithau* or *praśastiḥ* after it. That *pūrvvā* is in such cases used as a substantive may be seen from the following which occurs in *Gupta Inscr.*, No. 36 : *evam rāja-varṣa-māsa-dinaiḥ ētasyām pūrvvāyām svalakṣaṇair yukta-pūrvvāyām*. In this sentence the term *pūrvvā* has been used, not once, but twice. We are therefore compelled to take both the *pūrvvā*, at least the first of it, as a substantive. And further it seems that the word was used probably in the sense of 'detailed order,' or 'descriptive sequence.' The phrase may, therefore, be translated as follows : "when thus with the regnal year, month and day, this was the detailed order (of the date), the detailed order being invested with its own characteristics." This may be compared with similar wordings in *Gupta Inscr.*, Nos. 23 and 25. That *pūrvvā* had some such meaning appears also from a Nāgarī Inscription, where we meet with *asyām Mālava-pūrvvāyām*, "when this was the detailed order (of the date) according to the Mālavas" (D. R. BHANDARKAR's *List*, No. 5). In all other records, therefore, where *asyām* or *ētasyām pūrvvāyām* occurs, we had better for the same reason translate it "when this was the detailed order (of the date)."

GOTRA AND PRAVARAS OF THE KADAMBAS

By

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH

Dr. Dines Chandra SIRCAR has published a note on the 'Origin of the Kadambas,' in the *Indian Culture*, (Vol. IV, pp. 118-123). He has shown therein that the Kadambas, in almost all the inscriptions have claimed to be of the 'Mānavya gotra' and 'Hāritiputra.' But it is stated in Banavasī grant of the eighth year of Mṛgeśavarman's reign (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 35-36) that they belonged to the Āṅgīrasa gotra. Again in the Talgunda inscription, (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 31ff), it is said that they are of 'tryārsa-varṇma,' i.e. their *pravaras* having the names of three seers. How to reconcile this difference in *gotra*-names? Let us see if we can throw any light on the subject.

'Āṅgīrasa' as the name of a *gotra* is not found in any of the standard works on *gotras* and *pravaras*. In fact Āṅgīrā himself is not the founder of any *gotras*, but his descendants. Gotama and Bharadvāja. All the *gotras* under these two groups have got the *pravaras* beginning with 'Āṅgīrasa.' Besides some Kṣatriyas having become Brāhmaṇas, affiliated themselves with the clan of Āṅgīrā. Their *pravaras* also begin with 'Āṅgīrasa.' They are called *Kevala* or 'only' Āṅgīrasa, because their *pravaras* do not contain any other names of the seers of the Āṅgīrā's real descendants. The *gotras* under Gotama and Bharadvāja are called simply Āṅgīrasa or Āṅgīrasa proper. Any of these can go by the name of Āṅgīrasa *gotra*. Some of these Āṅgīrasas have got three *pravaras*, some five *pravaras* and some alternate sets of three and five.

Although the standard authorities do not recognise any *gotra*-name as 'Āṅgīrasa,' they are in existence among the present-day Brāhmaṇas, with different *pravaras*. To which of these Āṅgīrasas did the Kadambas belong? This cannot be said unless we know their *pravaras*. DR. SIRCAR, on the authority of the *Śabda-Kalpadruma*, suggests their *pravaras* as : - 'Āṅgīrasa, Vāsiṣṭha and Bārhaspatya.' This appears to be a *divyāmuṣyāyana* or double *gotra* formed of the Bhāradvāja and Vāsiṣṭha *gotras*, as it contains the *pravaras* of both. The *Śabda-Kalpadruma* has quoted from *Gotra-pravara-Viveka* in the *Dharma-pradīpa* of Dhanañjaya, which deals with the *gotras* and *pravaras* generally found in Bengal. But Āṅgīrasa *gotras* with different *pravaras* are found among the Brāhmaṇas and others of different localities. The Moḍh Brāhmaṇas have got Āṅgīrasa *gotra* with the three *pravaras* of Āṅgīrasa, Autathya and Gautama (*Brāhmaṇotpatti-mārtaṇḍa*, p. 164). These are found in the *Āśvalāyana*, *Āpastamba* and *Kātyāyana Srauta-sūtras*, under the name of Autathya-Gautama (*Gotra-pravara-nibandha-Kadambam*, p. 223). The Khedāvāl Brāhmaṇs of the village Hiroli have got the Āṅgīrasa *gotra* with the *pravaras* of Āṅgīrasa, Naidhruva and Śaunaka (*Brā. Mārt.*, p. 460). It seems

to have *pravaras* of three different *gotras*. The Dhāmaṇakaras of the Karhāḍ Brāhmaṇas are of the Āṅgīrasa *gotra*. They cannot marry in the *Kevala* Āṅgīrasa *gotras* of Kutsa and Mudgala among them. This shows that they also belong to the *Kevala* Āṅgīrasa. The Vālmika Brāhmaṇas have got an Āṅgīrasa *gotra* with the *pravaras* of the Āṅgīrasa, Bhārmyśva & Maudgalya (*Ibid.*, p. 538). This goes by the name of Maudgalya in the standard books. Besides these the Nāgar, Dārolā and Mahārāṣṭra Brāhmaṇas, and the Daman Prabhus of Konkan and Mahārāṣṭra have got Āṅgīrasa *gotra*. But we do not know their *pravaras*. It is clear from what we have shown that any *gotras* under Āṅgīrasa proper or *Kevala* Āṅgīrasa can go by their general name of Āṅgīrasa. So we are not in a position to ascertain the *pravaras* of the Kadambas from the mere mention of Āṅgīrasa *gotra* with three *pravaras*.

Let us see if the mention of Mānavya *gotra* can be of any help in this direction. The standard authorities speak of three Mānavas. They are :—

(1) The Kṣatriyas are said to have only one set of *Ārṣa-pravaras* of their own, viz. Mānava, Aida and Paururavas. The Kadambas were Brāhmaṇas, besides there is no Āṅgīrasa in it, so this cannot apply to them.

(2) The *Matsyapurāṇa* (Ch. 196, Verses 49-50) alone speaks of a Mānava *gotra*, under the Bhāradvājas, with the five *pravaras* of Āṅgīrasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Māntravara and Ātmabhūva. This may be the Mānavya *gotra* of the Kadambas. But it has got five *pravaras*, without any alternative of three *pravaras*.

(3) The third Mānava *gotra* is *Sārvavarṇika*, i.e. for all. *Sārvavarṇika* has been interpreted as *trāivarnika*, i.e. for Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya only, because the rules and regulations about the *gotras* and *pravaras* do not apply to the Śūdras. Kātyāyana has gone further. He says that it is for the Vaiśyas only. (*Gotra-pravara-nibandha-Kadambam*, p. 133f.). This can hardly be accepted. It seems this was meant for people other than the descendants of the eight Ṛṣi founders of the *gotras*, viz. Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Atri, Vasiṣṭha, Kaśyapa and Agastya.

In fact *gotra* in this special sense can only be applied to the descendants of these eight Ṛṣis. Even the *Kevala* Bhṛgu and the *Kevala* Āṅgīrasas do not strictly speaking come under the category of *gotra*, but they are treated as such because they have been dealt with in the chapter of *Pravaras* in the *Śrauta-Sūtras*, along with those of the eight Ṛṣis. Besides these there were, no doubt, other Brāhmaṇas, who were *gotraless*, but this is hard to believe now-a-days. The *Pañcaviṃśati-Brāhmaṇa* (20, 15, 10) speaks of the *anārṣeya* or *pravaraless brāhmaṇas*. The *Vrātyas* were another class of Brāhmaṇas, who were taken into the Brahmanical fold by performing the *Vrātyastoma* sacrifice, had no *gotras*. Some rites, such as *Śrāddha* prescribed for all the four *Varṇas*, required the recitation of *gotras*. What should a man without a *gotra* do in such cases? Probably for these people the *Sārvavarṇika* *gotra* of Mānavya was prescribed, because all are descended from Manu.

We do not now-a-days meet with the Mānavya or Mānava *gotra*. The reason seems to be that at a later period this *gotra* has made place for Kāsyapa *gotra*, which are treated as the *Sārvavaṇṇika*, as all according to the *Śruti* are descended from Kasyapa (*Nirṇayasindhu*, p. 280, Venkateśvara Press). These *gotraless* Brāhmaṇas probably taking up the *gotras* of their *Ācāryas* have, by and by, been all merged into the descendants of the eight *R̥ṣis* (*Kauṣītaki-gr̥hyasūtra*, 2, 2 ; S. B. E., Vol. XXIX, p. 62). This seems to be the reason why we do not find any *gotraless* Brāhmaṇas now-a-days.

The Kadambas seem to have belonged to the *Dvyāmuṣyāyāṇa* or double *gotra*, formed of their patronymic Mānavya *gotra* and the metronymic Hārita *gotra*, showing that they were debarred from marrying in either of the *gotras*. In earlier times the *putrikāputras* and the *Kāñina-putras* formed into *dvyāmuṣyāyāṇas* in this way (Bhaṭṭoji Dīksita's *Pañcaviṃśatimatasaṅgraha*, Benares Edn., p. 105). We understand that the custom of *Putrikā-putras* is still prevalent among the Nambutiri Brāhmaṇas of Southern India. The Hārita *gotra* belongs to the group of *Kerala Āṅgirasa*. These *Dvyāmuṣyāyāṇas* can go by either of the two *gotras* of which they are formed or by both formed into a compound name. Thus they could be called *Āṅgirasa*, which is the bigger group-name of the Hāritas. The patronymic Mānavya *gotra* of the Kadambas shows that they were originally *gotraless* Brāhmaṇas, and metronymic Hāritiputra goes to prove that they were *putrikā-putra* or *Kāñina-putra* of a girl of Hārita *gotra*. Their three *pravaras* were probably Mānavya, *Āṅgirasa* and Hārita.

RAVIVARMAN KULASEKHARA

(*The Emergence of Travancore into Historical View*)

By

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR

The Extent of Territory included in Travancore.

The state that goes by the name of Travancore now and occupies the south-west corner of peninsular India, falls into two distinct parts as it were, one Tamil and one Malayalam. The southern part of it extending from Cape Comerin to much past Quilon strikes a traveller as being more or less part of the Tinnevely District, judging from the people whom one meets on his way. The northern portion is equally distinctly Malayalam. This state of things seems to be the result of the history of the country of long standing, and could hardly be a matter of late history. Apart from the general question of the differentiation of Malayalam from Tamil, and the period of time when that differentiation did actually take place, we have to remember that, in the days of the Śāṅgam literature, the Tamil part of Travancore was included in the territory of the Āy chieftains and afterwards came to be distinctly known as Nāñjil Nāḍu, forming a separate political entity under the suzerainty of the Pandyas. That this state of things continued to almost the end of the 8th century is in evidence in the Pandya copper-plate charter called the Vēlvikkuḍi plates published in the *Epigraphia Indica*,¹ where the Pandya contemporary of the great Nandivarman II. Pallava Malla is stated to have undertaken an expedition against his united enemies who had mustered strong in the Kongu country.² The charter claims for him a very thorough victory over his enemies in the region of Kongu, defeating the great Pallava himself. But what is really important to us in the present context is that as a result of this victory he was able to march across the whole of Kongu against the Chēra. Having defeated the Chēra and put him under tribute in the region of the Chēra kingdom proper at the time, namely, the state of Cochin and the part of Malabar dependent thereon extending southwards to the northern limit indicated above of the Travancore country, the charter states that he landed in what is now the Travancore country and marched across, as if through his own territory, into the Tinnevely District reaching his capital of Madura ultimately. These give us unmistakably to understand that practically the whole of what is now Travancore was under the authority of the Pandyas at this time, as a result of conquest. There is much evidence in Tamil literature

1. Vol. XVIII.

2. SEWELL'S *Historical Inscription of Southern India*, p. 31 under date 1933-34 & note 3.

which would confirm this for three or four generations preceding this great Pandya ruler. Even in the days of the great Chola dynasty which came into power at the end of the 9th century and gradually extended its authority so as to take into the Chola dominions even all the west coast almost, we have the clearest indication that the campaigns that the Cholas had to undertake against the southern coast of this region, were more or less a part of the campaigns that the Cholas had to undertake against the Pandyas, and campaigns which were definitely called wars against the Chēra rulers of the time, have reference, as in the Pandya charter above, to the region much farther north of what is now Travancore.

The Chēra Kingdom.

The history of the Chēras therefore during the first millennium and more, is practically the history of the region of Malabar including within it what is now called North Malabar, what is called British Malabar and the territory now under the authority of the State of Cochin. It is well known from widely scattered statements in Tamil literature that the distant south, India south of the Krishna-Tungabhadra frontier, was the territory of the three crowned kingdoms of the south, and its equivalent in Sanskrit. In the period of Pallava ascendancy when the Pallavas actually claimed rule over the whole of South India, they gave themselves a title *Trai-rājya-Pallava*, meaning thereby that their authority extended over the three kingdoms or the territories of the three kings of the south. These were Chola, Pandya, Chēra or Kerala. That there was an independent Kerala as one of the three kingdoms in the days of Asoka is clearly in evidence in his rock edicts, the 4th and 13th of which actually mention Keralaputra among the southern powers with whom he came into diplomatic relations more or less. This term *Kēralaputra* is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamil *Chēramān*, and seems to be, though not very obviously, a derivative therefrom. The Tamils always call these people *Śēras*, and their rulers *Śēran*. But the name is somewhat modified also, in authoritative works of Tamil literature, by the addition of a syllable, making it *Śēral* in the singular and *Śēralar* in the plural. "*Śēral, Sembian, sinam, keḷu, Tittayan*"¹ occurs in the Śāngam works. In more modern Tamil one often meets with expressions *Śēralar Kōn* as in references to Kulaśekhara Āvār. A form like *Śēraḷam* or *Śēralam* for the country, does not seem an impossible formation, and, if it had any vogue as the name of the country, its adoption by the Sanskritists would certainly be nothing strange. The term *Kēraḷa* therefore of the Sanskritists seems to be formed on the Tamil word *Śēralan* or *Śēralat*, singular or plural. That does not however explain why the king should be called *Kēralaputra* in Sanskrit or Pāli, corrupted into Greek Cherobothras, equivalent for Chēraputra or Kēralaputra. This formation comes from the Tamil word *Śērar-* or *Śēralar- Perumakan* which in combination seems to be used as equivalent to prince or ruler. The term as *Vadukar-Perumakan*, and

1. Madurikānji in the Collection Ten-Tena Pattupāṭṭu.

even Śērar Perumakan, occurs. Perumakan would literally be "big son" which certainly is capable of being interpreted as the great son, and thus easily becoming the equivalent of prince. This gets modified in usage into Perumān, another variant of which would be Perumāl. We then find that the Kēraja-putra of the Asoka edicts is nothing more than the Śērar-Perumakan translated. It should therefore refer to nobody other than the Chēra contemporary of Asoka, thereby giving us unmistakably to understand that there was a definite Chēra kingdom with a crowned Chēra monarch along with the corresponding Chola and Pandya, among the three crowned kings of the south.

Chēra dominance in South India.

This Chēra kingdom existed during the first three or four centuries of the Christian era, and a number of Chēra rulers of note can be picked up and even arranged in a list of succession, if not actually a genealogical list, to the number of a dozen or more, some of whom having had the good fortune to leave records of their achievements in these poems. Some of these poems are actually intended to incorporate, as far as poetry can, the history of the Chēras. The poem Padirūpattu is one of this kind and lays itself out to celebrate the exploits of ten Chēra rulers who ruled over this kingdom. The poems concerning the first and last of these ten are lost. We have got the poems relating to the other eight. A few more names could be picked out from the other Śāngam miscellanies. The state of things that we find in this body of literature shows the Chēra kingdom to be a comparatively small extent of territory comprising all the central tract of what is now the state of Cochin and the territory immediately adjacent thereto. It gradually extended to take in the adjoining portions, the expansion being particularly notable in the north and the east. The northern expansion necessitated the creation of a viceroyalty, at or near Cannanore, which may at one time have developed into a kingdom comprising what is now North Malabar, taking into it even South Kanara district. But somewhat later began an eastward expansion which necessitated the creation of a Chēra viceroyalty in the Salem district under the chieftains known as the Adigamāns of Tagadūr, modern Dharmapuri.¹ At the height of this eastward expansion perhaps came into existence another viceroyalty which created modern Karūr and the territory dependent thereon, the aggression at one time reaching as far as Nērivāyil near Trichinopoly in the South, and Kanchi itself and the territory to the north of it dependent on it. One of these early rulers claims to have anointed himself with the waters of both seas at one and the same time at Ayirai (Hagari river in Mysore), the commentator explaining it that the waters from the western and the eastern seas were brought by relays of elephants for his anointment somewhere in the middle. When the Chēra dominance ceased the territory naturally would break up; and fell to pieces certainly in the usual fashion of India by the subordinate governments becoming independent kingdoms. We cannot say that the state

1. See Mr. K. G. SESA AİYAR's recent work on the Chēras for further details.

under the Zamorin started so early. But we do know that the chieftain Adigaman and his descendants ruled independently of the Chēras in the region of the Salem district. The territory which now constitutes the state of Travancore must have dropped out as well, and perhaps been early incorporated in the territory of the Āy chieftains on that borderland, or by their Pandya overlords when they established their supremacy there. What actually was the character of the political constitution of this southern territory we have no knowledge of during this period.

Pandya dominate Southern Malayalam.

When next we come to the age when the Pallavas of Kanchi were gradually building up an empire to dominate the whole of the south, the Pandyas set up a reaction against them. This seems to have resulted from a general folk movement which brought about an upsetting of the general political order in the south. Very early in the course of this Pandyan revival, we are able to see the Pandyan campaigns are against the territory of the Chēras, and all the battles, several of them naval engagements, were fought out in the southern part of Travancore. This war between the Pandyas and the Chēras seems to have been more or less a protracted war, and the actual responsibility for the aggression varied, sometimes the one and sometimes the other actually beginning the war. The series of these campaigns culminated in the invasion of the Chēra territory by the Pandyan king Neḍumāran who, we mentioned already, undertook an expedition of the Chēra territory westward from the Salem district, and carried the campaigns successfully through the kingdom of the Śēras proper, and then proceeded southwards into his own territory which forms part of what is now the state of Travancore. This indicates more or less that in these centuries, sixth to the ninth, what now is Travancore formed a part, almost an integral part, of the territory of the Pandyas.

The Pallava-Pandya struggle detrimental to Chēra power.

The general trend of South Indian History so far has been that in the earliest historical period known to us, the period of the Śāṅgam literature extending from the date of Aśoka, 3rd century B.C. to the commencement of the 4th century A.D., Tamil India pursued its course by itself alone, generally unmolested by enemies from the northern frontier except on an occasion or two, an invasion under the Mauryas and perhaps one or two in the latter period of the Andhra successors of the Mauryas. From the beginning of the 5th century commences the period of the Pallava ascendancy. The Pallavas established themselves in Kanchi, the northern province of the Chola empire, and gradually extended their power so as to exercise at least an overlordship over the well known Tamil kingdoms of the south. This is the period of Pallava ascendancy, and the success of the Pallavas was great enough to justify their calling themselves *Trai-rājya-Pallavas*, the Pallavas, overlords of the three well known kingdoms of the south. That state of things could not remain unchallenged, and was not allowed to go without an effort on the part

of some of these. The Chola kingdom was so near the Pallavas and had been so early put out of action effectively that she had to bide her time for long before making any effort with a possibility of success. This rôle of opposition to the dominant power fell to the lot of the Pandyas farther south, as they did not suffer perhaps quite so much either in the Kalabhra invasion, or in the establishment of the Pallava ascendancy as the Cholas did. Even so, it is stated clearly that a new Pandya power had to emerge from the Kalabhra submergence, and it is this newly risen dynasty of Pandya rulers that took the field against the Pallavas. We have some information of five or six generations of these Pandyas, and such information as we possess regarding them shows them monarchs of a territory extending from coast to coast, fairly well consolidated to throw the whole weight of their resources against the Pallavas. In the earlier part of this period they had to do a good deal of fighting in the western frontier of Vēṇāḍ, and many a naval and land victory is claimed by one at least of the earlier members of this dynasty, so that we may take it as a fact of history that Nānjanāḍ and Vēṇāḍ, parts of Travancore, in fact the great bulk of what is now Travancore territory, had been brought under their control, and the Chēra territory was actually reduced to narrow limits and confined to the north of the extended Chēra kingdom of the previous period. That it was actually so is borne witness to by the actual achievement of the Pandyan referred to previously who conducted a campaign against the great Pallava Nandivarman Pallava-Malla successfully marching across to the west coast through the Chēra territory, and getting into his own territory in the Tinnevely District across what is practically part of his own dominions. This persistent war between the Pandyas and the Pallavas, lasting through four or five generations almost continuously, naturally sapped the resources of both the powers.

The extinction of the Pallava Ascendancy.

The Pallavas had to fight Janus-faced through all this period with the Chālukyas in the north across their northern frontier and the Tamil powers, the Pandyas and the Cholas in the south. When in the middle of the eighth century the Chālukyas were overthrown, and when a new dynasty, that of the Rāṣtrakūṭas, came into power there, the policy towards the south changed only for a short period and soon resumed the normal position of hostility to the south. Therefore the Pallava activity against the Pandyas of the south weakened when the Pandyas assumed the aggressive owing to the pressure put upon the Pallavas from the north. Time was against the Pallavas, and this pressure on both sides was certain to exhaust the resources of the Pallavas and so it did. When the Pandyas, two generations later, advanced through all the Chola country, and almost into the heart of the South Arcot District carrying their arms successfully, the time had come for the Pallavas to make a last effort. They were this time lucky in getting all their southern feudatories to co-operate with them, and, as ill luck would have it for the Pandyas, they embroiled themselves with Ceylon, wherefrom an invasion happened to

be threatening. The occasion was taken advantage of by the Cholas in the middle who had been biding their time all along to take the tide at the flood, and restore themselves to their former position of importance, if not of dominance. In the result we see that at the commencement of the 10th century, the Pandya king Varaguna II and his successor had to withdraw after a defeat from the Chola territory and face an enemy from Ceylon as a matter of greater urgency. That was the extinction of the Pandya dominion.

The Establishment of the Chola ascendancy.

The Cholas made themselves masters of their own ancestral territory in the Kaveri delta first. Then they extended their power to take in Tondamandlam, the region dependent upon Kanchi in the north, extending westwards to take into the rising empire, the territory of Kongu which happened to be the bone of contention between the Pandyas and the Cholas. In the course of this progress, the Cholas got into alliance with the Chēras of the west, who had their own grievances against the Pandyas. Thus was established in the course of the 10th century, the Chola ascendancy which crippled the Pandya power as a necessary preliminary, thanks to the timely intervention of the Ceylonese in a Pandya civil war, and, what is really important to Chēra history, the chēras saved themselves by a timely marriage with the rising great Chola Parāntaka. The Chēra territory, such as it was, was left intact, and the Cholas carried their wars against the Pandyas till the Pandya power was crushed beyond possibility of their making any useful effort to regain their former power. In this early period of Chola ascendancy we do hear sometimes of battles in the territory of Travancore both naval and on land. These were battles not against the Chēras, or the rulers of Travancore separately, but as part of the general campaigns against the Pandyas thereby giving us to understand clearly that the territory remained Pandyan, the region actually figuring in these contexts being called Vēṇāḍ, giving us the surest indication of what territory it was that was actually involved in this struggle, the territory namely of what is now Travancore. The Chēra kingdom lay farther north and therefore safe. The Cholas found occasion to go to war against them separately. The establishment therefore of Chola ascendancy in South India meant for the Chēras an alliance to begin with, consolidated by a marriage of a Chēra princess to the great Chola Parāntaka, but war against the southern portions of the Chēra territory, the region of Travancore being involved in war, not so much as Chēra territory but as forming a part of the Pandya kingdom. The establishment of the Chola ascendancy under Rājarāja the Great shows the Chola power exercising authority not only over their own ancestral territory but over the whole of what was the Pandya kingdom and even portions of Ceylon.

The Chēra kingdom under Rājarāja.

One feature of Rājarāja's connection with the Chēras is noteworthy. While early in his reign he is recorded in all his inscriptions to have gone to war against south Travancore and gained a naval victory, the first great event of

distinction at a place called Kāndaḷūr Śālai identified with a part of Trivandram sea-shore, which must have formed a roadstead at the time, it is later on in the reign that we hear of him undertaking campaigns against the Chēra land proper in the west. It seems probable that in the course of his conquest of the Pandya territory, the policy changed either because the Chēras took sides with the Pandyas, or because something else necessitated this war. Either way, the later records of his reign include the kingdom of the Chēras among the places that Rājarāja brought under his authority before his campaign extended to the islands of the western sea. By the time therefore that Rājarāja reached the high tide of his fame, he had brought the three kingdoms under his control, and justified the name *Mummudi Śola*, which he seems to have assumed somewhat later in the reign as distinguished from an early title *Mummaḍi Chola* which would ordinarily mean nothing more than "a Chola thrice over," the most excellent among the Cholas as it were. The title *Mummudi Chola* is distinct in reference certainly to his having brought the three kingdoms, Chola, Pāṇḍya and Chēra under his authority. As a matter of fact, it seems fairly clear that about the end of his reign, and through the exertions of his warrior son Rājendra to become later the Gangaikondachola, a western campaign was carried to success by the conquest even of the islands of the sea. It is just possible that Rājarāja found it worth while bringing this about as a necessary preliminary to the campaign against the Chāḷukyas which was to be the preoccupation of the Cholas for practically a whole century, that is the 11th century. Rājarāja must have already matured his plans of campaigns against the later Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi, who had risen to power by the overthrow of the Rāṣtrakūṭa dynasty about the same time that he came into prominence in the Chola territory, gradually working themselves up to instal themselves firmly in their newly won territory and brought about peace on both their northern frontier against the rulers of Malva, and the north-eastern against the rulers of Vengi, with both of whom the Chāḷukyas were in deadly enmity. Once that was satisfactorily done, it was natural that the enemy would be thundering at the gates along the north-western frontier of the Cholas. Rājarāja's plan of campaign therefore was in anticipation of this, and the Chola-Chāḷukya struggle was a feature of the foreign policy of the great Cholas from Rājarāja to Kulottunga I. The campaign against the Chēras therefore may well have been a mere effort to protect his flank as against this great war. We do hear now and again of the Chēras in the course of the next century, and also sometimes there is an occasional mention of a campaign, but generally speaking the Chēras seem to have remained under the authority of the Cholas for the rest of the period. This refers of course to the Chēra kingdom proper, and not to the southern part of it which included the territory that now forms Travancore.

Kulottunga III and the Pāṇḍyas.

This part begins to figure again in the wars against the Pandyas which supervened what seemed a change of dynasty about the last quarter of the

12th century in the Chola empire. The line of Chola rulers in regular succession seems to have ceased, and a prince of a collateral family had to be placed on the throne. There was the possibility of a disturbance, and there seems to have been some actual effort also. This contributed to weaken the Chola power somewhat. The Pandyas found their opportunity. They managed to secure the assistance of an ambitious monarch of Ceylon who established himself as the ruler of the whole island putting an end to Chola authority there. The invasion therefore must have had the idea of making it impossible for the Cholas to reassert their authority in Ceylon, and that could best be done by throwing their weight on the side of the Pandyas when they showed themselves restive, and stake their fortunes on a campaign, almost a life and death campaign, against the Cholas. Kulottunga III who ruled from A.D. 1178 to A.D. 1216 was the great Chola who achieved distinction among the Cholas by preventing the dismemberment of the empire by successful campaigns against the Ceylonese and the Pāṇḍyas, beating back the former and punishing the latter almost to the point of destroying their power altogether. The rival power, the Chālukyas in the north, suffered a severe calamity and did not have the good fortune to recover from it, as the Chola power did. First a usurpation, then a restoration under a weakling monarch, had brought about the dismemberment of that empire, which fell into three kingdoms, the Yadvas with their capital at Dēvagiri, the Kākatīyas who had taken the place of the Eastern Chālukyas with their capital in Wārangal in the Nizam's Dominions, and the Hoysalas in the south with their capital at Haḷabeḍ and Bēlūr. The three dynasties whose territory comprised the whole of the Chālukyan empire. Kulottunga's victories drastic in their character suppressed the trouble for the moment to bequeath to the empire the deadly hatred of the Pāṇḍyas who only waited for an opportunity to crush the Cholas out of existence if possible. The advent of Kulottunga's son and successor, Rājarāja III was the opportunity for the southern power to try its strength against the Cholas. The Chola Pandya struggle becomes a feature of the following half century, culminating in the extinction of the Chola power and the establishment of the Pandya ascendancy for the time.

The end of the Chola Empire and the Pandya Ascendancy.

Kulottunga's rule extended well beyond the first years of the 14th century, and when his son Rājarāja succeeded to the throne he seems to have become heir to the Chola empire together with a crop of troubles which arose within its own boundaries. We do not know for certain what the cause of the civil trouble was actually due to at this time, but practically all the northern part of the Chola empire, the Tondamaṇḍalam and the farther north of that region up to the banks of the Krishna, including the Chola territory proper reaching down to the banks of the Kaveri almost, seem to have become a seething cauldron of trouble and discontent. Rājarāja had a brother Rājendra who seems to have held rule, in the earlier years of Rājarāja, in the region bordering on Mysore. Whether he had anything to do with this.

we do not know, but the chief source of the trouble appears to have been the ambitious and enterprising Pallava ruler hailing from the South Arcot District with a capital at Cuddalore to give place ultimately to Tiruvadi or Tiruvadigai, Ko-Perumjinga by name. Three successive battles had to be fought in which the names of other chieftains of the northern part of this country also figure, and Rājarāja for the time managed to extricate himself from the trouble owing to the good offices of his relative, the ruler of Mysore, Narasimha II, Hoysala. These disturbances were certainly taken advantage of by the Pandyas looking out for an opportunity for revenge. The young and enterprising contemporary of Rājarāja III was Māravarman Sundara Pandya who ascended the Pandyan throne about the same date as Rājarāja III, in 1216. He undertook an invasion of the Chola country in the south, and carried fire and sword up to the capital cities, Tanjore and Uraiyur. The empire was certainly in danger of collapse from which it was saved this time again by the intervention of the Mysore ruler. This became so necessary afterwards as the open hostility of the Pandyas, and the somewhat veiled hostility of the Pallava chieftain and his coadjutors in the north, were not as yet rooted out. This brought down the Mysore ruler again to intervene on behalf of Rājarāja III as against the Pallava or Kāḍava chieftain Kō-Perumjinga. Thereafter the Hoysālas found it necessary and perhaps even advantageous to themselves, to have a permanent camp in the Chola country which ultimately developed into the Hoysala capital called Vikramapura at Kaṇṇanur, some four or five miles across the Choleroon on the northern side from Srirangam. It was a strategic point from which the Hoysālas could watch movements both north and south, and thus be effective protection against the enemies of the Cholas, among whom we may now definitely count Rājendra III, a brother of Rājarāja also. So to the southern powers we have now to add the Hoysālas, and any achievement of the Pāndyas, particularly against the Cholas, must in fact be through the overthrow of the Hoysālas in the south. The Pandya-Chola war therefore assumes the character of a Pandya-Hoysala war to establish the influence of the one or the other in the Chola country. For the moment, however, the Hoysālas held the field, and were efficient protection against the rebel chieftain, Kō-perumjinga and to some extent hemmed in the Pandya flood from advancing too far to the detriment of the Chola kingdom. This went on through one generation. In the last years of Rājarāja a fratricidal war arose between him and his brother Rājendra III which seems more or less to have sealed the fate of the empire. Rājarāja's reign ended in A.D. 1246 and his brother Rājendra had hardly been a few years in authority when there came to the Pandya throne a very ambitious and powerful prince who became famous in history as Jaṭavarman Sundara Pandya.

The Need for Pandya Intervention.

Jaṭavarman Sundara Pandya became heir to the policy of his predecessors on the Pandya throne. His two predecessors carried on an aggressive war

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The Need for Pandya Intervention.

Jaṭavarman Sundara Pandya became heir to the policy of his predecessors on the Pandya throne. His two predecessors carried on an aggressive war

against the Cholas with considerable success, and were held in check only by the Hoyśāla intervention in favour of the Cholas, which was partly, if not entirely, responsible for bringing about the war. The Hoyśāla monarch Vira Somēśvara found it necessary to establish himself more or less permanently in a capital of his own, not far from that of the Cholas at Uraiyūr and Tanjore, both of which suffered from the Pandya invasions. Somēśvara's position at Kaṇṇanūr on the north bank of the Coleroon over against Śrīrangam offered some security to the Cholas against the aggressions of the Pandyas in the south, and perhaps even against the active enemy, the Kāḍava chieftain Kō-Perumjīnga, in the South Arcot District. The Chola empire which at its height extended through the whole of the Madras Presidency has been narrowed to some extent in the north by the rise of a new power, the Kākatīyas, so that the northern boundary of the Cholas even under Kulottunga III could not have gone beyond the Krishna river. The region between the Krishna extending southwards to Kanchi, nay in fact to the southern Pennar and beyond, became a seething cauldron owing to the struggle among the feudatories of the empire each one of whom made the best effort that he could to set himself up independently of the central power. In the northern part of the empire, particularly this discontent seems to have found encouragement owing to the rivalry of Rājendra III to the reigning Chola Rājarāja III. Rājarāja achieved very considerable success against these northern chieftains, early in the reign, by his effective operations against the Kāḍava chieftain Kō-Perumjīnga. But then the fortunes of war often went against him, and he was even made prisoner of war by this self-same chieftain, and was saved three several times only by the timely intervention of the Hoyśālas on all these occasions. The establishment of the Hoyśāla power in the Chola country therefore came in as an act of benevolent intervention to begin with. The existence of a powerful chieftain like the Hoyśāla in the heart of the Chola country must therefore have been unsatisfactory from the point of view of the aggressive Pandyas on the one side and of the feudatory malcontents in the Chola empire itself on the other. Such a position would not conduce to the maintenance of peace, and the war therefore now assumed the character of a war between the Pandyas and the Hoyśālas, the Chola feudatories taking part on the one side or the other, not in obedience to the demands of their loyalty to their liege-lord, but in accordance with their self-interest and friendliness either to the Hoyśālas or to the Pandyas. The accession of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pandya therefore came at a time when he could hardly remain at peace even if he were so minded.

The Pandya Ascendency under Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya.

Jaṭāvarman therefore had to undertake an expedition against Vira Somēśvara in the Kaveri delta and carried the war further through the Chola empire in an effort to destroy the Hoyśāla influence and bring the Cholas more or less under his own influence instead. He carried a successful and glorious campaign across the whole extent of the Chola country to the

banks of the Krishna,¹ whereat he stopped his further progress, as one of his poetical panegyrists would have us believe, because it was a woman that was ruling across the Krishna frontier. This seems rather an anachronistic statement, as queen Rudramma had not yet come to the Kākatiya throne, and it was still Gaṇapati who was the Kākatiya ruler. But as Gaṇapati is mentioned in the preceding verse,² these perhaps refer to two campaigns one following the other. Be that as it may, the flood of Jaṭavarman's invasion had the effect, so far as the Cholas were concerned, of turning the Hoysālas from out of the Tamil country for the time being, and bringing the Kāḍava chieftain of South Arcot into some kind of loyalty to the Chola empire; this also made the northern chieftains realise the danger of their ways. Jaṭavarman was able to celebrate the assertion of his authority by great benefactions to the temple at Śrīrangam and otherwise signalise his success by his coronation in Chidambaram, thus establishing a period of Pandya ascendancy over the whole of the Chola empire which lasted for the next half a century almost unmolested. In the course of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pandya's great campaign northwards, either because there were disturbances, or because of an anticipation of such, two of his co-regents had to be active, one by name Vīra Pandya in Ceylon³ and another by name Vikrama Pandya⁴ in the western regions of Travancore. Their campaigns were about as successful as those of Sundara Pandya himself and the Pandya power had some respite for the next half a century.

Condition of the Tamil Country at the beginning of the 14th Century.

One feature of Pandyan rule at this period must be noted here. During the 13th century, the Pandyan kingdom seems to have been ruled by a king as usual, but the ruler seems to have been assisted in the administration by a number of collateral relations, often brothers, who held the more important governorships and viceroalties. This arrangement seems to have been so prominent, and perhaps even permanent, that to intelligent foreigners it seem-

1. Milāvaṁcchella Vēṇāḍar tangaḷai venṇa taḍan-
Tōlān madurai-man Sundara Pāṇḍiyan sūṇḍiraiṇji
Yālāna mannavar tanrēval śeṇṇa vavanimuṭṭa
Vaḷāl vaḷi tiranddān vaḍa vēṇḍari mātriandē-
2. Puyalundaruvuṇ porukaip puvanēka vīra punal
Vayalundaralaṇḍ daru korkai Kāvalavarapaṇḍor
Muyalun-Gaṇapati moytta śenjōti mukattiraṇḍu
Kayalundenumaduṇ muniyāriya kāraṇamē-
3. Kongaruḍal ki/yakuttiyirukōṭṭēḍuttu
Veṅṅana/alil vēduppumē mangaiyargal
Sūḷattāmpunaiyūṇ Sundarattōḷ minavanuk
Kiḷataniṭṭa irai. See also *Ep. Rep.*, 435 of 1905 & 623 of 1920.
4. Minavarkku Vikkīrama Pāṇḍiyarku Vēṇḍariḍum
Yānai tiruvuḷḷattērumō—Tānavarai
Veṇṇadalla mēni nīraṇ vellaiyalla
Sēṅanakakkuṇṇadalla nālallakōḍu.

ed as if the empire was governed by five rulers in combination as it were, the notion being more or less strengthened by one of the Pandyan titles *Panchavan*. Whatever it be, during this period there were Pandyan princes ruling who could be regarded more or less as kings not merely by foreigners alone but even by the very inhabitants of the country. Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pandya was succeeded by another Jaṭāvarman, but it is doubtful whether he was really the successor to the Pandya throne, as very soon after we find the great Māravarman Kulaśekhara on the throne who ruled for the long period of about 44 years. It seems likely, however, that Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pandya II came in for a comparatively short rule between Jaṭāvarman Sundara I and Kulaśekhara. At the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th, the condition of South India was somewhat as follows. The whole of the Tamil land was under Pandya rule, the boundary extending as far north as the Krishna itself in the lower course of the river, and taking in the whole of the Tamil country under their authority. To the westward of them along a frontier running through what is the state of Mysore now, happened to be the territory of the Hoyśalas who had asserted their independence at the end of the last century when the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi gradually weakened and ultimately passed out of existence as a political power. Almost simultaneously, in fact somewhat earlier the Kākatīya who had already been a powerful feudatory of the Chālukyas, showed a tendency to throw off the yoke of the central power and gradually established himself in independence, the Kākatīya territory occupying the eastern half of the Nizam's dominions with the capital first at Anamakonda and next at Wārangal, not far from it. To the westward of this, and to the north of the Hoyśala power, lay the dominions of the Yādavas, another feudatory dynasty under the later Chālukyas, who about the same time as the Hoyśalas established themselves in independence. The Yādavas held their territory from the Vindhya southwards to as far south as Sholapur, but sometimes extending their frontier as against the Hoyśalas to bring it down practically to what is now the northern frontier of Mysore. The Hoyśala territory took into it all the state of Mysore now, and several of the districts of the Bombay Presidency next adjoining the Mysore frontier of to-day. Thus placed, the Yādavas and the Hoyśalas were constantly at war, as the frontier that separated them was a variable one, owing to the absence of natural features which could mark them off distinctly. The southern frontier of the Hoyśalas was marked off certainly distinctly by the hills at the foot of the Mysore plateau, but the political exigencies already adverted to, called for their expansion into what was the Chola kingdom. It was this that called for activity on the northern boundary from the Yādavas, but at the time to which we have now arrived, there was something like an understanding between the two in respect of their frontiers, particularly as the advance of the Pandya power pushed back the Hoyśalas into their own territory. In regard to the frontier between the Kākatīyas and the Pandyas, there certainly was a great river, the lower course of the Krishna, which does make some-

what of an effective frontier. But what was really a more important point is, it was a frontier more distant from the headquarters of the Pandyas than when their capital was in the Chola country as under the great Māravarman Kulaśēkhara, the last great ruler. Further the northern feudatories remained for the time being loyal under the empire, particularly the Yādavarāya chieftains who claimed descent from the Chālukyas themselves and held a very considerable part of the northern territory of the Chola empire.

The Character of the Muhammadan Intervention in the South.

It was in this position of affairs that the newly established Muhammadan power at Delhi which had extended its authority to take practically the whole of Hindustan effectively now looked forward across the Vindhyas with a view to conquest. In the last years of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara, the ruler of Delhi was Allaud-din Khalji, whose preoccupations were pre-eminently the keeping of the invading Mughals outside the Punjab frontier and providing against their effective advance on that frontier. That meant very heavy military expenditure and the maintenance of an efficient army which could keep the nomads who appeared in millions pouring into the country, out of the frontier by sheer force. Allaud-din's policy therefore was much rather the maintenance of the empire that he already had, in efficiency rather than its expansion to take in distant territory across difficult mountains and deep rivers. He had, however, clear notions, by a previous raid or two that he conducted into the Dakhan, as to the wealth of the country there, and the possibility of defeating the rulers who had the government of these territories. He developed therefore a policy of sending out invasions across the Vindhya mountains to defeat the Indian states of the south and draw from their stored up resources the wealth that he so much needed for his own campaigns against the Mughals. He sent out invasions therefore against Dēvagiri, the state next across the Narmada river. After having brought it under his authority first indirectly and then perhaps a little more directly, he sent out an invasion to the next neighbour, the Kākatiyas of Wārangal. After bringing them into submission, his general could next go forward further south to capture the resources of South India, the wealth of the temples of which was one irresistible attraction. But what was really more, in those days the military necessity for possessing fighting elephants in number was great; and South India and Ceylon were regarded as the home of a powerful breed of these beasts which proved so efficient in the campaigns of those days. An invasion of South India therefore had to be undertaken; but then they could not leave the flank under enemies, and therefore the Hoyśāla power also came in for their attention. The Hoyśāla adopted the cautious policy of submitting to the inevitable at need and waited upon the future for an opportunity to regain independence, if need be by force so that the Hoyśāla state was left more or less intact when the invasion of the south was undertaken. This distant campaign while meeting the views of the general in command was actually brought about as a result of a civil war between two brothers, the

successors of Māra-varman Kulaśekhara. For one reason or another, Māra-varman entrusted a natural son of his by name Virapandya, perhaps really the more capable, with the government of a part of his territory to the neglect of the heir-apparent, as the prince concerned took it. Through treachery of Vira-Pandya or other provocation, he proceeded to murder the father and assert his rights. Being defeated by his more capable brother he could only fly to the Muhammadan armies encamped across the frontier, and this brought on the invasion of the south by the Muhammadans.

The Condition of the South after the Muhammadan Invasions

The story of the Muhammadan invasions of the south is briefly told. The invasion came ostensibly as in respect of the other Dakkan kingdoms more for reasons of wealth than of actual conquest. In the case of South India, however, the wealth wanted included the strong breed of elephants of the south, more warworthy than the other breeds. The invasion ostensibly came upon South India alone ; but it halted at the southern frontier of the Yādava kingdom near Sholapur, and from there a raid was undertaken against the Hoyśālas. The Hoyśāla kingdom suffered and was threatened sufficiently to sue for peace, and the Hoyśāla prince was despatched to Delhi with a recommendation from Malik-Kafur for favourable treatment.¹ So Malik-Kafur's flank was safe more or less, and an invasion could march south without molestation. The object was the suppression of Vira Pandya ostensibly with a view to placing Sundara Pandya on the throne. Battles were fought in the central region of the Tamil country between the foothills of the plateau and Trichinopoly. Vira Pandya was defeated and driven out and Sundara Pandya was placed on the throne. After plundering at least the bigger temples of the south, such as Śrīrangam and Chidambaram the army marched on Madura, where the capital was easily occupied and a plundering raid sent as far down as Ramesvaram itself. After sweeping the country clean of all extra wealth, Malik-Kafur thought it prudent to retire having carried out to his satisfaction completely the campaigns upon which he came to the south. Kulaśekhara's son Sundara Pandya, was placed upon the throne, and, with a fabulous plunder, Malik-Kafur returned to Delhi.

The condition of things in South India was deplorable in many ways. The Hoyśāla was left in power, but with much crippled resources, his very capital having suffered serious damage by the Muhammadan raid. But he was in resources enough yet to make a more or less successful effort to regain his lost position to a considerable extent if only he were allowed the time that was necessary to rehabilitate himself in peace. One of the disturbing factors preventing this would have been the activity of his Pandya contemporaries, but since Vira Pandya happened to be overthrown, Sundara

1. *Ep. Car.*, VII, Shimoga 68. For a fuller account of these invasions, &c., see the Author's *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*. Oxford University Press.

Pandya was in no condition to cause any disturbance from the South. So the Ballāla was left more or less to himself. In regard to Sundara Pandya, we have hardly any detail as to what his doings were, whether he made any serious effort at all to rehabilitate himself. It looks as though Malik-Kafur left a few garrisons here and there to maintain a sort of hold upon South India while leaving the restored rulers to continue to administer their own kingdoms. The Pandya territory at the time was extensive and at least nominally extended as far north as the banks of the Krishna. But the northern feudatories who were already troublesome under the last Cholas were inclined to throw off the yoke of the Pandyas equally, and seemed to have had the countenance, and to some extent even the assistance, of the Ballāla for the time being. So the Pandya Kingdom showed the natural tendency to collapse. This was aggravated by the civil war first, and the Muhammadan invasions after, so that we could imagine that Sundara Pandya was confined more or less to the home territory of the Pandyas, the more recent conquests being of doubtful allegiance. It therefore became more or less a question of what exactly either of the South Indian rulers could do to reclaim South India either jointly or singly. Joint action would involve the two powers being more or less in a satisfactorily strong condition. While this condition might have been satisfactory in respect of the Hoysāla, particularly after the prince had returned with favourable conditions granted by Allaud-din,¹ it is not possible to say as much about the Pandya. Whether the Hoysāla was going to step into the breach seemed yet doubtful. It was clear that the Pandya was in no condition to completely recover the possession of his kingdom, thanks to the activity of his defeated rival Vira Pandya, and this state of things gave the opportunity for an enterprising ruler to essay more successfully this difficult task than the feeble Sundara Pandya.

Conditions favourable for the rise of a new power.

This was not unlikely in the circumstances as Vira Pandya had only been defeated by Malik-Kafur and had escaped into the Kongu country, and perhaps across into the Kerala country, for protection. So long as he was free, it was not likely that Sundara Pandya would be left in peace. Therefore he would, as we should ordinarily expect in the circumstances, be occupied nearer home too much to pay sufficient attention to the affairs of the empire to which he had become heir as the successor of Māra-varman Kulaśēkhara. Such a peaceful condition of affairs had been a great deal negated by the fratricidal war first and the Muhammadan irruption following on it and as a consequence of it. We see the evidence of it in the northern territory of the Chola empire getting into the possession of the powerful Chola feudatories who had begun, even when the last Cholas were

1. *Ep. Car.*, VII, Shimoga 68.

ruling, to conduct themselves as if they were independent powers. This tendency on the part of these feudatories found encouragement in the slow advance of the Hoysāla influence into these regions. It was not as if the Hoysāla made any conquest or annexed territories, but it looks much rather as if the Hoysāla gradually extended his influence and placed himself in a position of leadership, it may be leadership against their Pandya overlords, and ultimately becoming himself the overlord of these northern states. That would account satisfactorily for the Hoysāla finding it necessary to be in Tiruvannāmalai often as a convenient centre to begin with. Tiruvannāmalai ultimately developed almost as the capital of the Hoysāla in his later wars against the Muhammadans. But for the present, the Pandya ruler, Sundara Pandya, was troubled by the possibility of a Ceylon invasion, but what was much more real, the activity of Vira Pandya which he was likely to resume the moment that he knew the Muhammadan power had left the South. If ever a Kerala ruler, or one of the feudatory princes of Kerala had a chance, it was now, and we do find a prince of Kerala taking the tide at the flood.

Jayasimha of Kūpaka and his son Ravi Varman Kulaśekhara.

Immediately north of the small kingdom known as Vēṇāḍ already referred to, was another division of Kerala generally known by the term Kūpaka, the capital of which at the time seems to have been what is now Quilon, called Kūlam by the Muhammadan historians of the time, Kolambam by the early European writers, and Kōlamba in Sanskrit which would mean a boat. This part of Kēraḷa was ruled at the time by a prince who claimed to be a descendant of the dynasty founded by Yadu, and belonged to the Sōmavamśa in consequence. His name was Jayasimha in consequence of which probably the little kingdom of Kūpaka over which he ruled came to be known as Jayasimhanāḍ. He seems gradually to have built up the kingdom in such a way not merely to consolidate his position in the ancestral kingdom of Kūpaka, but even to extend his influence over Vēṇāḍ and the rest of South Travancore as a counter effort against Pandya extension. He seems to have assumed the title Vira Kēraḷa also. He was married to a princess by name Uma, and by her had a son who was named Ravivarman, who later assumed the full style Ravi Varman Kulaśekhara. It was this prince, born in the year A.D., 1165-66, who was to achieve the greatness of his country by taking advantage of this opportunity. It seems likely that the father had laboured hard to extend his frontiers by imposing his authority over Vēṇāḍ and even the Tamil districts beyond; but it does not appear that he had brought these small states definitely under his authority. Prince Ravivarman when he succeeded his father might have taken steps to rivet his authority over these southern states. We have a few definite statements concerning this ruler, which, if carefully interpreted with adequate knowledge of the historical surroundings of the time, would yield us definite details re

garding his history. It seems from a fugitive Malayalam stanza¹ quoted in grammatical works that he defeated a Vikrama Pandya in Vēṇāḍ and took from him possession of that region. Having made this conquest and adding these southern states to his own, he consolidated his position in South Travancore. What, according to the verse in question, follows in consequence of this is of some considerable importance, namely, that he took the territory from Vikrama Pandya and made it over to a Pandya ruler who, in gratitude, gave him his daughter in marriage, as in fact the Pāñcāla monarch Drupada gave—at any rate vowed to give—his daughter Draupadi to the Pāṇḍava prince Arjuna who defeated him. As the statement appears in the verse it looks as though he overthrew Vikrama Pandya who attempted a usurpation of authority, and handed him over with the territory to the Pandya monarch for the time being. We know of a Vikrama Pandya who was contemporary of the great Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pandya who came to the throne in A.D. 1251. Among his brother Pandyan princes who co-operated with him, we find the names of two, a Vira Pandya and a Vikrama Pandya, the former distinguishing himself in campaigns against Ceylon,² and similarly the latter achieving distinction by his conquest of Vēṇāḍ and extension of Pandya authority over Kēraḷa country. This Vikrama Pandya might have survived Jaṭāvarman Sundara and remained in government of Vēṇāḍ under his successors. It would therefore seem as if Ravi Varman began his political career by operating against this Vikrama Pandya when he made an attempt to set up in rebellion, it may be against the great Pandya Māravarma Kulaśēkhara, and by that act won the favour of the great Pandya to the extent that the Pandya monarch gave him, in gratitude, his own daughter in marriage.

Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara's Achievements.

It would perhaps be the most convenient way to understand Ravi Varman Kulaśēkhara's achievements by a careful study of the Arulāla Perumāḷ inscription of his fourth year³ in the Viṣṇu temple at Conjivaram, as the inscription sets forth in five ślokaś the whole of his career which may require to be explained, so that what is stated in the verses may be understood clearly. We shall therefore set forth the verses in translation and proceed to explain them in the light of the historical information at our disposal. The first⁴ of these verses states "In the country of Kēraḷa there was a king

1. *Lilatilakam*, a Malayalam Grammar in Sanskrit of the 14th or 15th Century I am indebted to Mr. T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T., for the information and the verse.—

Drōṇāya Drupadam Danañjaya iva Kṣmāpāla bālām balī .

Vēṇāṭṭin uḍaiyōru Ravi Varmākhyō Yadūnām patih ;

Pāṇḍyam Vikrama pūrvakam paḍaiyil-vaccāṭṭippidicchañṇanē ;

Pāṇḍyēśāya kuḍuttu tasya tanayām padmānanām agrahit.

2. Records of his 14th year : A.D. 1266. in Tinneveli & S. Arcot.

3. *Ep. Indica*, IV, 145-52.

4. Svasti Śrī Jayasimha ityabhihitōḥ Somānvayottamsakō ;
Rājasīdihā Kēraḷēshu viśayē nātho Yadukṣmābhṛtām
Jātōsmād Ravi Varma bhūpatir Umā dēvyām Kumāra Śivāt
Dēhavyāpya (1188) Śakābda bhāji samayē dēhiva viro rasah.

the lord among Yadu kings, the most excellent among kings of the lunar dynasty called Śrī Jayasimha, from whom was born, through his queen Umā-dēvi as Kumāra from Śiva, Ravivarman as if he was the embodiment of valour itself, in the Śaka year 1188 (expressed by the chronogram Dēhavyāpya) ". What is worth remarking in this verse is that Jayasimha is already spoken of as the lordly among the Yadu kings, among the Kēraḷa rulers, which seems to indicate that he had already established something like an overlordship over the petty sovereigns among whom the Kēraḷa country was divided. The queen that bore the son Ravivarman is called Umā Dēvi, and Ravivarman is here given credit for great valour. The next verse² states it : " That one (Ravi Varma) led on to destruction the armies of his enemies as he did the strength of this sinful Kali age. Having done this, he made the Pandya Princess his queen in the same manner that he did the Goddess of Victory. So doing he attained to the position of ruler over Kēraḷa, as indeed he did to that of fame, in the 33rd year of his age. He then protected his kingdom as he did protect his own city of Koḷambha." The statements in this verse require to be carefully examined. Omitting the similes for the moment, he is said to have conquered his enemies, and, along with his victory, obtained the princess of the Pandya monarch for his wife. He attained to the position of suzerain ruler over Kēraḷa in his 33rd year, which would mean Śaka 1221, or A.D. 1299. This statement seems a little too general for making anything out of except the broad fact that he reduced to submission to him his colleagues in the region of Kēraḷa and brought them under his authority. This he was able to achieve as he defeated his enemies, and, as a result thereof, gained the hand of the princess of the Pandya. A stray Malayalam verse quoted in grammatical work *Lila Tilakam*,² considered as a work of the 14th or the 15th century, seems to throw some light upon this matter. That verse is translated :- " Ravivarman, the king of the Yadus of Vēnād, defeated the Pāṇḍya with the prefix Vikrama at the head of his army, and, handing him over along with the territory conquered from him, to the king of the Pāṇḍyas, as Arjuna brought king Drupada of Pāñchala and handed him over to Drona the strong one obtained in return the daughter of the king." This Malayalam verse seems to convey these facts regarding a Ravivarman ruler of the Yadus. Ravi Varma belonged to the Yadu Vāṇśa and was to achieve rule among them. He defeated a Vikrama Pandya on the field of battle and handed him over to the Pandya ruler of the time. In return for this act of service, he received from the Pandya, the Pandya princess for his queen. The obtaining of the Pandya princess for his queen is also stated in the second verse of the Kanchi inscription quoted above. He is also said to have married the princess as a result of victories that he won

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1. Kshayam nītvā sōyam Kalibalamiva arātinivahān
Jaya Śrīvat Kṛitvā nija saha-charim Pāṇḍyatanayām ;
Trayatrimsādvārshē yaśa iva yayau Kēraḷapadam
Raraksha sōyam rāshṭram nagaram iva Kōlambam-adhipah.
 2. *Lila Tilakam*, see above p. 163.

in war against his enemies. This statement is followed up by another that he attained to suzerain rule over Kēṛaḷa also in consequence. Obviously this seems to be explained in the Malayalam verse where we are told that Ravi Varma defeated a Vikrama Pandya in battle, and, by handing him over to the Pandya ruler of the time, obtained the Pandya's daughter for his queen. We may therefore take it that Ravi Varma fought against a Vikrama Pandya who apparently ruled over Vēṇāḍa, and defeated him in battle; and the fact that he handed over Vikrama Pandya to the Pandyan ruler of the time, seems to indicate clearly that this Vikrama Pandya set up as a rebel, at any rate, set up as an independent ruler in the country of Kēṛaḷa. We found, as we stated above, that among the rulers that assisted in the government of the Pandya empire, a Vikrama Pandya under Jaṭavarman Sundara. In this century it seems to have been more or less the general practice that the ruling Pandya was assisted by a number of his brothers. The foreign travellers who visited the country generally stated that there were five Pandyas ruling at the same time. We noted already that we have mention of two such rulers, a Vīra Pandya, conqueror of Ceylon and a Vikrama Pandya of the Travancore country. There are some Tamil verses relating to the latter. One of them is a general one stating that "the hill Podiyil, the streams running down the sides of which scatter their spray in front of the rising sun, is the hill of the Pandya, Vikrama Pandya, who wore the garland of Indra, and who, in great anger, defeated the king of Vēṇāḍ." ¹ Another verse also found in the temple at Chidambaram like the previous one, addresses this Vikrama Pandya and warns him against marching northwards against his enemies 'having once returned from there, as the ruler there happened to be a lady.' ² Here is a Vikrama Pandya who is said to have conquered Vēṇāḍ, the Travancore country proper, and who went against the Kākatiya kingdom, and is said to have returned from there without conquering that kingdom as the ruler there happened to be a woman. The woman there of course is queen Rudramba who succeeded her father Ganapati. This incident and this war belongs to the period which falls within the '33rd year of Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara's age, and refers specifically to the conquest of Vēṇāḍ by Vikrama Pandya. We have to infer from this that this Vikrama Pandya who conquered Vēṇāḍ perhaps made an effort to set himself up against the last great Pandya Māravarman Kulaśēkhara, and Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara's services consisted in defeating him and handing him, and the territory perhaps, over to the Pandya ruler for

1. Ēndumaruvi-iravipuraviyinmur
Pūndivalai viṣum Podiyilē—Kānduṣina
Vēṇāḍanai veṇra Vikkīrama Pāṇḍiyan meyp-
Pūṇāram pūṇḍān poruppu.
2. Vengaṇ madayānai Vikkīrama Pāṇḍiyanē
Pongī vaḍa diṣaiyirpōkāḍē—Yangiruppāl
Peṇṇēṇ mīṇḍa Perumālē pēriṣaiyālp-
Pannoṇṇum Vēyvāypakai.

the time being, who in return bestowed his daughter upon him. This would mean that Ravi Varman Kulaśekhara defeated the rebel Vikrama Pandya and earned the gratitude of Māravarman Kulaśekhara Pandya, whose daughter he married in consequence. Māravarman Kulaśekhara was ruler of Madura, and if the statements of Marco Polo and other travellers are to be given full credit, there must have been in this reign a number of Pandya princess ruling over different parts of the country, and a Vikrama Pandya, the valiant lieutenant of Jaṭavarman Sundara, holding rule in Vēnāḍ, might have set up as a rebel. All this Ravi Varman Kulaśekhara achieved before A.D. 1299. The next following verse¹ which gives Ravi Varma the title Sangrāma Dhīra, the great in war, states that "having defeated in a great battle his enemy Vīra Pandya, Sangrāmadhīra brought under subjection to the Kēṇṇa rule, the Pāṇḍya and the Chola kings as if these rulers were indeed policy embodied. In the 46th year of his age, he crowned himself on the banks of the Vēgavatī, and, placing himself upon the throne, he besported for a long time in the company of the goddess of the earth, and the goddesses of Victory, Learning and Wealth". This verse tells us plainly that 13 years after the first achievement, he conquered the Pandya and Chola kingdoms and brought them into subjection to him as ruler of Kēṇṇa, and, as if to mark this great achievement, he crowned himself at Kāñchi and was ruling prosperously for a long time thereafter, that is, between the years A.D. 1299 and 1312, he defeated the enemy by name Vīra Pāṇḍya, reduced the Pāṇḍya kingdom and the Chola to subjection, and anointed himself at Kanchi as the supreme ruler of the Tamil land. This Vīra Pandya must be the Vīra Pandya, the natural son of Māravarman Kulaśekhara, whose accession to power it was that brought about the fratricidal war which provided the occasion, if an occasion were wanted, for the Muhammadan invasion of the south. We have noted above that Māravarman Kulaśekhara in the late years of his reign (A.D. 1293) appointed Vīra Pandya to a co-regency which his son Sundara Pandya probably by the crowned queen, resented and showed himself hard-hearted enough to put his own father to death ultimately by assassination. This brought on the civil war in which Vīra Pandya had the upper hand, and Sundara Pandya had to flee to the camp of Malik Kafur and invite him to invade the Pandya country. When Malik Kafur successfully defeated Vīra Pandya and placed Sundara Pandya on the throne and left on the return journey with his army, Vīra Pāṇḍya probably tried to take advantage of the opportunity and placed himself on the throne again. Ravi Varman Kulaśekhara must have gone naturally to the help of his brother-in-law, Sundara Pandya, and thus reduced, the Pandya was in subordination to Ravi Varman Kulaśekhara in

Jitvā Sangrāmadhīro nṛpatiradhiraṇam vidviṣham Vīra Pāṇḍyam
Kṛtvāsau Pāṇḍya-Cholam naya iva tanumān Kēṇṇabhyōpyadhinān :
Shaḍchatvāriṃśadabdataḥbhuvī makuṭam dhārayan Vēgavatyaḥ
kriḍan Simhāsanaśthaśchiramakṛta mahī Kīrti Vāṇi Ramābhīḥ.

respect of his kingdom which at the time included even the kingdom of the Cholas, as the Chola power had become practically extinct almost for two generations as a distinct kingdom. The statement therefore seems so far correct, that, by his defeat of Vīra Pāṇḍya, Ravi Varman Kulaśēkhara brought the Pandya and the Chola kingdom into subordination to him. The next verse¹ proceeds to state that "having brought the Kerala, Chola and Pandya under his authority, and, having celebrated his conquest by his coronation, he turned out from Konkan (to which Vīra Pāṇḍya had gone after his defeat for protection) into the forests further north, his great enemy Vīra Pāṇḍya, by thoroughly defeating him at the head of his great army, King Sangrāma Dhīra wrote out his fourth year in the city of Kāñchī. This ruler, the head jewel of the family of Yadus, enjoys the rule of the earth extending from the Himalayas in the north to the Malaya in the south, and bounded by the eastern and the western mountains". The point requiring explanation in verse 4 is the year 4. His coronation on the banks of the Vegavati is already under reference in a previous verse, and his writing down the fourth year in Kanchi should mean that it must be the fourth year after this coronation of his and would give the date of the grant which provided for the celebrations of certain festivals, etc., in the temple. The coronation on the banks of the Vegavati, was in his 46th year. This must therefore be his 50th year, which would mean the year A.D. 1315. He established himself as the ruler of Kerala in 1299 in succession to his father. He made himself suzerain over the Tamil kingdoms and crowned himself in Kanchi in A.D. 1309-10, and indicted this inscription in A.D. 1314-15. A prose passage² following in Sanskrit describes him in glorious terms, giving him the same attributes as in the verses above, but adding one or two characteristic features of his. One term which calls for attention is that he is described here, the worshipper at the lotus feet of Śrī Padmanābha. He is said to be an expert in the 64 *kalās* or branches of learning, and in consequence he is called a Dakṣiṇa Bhoja. He is also given the supreme titles of Rājādhirāja, Paramēśvara and Tribhuvana Chakravarti as if to leave it in no doubt that he established himself as the suzerain ruler of the whole of South India.

Other Inscriptions of Ravi Varman Kulaśēkhara.

An inscription of his which is found in the temple at Śrīrangam, is

Kṛtvā Kēraḷa Chola Pāṇḍya Vijayam Kṛptābhishēkōtsavah
 Sangāmāpajayēna Kōṇkaṇagatam tam Vīra Pāṇḍyam ripum ;
 Nītvā sphīta-balam tatōpi vipinam nītvā dhīśām uttarām ;
 Kāñchyāmatra Chaturtham abdamalikhat Sangrāmādhiro nṛpaḥ.
 Śvasti Śrī Chandrakulamangalapradīpa Yādavanārāyaṇa Kēraḷadēśapunya
 Parīṇāma-nāmantara-Karṇa Kūpaka sārvaabhauma Kulaśēkhari-pratiśṭāpita
 garuḍadhvaja-Kōḷambapuravarādhiśvara Śrī Padmanābha Padakamala-
 paramārādhaka praṇata rāja prathīṣṭāchārya vimatarājabandhikāra
 dharmatarumūlakanda sadgūṇālankāra Chaturśāsṭhikālā vallabha Dakṣiṇa
 Bhōjārāja Sangrāmādhiro Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Jayasimhadēvanan
 dana Ravi Varma Mahārāja Śrī Kulaśēkhara Tribhuvanachakravarti.

almost in the same terms, and indicates his devotion to the God at Śrīrangam without giving the details in a specific form in which he has done it in the Aruḷāla Perumāl inscription. He seems to indicate in terms in verse 3¹ of this record, that he restored the temple of Śrīrangam by re-establishing the deity there with all the holy ceremonies necessary after the defilement of the Muhammadan invasions. He is in the course of this record described as a man who had full knowledge of the religion of the Veda, and did all that was necessary to make Śrīrangam the holy place that it was before the Muhammadan invasions. The grant itself refers to the provision that he made for the gift of money to a certain number of very learned Brahmins on a particular day in the year, and to be continued from year to year. This is followed by a laudatory poem composed of 18 couplets of which 16 are in praise of him, the two others being the necessary concluding stanzas, by a poet Kavi Bhūṣaṇa. The poem, of course, is cast in the characteristic style of laudatory poems, and what is stated in verse 2² deserves attention. Sangrāma Dhīra is here described as the strong support, in the age of Kali, of Dharma that had grown weaker on account of the character of the age in conformity with the general principle that a king is the champion-protector of the weak. In the course of the poem he is addressed more than once as Dakshina Bhoja and in the closing verse, verse 16,³ his title Sangrāma Dhīra is described as the holy *Panchākshara*, the name of five letters, giving similar relief to those who might make incantations therewith, as the real *Panchākshara* of Śiva. The next inscription of importance of this ruler in the Tamil country is one coming from Tiruvadi in the South Arcot District from the Virattānēśvara temple. The inscription is dated both in the *Kali* and the *Śaka* years, the former, 4414, and the latter obviously 1235, of which it is only the last two digits that are clear. The date works out correctly to A.D. Dec. 29, 1313. He is again stated to have performed the great ablution of the whole sanctum of the temple from the pinnacle to the basement and provided it with a stone called *Puraścharaṇa* stone. This usually is a sort of an entrance pavilion, or chamber, where those who have to enter the sanctum for worship do all that is necessary to put themselves in a condition of spiritual fitness for the holy office. This is a feature of temples which is not generally marked off distinctly in South Indian temples, at any rate not called by that name. But a single stone platform with a pavilion over is a prominent feature of the temple of Padmanabha in Trivandrum. The ceremony of *Puraścharaṇa* is provided for in

1. Labdhā sāgara nēmi bhūmi vishayā rantum pratishṭa yata-
Stasmai Sri Kulaśekharō Yadupatistṛkshatrachūdamanih ;
Rangēsmin Kamalā sahāya Harayē ramyam pratishṭām dadau
Santah pratyupakurvātē-hyupakṛtāh Sarvē Kimatrādbhutam.
2. Durbalasya balam Rājētyēshā satyā Sarasvatī ;
Sangrāmādhiro Dharmasya durbalasya balam Kalau.
3. Sangrāmādhiṛa ityētam mantram panchāksharam budhāh ;
Japanto durgatim nītvā prāpnuvanti parām śivam.

the Āgamas, particularly the Pāñcarātra texts, and it should naturally be that in the Śaiva Āgamas as well. While the ceremony is prescribed as a common feature, the pavilion feature is not so well known in South Indian temples. This brings us to the grand climacteric in the meteoric career of Ravi Varman Kulaśēkhara. Before closing this section, it must be mentioned that another inscription of this ruler is found in Poonamallee called Śēra-Pāṇḍya Chaturvēdimangalam, but undated, conveying, however the same kind of information as the previous ones. The insignia on the top of the inscription,¹ however, shows the elephant goad (*Añkuśa*), the sign of the Chēras, surmounting the fish and the tiger, the signs of the Pāṇḍya and the Chola, thereby indicating clearly the establishment of the dominance of the Chēra over the other Tamil kingdoms, Pāṇḍya and Chola.

Critical Examination of Ravi Varman's Claims.

This somewhat detailed examination of the inscriptions of Ravi Varman Kulaśēkhara sets forth the career of this ruler in some detail; but this account taken from his records by themselves, would still fall short of history without some confirmatory evidence in regard to at least those points where the deeds of Ravi Varman Kulaśēkhara bring him into contact with other rulers of South India of the time. We shall therefore have to examine this account in the light of the information available in regard to the condition of South India at the time. Taken in series we may accept the date of his birth A.D. 1266 without further question. When he came to the throne of his father, Jayasimha had managed to increase the prestige of the family by extending his influence over the neighbouring princes of the Chēra, so that he was perhaps something more than the mere hereditary prince of the Kūpaka Dēśa. He seems to have made an effort to bring Vēṇāḍ under his influence, if not exactly under his authority, and to extend his authority into the really Tamil parts of the Chēra kingdom, probably not without success. When he died and the state descended to his son, it was not merely the hereditary state of Kūpaka, or Jayasimhanāḍ as it came to be called, but a somewhat extended territory. The first landmark in Ravi Varman's career is his 33rd year by which time he had achieved primacy among the rulers of Kēraḷa, thanks to the exertions of his father, and perhaps also his own. Now we come upon a definite historical statement that, when he ascended the throne of his father in his 33rd year, that is, A.D. 1299, he could give credit to himself of a signal achievement which resulted in his marriage with the Pāṇḍya princess. We shall have to find out who this Pāṇḍya Princess actually was and how he managed to secure her hand in marriage. There is some collateral evidence, and we quoted from literature a Malayalam verse which goes a little further than his inscriptions and gives the detail that he distinguished himself by a successful campaign against a Vikrama Pāṇḍya, and that it was by means of this victory that he gained the Pāṇḍya princess for his queen. We mentioned already

1. *Ep. Rep.* 1911. p. 79 34 of 1911. and V.R.I. Ching 848.

that the name Vikrama Pandya is fairly common in the list of the Pandyas of the time, and that the name occurs among those who co-operated with Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, and pointed out at the same time that that seemed at first sight a little anachronistic. We have now to consider who this Vikrama Pandya was, and how by defeating him Ravi Varman Kulaśekhara earned the gratitude of the reigning Pandya for the time being. We have noted already that the reigning Pāṇḍya was Māravarman Kulaśekhara, who came to the throne some time in A.D. 1268, and had a rule of at least 42 years. He was the last great Pandya, and ruled over the Pandyan and the Chola kingdoms combined into one empire almost. So the Pandyan ruler with whom Ravi Varman Kulaśekhara got into alliance should be no other than this Māravarman Kulaśekhara Pandya. While he began his reign peacefully and perhaps continued to reign for some years in peace notwithstanding the fact that other Pandya princes who claimed to rule some region or other of the Tamil country simultaneously with him, and, in consequence, foreign travellers describe South India as being governed by Five Pandyan kings simultaneously, generally taken as brothers. Some time later in his reign, comes into prominence one of these a Māravarman Vikrama Pandya, for whom we have dates ranging from A.D. 1283 onwards in certain regions of the Tamil country. He claims credit for being the conqueror of Kākaṭiya Gaṇapati and the Chālukya ruler Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpāla. As Gaṇapati died about A.D. 1260, these achievements of his could be no other than the achievements of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pandya I with whom he might have co-operated in his northern campaigns.¹ But what induced him to give himself titles of sovereign ruler in A.D. 1291² is not very clear. There must have come about some kind of a relaxation in the hold over these in the later years of Māravarman Kulaśekhara, that perhaps led to, it may be, an effort on the part of Vikrama Pāṇḍya to set himself up independently of Kulaśekhara. Since the records of this Pandya before A.D. 1291 do not make the claim, we may take it that it was about that year that the Pandya prince found some reason to set up this extraordinary claim. By A.D. 1290 Ravi Varman Kulaśekhara would have been about 24 years, and, as a young man, he might have operated against Vikrama Pandya in his father's campaign, and achieved the signal distinction referred to in the Malayalam verse quoted above. Vikrama Pāṇḍya's activities in Vēṇaḍ find mention in the Tamil verse³ found among those on the east *gōpura* of Chidambaram one of which states categorically that the hill Podiyil is specifically the hill of this Pandya, and that he conquered Vēṇaḍ. This must have been under Jaṭavarman Sundara I as his records claim this conquest. If Ravivarman turned him out of Vēṇaḍ either in co-operation with his father, or by himself alone, he could give himself credit for having beaten him, and, if actually he made a prisoner

1. See p. 23, note 2.

2. Epig : 116 of the Collection for 1900.

3. See p. 22, note 1.

of him and sent him over to the Pandya ruler for the time being against whom Vikrama Pandya would have been a rebel by his act, it would seem only natural that he did so. So this achievement of the defeat of Vikrama Pandya, the conquest of Vēṇaḍ and the extension of authority of the Kūpaka prince to South Travancore in fact, would naturally follow, the more so, if, in gratitude for this victory, the Pandya had bestowed the princess upon Ravi Varman Kulaśēkhara. Ravi Varman Kulaśēkhara, would then have become the son-in-law of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara, the last great Pandya and brother-in-law of his son Sundara Pandya, not Jaṭavarman Sundara Pandya II. but perhaps the Pandya prince who figures in inscriptions as Māravarman Sundara Pandya. The claim therefore that by the 33rd year of his age, Ravi Varman Kulaśēkhara achieved primacy among the rulers of Chēra, and attained to the position of being the chosen son-in-law of the great Pandya contemporary Māravarman Kulaśēkhara himself seems well founded. This would be about the year A.D. 1299, which seems to fit in very well with what is recorded in Māravarman Vikrama Pandya's inscriptions. It seems therefore historically demonstrable that his early achievements are real.

The Significance of his second Coronation.

The next set of achievements have reference to the period following and take us to the 46th year of Ravi Varman Kulaśēkhara which would be A.D. 1311-12, and 12 to 13 years from his coronation and marriage with the Pāṇḍya princess. In his 46th year he is said to have crowned himself on the banks of the Vēgavatī. Vēgavatī is a stream which runs through the town of Kāñci and quite close to the Aruḷāḷa Perumāl temple in Conjeevaram. He had already crowned himself in succession to his father as the suzerain ruler of Kēraja, and what should this coronation be about, and that in a place like Conjeevaram? The coronation here is obviously his crowning himself monarch with imperial pretensions to rule over the Tamil kingdoms of the Pandya and the Chola. It was stated already that as a result of his previous achievements he became the son-in-law of the great Pandya, Māravarman Kulaśēkhara. If so, how are we to account for this conquest of the Pandya kingdom by Ravi Varman? Māravarman Kulaśēkhara's reign was very much disturbed in the later years. First there was the trouble created by his disaffected lieutenant- among whom Vikrama Pandya was a prominent example. Later on he appointed one of his sons, Vira Pandya, generally regarded as not the legitimate son, which may mean nothing more than that he was not the son of the crowned queen, to a government, leaving aside the heir-apparent Sundara Pandya. That prince seems to have taken the neglect too seriously, and perhaps made efforts to counteract the mischief that might arise from this act of the father. This must have led naturally to misunderstandings between the princes, often leading to perhaps even disturbances in the kingdom. It is stated that the legitimate prince Sundara Pandya put his father to death and asserted his own claims to succeed to

his father's position, and thus brought on the fratricidal war. This crime of Sundara Pandya does not appear to have been committed, soon after the appointment of Vira Pandya in A.D. 1296,¹ as we have inscriptions of Māra-varman Kulaśēkhara going down to his 42nd year, that is almost A.D. 1310.² Sundara Pandya's crime, if it was actually committed, must have been more than a decade after the actual appointment of Vira Pandya to an important position. This would mean that Vira Pandya gradually consolidated his position, and perhaps had the countenance of his father as against, it may be, the machinations of the brother who did not wish that this Vira Pandya should gain too much power into his own hands and set up in succession to his father. When the matter was found to be well beyond peaceful solution, perhaps Sundara Pandya took upon himself the responsibility to assert his claims by even committing this crime. In the struggle that followed for the throne, he had the worst of it, as in fact he must have feared all the while, and had to fly for protection to the camp of Malik-Kafur and invite the Muhammadan army to invade the Pandya country. The Muhammadan invasions came and went, ostensibly defeating Vira Pandya and leaving Sundara Pandya to make good his claims to his ancestral kingdom, depleted of all the resources, which they left behind. It may be that Sundara Pandya was not as capable a prince as Vira Pandya, and, whatever capacity he had, it was impossible, could prevail against Vira Pandya in the crippled condition of the state. The evacuation of Madura by the Muhammadans was the signal for Vira Pandya to return and reassert his claims as against Sundara Pandya. In those circumstances if Ravi Varman went to the assistance of Sundara Pandya it would perhaps have been quite natural. But if Sundara Pandya was not able to do much for himself, and there was danger of anarchy in the Tamil country, the opportunity would have been too good for Ravi Varman Kulaśēkhara to attempt to establish his supremacy over the Tamil kingdoms. Almost through the reign of Māra-varman Kulaśēkhara, the Chola and the Pandya kingdoms seem to have been regarded as almost one, and the capital of Māra-varman is often spoken of as in the Chola town of Jayam-kondaśolapuram, a few miles from Gangaikondaśolapuram. Ravi Varman's intervention in the civil war in the Pandya kingdom and carrying the war farther northwards beyond the Pandya kingdom would but be natural in the circumstances; and, if he achieved the conquest of these two by beating the Muhammadan garrisons out of the kingdom if any were left behind and asserted his authority, not over the Pandya kingdom of his brother-in-law which may seem rather unnatural or improper to do, but over the Tamil empire of the time composed of both the Chola and the Pandya kingdoms, such an achievement would be great enough to be celebrated by a second coronation of the ruler in the holy city of Conjivaram; and such a coronation would follow the well established precedents of the Pandyas as well as the

1. Ep. 430 of 1921

2. Ep. 339 of 1918.

Cholas. The coronation therefore on the bank of the river Vehkā (Vēgavati) is not the coronation of Ravi Varman as ruler of Kēṛaḷa which had taken place already more than a decade before this, but as the suzerain king of the Tamil country in succession to the great Pandyas, Jātavarman Sundara Pandya prominently and his successors. He apparently had other campaigns to conduct before he could feel sure of his new position as the supreme ruler of Kēṛaḷa, Pāṇḍya and Chola. Having conducted these campaigns successfully and to his satisfaction, he could return to Kanchi and set the seal of his great achievement by his donation to the temple, and the record that he made of it in the temple itself. The Vira Pāṇḍya that figures in these campaigns is certainly not the Vira Pāṇḍya we hear of in the earlier inscriptions, but the Vira Pandya, the son of Māravarman whom he appointed to a government in A.D. 1296. This is made certain by the statement that after being defeated in the Pandya country, this Vira Pāṇḍya fled to Konkan wherefrom he had to be hounded out into the forests farther north, and it was only then that Ravi Varman could feel his achievement complete. Even so, we shall notice this very Vira Pandya returns and proves to be the means of undoing the achievement of Ravi Varman Kulaśēkhara not very long after. But for the time Ravi Varman Kulaśēkhara remained supreme ruler of South India. He was not content with having set up this inscription in the Conjivaram temple, but even went to other places, such as Śrīraṅgam and Tiruvadi where he restored the worship in the temples by performing the holy ablution and otherwise repairing the damages the temples had suffered from the spiritual as well as the material point of view. He also set up inscriptions detailing his achievements in places like Poonamalle¹ in the Chingleput Dt., among these a victory over a Sundara Pandya, in the 4th year after his coronation on the bank of the Vehkā (Vēgavati) as the supreme ruler of South India. His coronation on the bank of the river must have taken place in A.D. 1310-1311, and the inscriptions in these places are dated 1314-15.

A Historical Estimate of Ravi Varman's Achievements.

This series of achievements of Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara seems at first sight to be no more than warranted by the political exigencies of the time. We have high authority for the statement that statesmen, administrators and men of action generally have to adopt policies and courses of action according to the demands of the moment generally included in the term expediency, as the late Mr. Ramsay MACDONALD told the members of a History Conference. But the proper appraising of the various influences that called for a particular course of action and the consequences to which such action usually led are matters which are to await the arrival of the historian whose function it is to weigh and consider the influence of each one of the factors that contributed to the adoption of a particular course of action, and the

1. Eps. 33 & 34 of 1911 & *Rep.* 1911. p. 79.

results or further action to which this actually leads. Here is the case of Ravi Varman Kulaśekhara, it may be the example of the father that led him gradually to the extensive conquests or extension of his authority. Jayasimha's efforts were to make the influence of Kūpaka dominant in Kēraḷa, which meant the extension of his authority over Vēṇāḍ and the Tamil part of Travancore lying to the south of it as a preliminary. The conquest of Vēṇāḍ and the districts next adjoining would add very considerably to the prestige and influence of the ruler of Kūpaka, and perhaps entitle him to a primary among the small Chēra states comprising the whole of the kingdom of Chēra. That is one thing. But incidentally it should have brought Jayasimha and his son into hostile contact with the Pandya which naturally would lead them on, according to the exigencies of the moment, to take further action as occasion called for against the Pandyas unless they were in an unassailably strong position and maintained themselves in such a position. As it happened that was not to be the case with the Pandya kingdom as it was at the time. There was much that is unsettling in the position, and the political balance of power could not be maintained with any chance of permanence. But more than this chance of simple aggression, the very operations in South Travancore brought Ravi Varman Kulaśekhara into contact with the Pandyas which fructified into more intimate relationship between the two ruling families. The extinction of the authority of the usurping Pandya prince, Vikrama-Pandya, led on to a marriage alliance, which is only symbolical of a political alliance. This necessarily would bring the Kēraḷa ruler to take more active interest in the affairs of the Tamil kingdoms. The time when Ravi Varman Kulaśekhara succeeded his father happened to be one of the great stir in the Pandya country through an act of the great Pandya Māravarman Kulaśekhara who created for himself a crop of trouble by the appointment of Vīra Pandya to a government as it seemed to the neglect of the heir-apparent. The consequential struggles of this impolitic act of the great Pandya naturally would give Ravi Varman Kulaśekhara the opportunity for intervention even if he should be peacefully inclined so far as the territory across the mountain border of Travancore is concerned. The death of Māravarman Kulaśekhara Pandya accentuated the further crisis by the acts of Vīra Pandya on the one side struggling for the throne as was anticipated, and by the effort of Sundara Pandya to come into what was legitimately his own, and offered a good political crisis for Ravi Varman's intervention on behalf of his own brother-in-law as against the ambitious, if illegitimate, Vīra Pandya. But Sundara Pandya's flight to the Muhammadan camp instead perhaps stayed any action that Ravi Varman Kulaśekhara could have taken, and the fact that Ravi Varman did not then interfere is evidence of his prudence. If Malīk-Kafur on behalf of Allaud-din sympathised with Sundara Pandya and rendered him assistance, Ravi Varman's intervention would be superfluous, and would lead to consequences which would complicate his position badly. Perhaps he also suspected as many others must have and in fact Sundara Pandya himself must

have done, the Muhammadan garrisons were not going to settle down there permanently, or effect permanent conquest of the distant Tamil parts at all, in the face of Allaud-din's caution that his ambition was not the conquest of a distant empire. When the Muhammadan garrison left Madura, Vira Pandya who had been defeated and driven away would naturally appear again, and that was the occasion which would call for Ravi Varman's intervention, and so he intervened. Vira Pandya again fled from the field of battle and escaped into Konkan wherefrom he was driven farther north into the forests by Ravi Varman Kulaśēkhara himself. But this intervention in behalf of Sundara Pandya could not be such a simple matter as Māra-varman Kulaśēkhara's empire took into it the whole of the Chola country and the Chola feudatories were up in arms against Rājarāja, the last Chola ruler and his successors. That naturally drew him on into the Chola empire to see to it that the rebel feudatories of the Chola country did not create further trouble for Sundara Pandya. That meant military intervention and more than one campaign which occupied him three years in all, perhaps more than three years, at the end of which he could count himself upon having accomplished a complicated task, of which at least he must have had some idea even at the outset of his intervention. It is in token of this successful accomplishment that he crowned himself at Conjeevaram, the northern capital of the Cholas and the city particularly which was the bone of contention between the powerful northern feudatories of the Cholas and the Cholas themselves. It besides signified the assertion of the authority of the southern rulers as against the one other Hindu power that was left, the Hoysāla which was left in peace by the Muhammadans because of his obvious early submission. The Hoysāla ruler found it profitable to take advantage of the disturbances in the northern frontier of the Tamil kingdoms to extend his own authority gradually into this region. So Ravi Varman's coronation at Conjeevaram would signify at once the assertion of his authority over the two Tamil kingdoms, and would amount to an assertion of his authority over the three Tamil kingdoms. In fact his coronation in Kanchi would have been a *Traiṛāja Patṭābhishēka* or an imperial coronation as the conferment of the title *Tṛkshatrachūdāmaṇi* in the Śrīrangam epigraph¹ will show. Having done this to symbolise the assertion of his authority, he had to make it good by actual campaigns, and he did so by marching further northward and fighting and placing on record the consummation of this achievement by donations to the great temples of the south, Conjivaram, Srirangam and Tiruvadi, and even comparatively smaller places such as Poonamallee in the Chingleput District. Poonamallee is called *Śēra Pāṇḍya Chaturvēdi Maṅgalam* perhaps in honour of his brother-in-law, and so it is named in this inscription, and that in the inscription the *aṅkuśa* is made to dominate the tiger and the fish is again another clear indication, if such were wanted, of

1. The epigraphists' report ascribes this to the defeat of Jaṭāvarma Sundar Pāṇḍya II. (Vide *Ep. Rep.*, 1911, p. 79.)

this assertion of his overlordship. We therefore seem entitled to infer that Ravi Varman Kulaśekhara's intervention in the Tamil country was not merely the result of accidents or the exigencies of his position as the son-in-law of the last great Pandya and the brother-in-law of the legitimate aspirant to the throne, but an act of Ravi Varman Kulaśekhara with a view to establish his authority as the supreme ruler of the South in succession to the great Cholas and the Pandyas in the centuries before him.

Apart from this imperial act, there is much to the credit of Ravivarman Kulaśekhara which ought to receive attention in any estimate of him as a man and ruler. He seems to have been highly educated, as in fact several members of this dynasty of Travancore rulers were, and stood high in the estimation of the Pandits of his court as a scholar. He is credited with having written the drama *Pradyumnābhyaṇam* intended to celebrate one of the striking exploits of Krishna-Vishnu, and the drama is said to have been intended to be put on the boards on the *Yātrā* festival of Śrī Padma-nābha, apparently the God in Trivandrum. There is nothing on the face of it to call this authorship into question. We know it has been in respect of the great Harsha of Kanauj, and it is sometimes taken for granted, rather too easily, that some poet of the court composed the drama and foisted it upon the ruler for the time being as patron. While on the face of it, it seems possible, it does not appear to us unlikely that rulers essayed writing these pieces as exhibitions of their own scholarship; and there is nothing to prevent such works being published, if need be after revision by the Pandits of the court, provided they received the approval of the assembled Pandits after being read before them as was usually the case. It seems therefore not at all unlikely that Ravivarman Kulaśekhara wrote the drama above mentioned. The more so, as he is stated, beyond all possibility of doubt, to have been so competent a scholar in poetics and rhetoric that he was requested by the poets of his court to be their guide in reading through Mañkhuka's *Kāvya Alaṅkāra Lakṣana*. The exposition made by him to the assembled Pandits of his court has been incorporated by Samudrabandha as *Alaṅkāra Sarvasva* and is available to us now. That the assembled Pandits of a court should discuss a work on poetics and rhetoric such as the one mentioned, in the presence of the king seems more or less the usual practice when the sovereign was a man with some pretensions to learning. Of course, the Pandits would discuss points of doubt, difficulty and importance, the king following the discussions usually with intelligence and understanding. But when a king did happen to be a scholar, he was usually made the President and his award as to the proper understanding or interpretation would be accepted in cases of doubt. This in fact is said to have been the practice in regard to the holding of assemblies of learning called *Brahma Sadas*. It is laid down that a Brahma Sada should be assembled only by a king with high qualifications in learning, qualifications which would entitle him to occupy the presidential chair, and his awards were, whenever they were called for, accepted as final. We have a record of such assemblies held, one in

Ujjain and one in Pāṭalipura, in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* of Rājaśekhara, where these formal assemblies were actually held, and degrees in proficiency were conferred on various exponents not only of literature but even of the arts. Apart from these formal assemblies convened for the purpose of examining learned people and setting the seal of approval of a learned body upon the degree of proficiency to which they had attained, the courts of Indian princes were in many cases informal assemblies of learned men on many occasions, and interesting discussions often took place in which particular sovereigns when sufficiently competent took an active part also. It would therefore be nothing unlikely if a talented prince like Ravivarman Kulaśekhara should have exhibited sufficient learning to have struck his courtier poets as being worthy to act as their guide in the discussions upon this difficult rhetorical work. In the light of this knowledge we possess, of some at least of the rulers of India, it may be carrying scepticism too far to decline to accept what the poet Samudrabandha states in so many words in the *Prolegomena* to his *Alaṅkārasarvasva*.¹ He says in effect that the assembled poets requested Ravivarman that, in their difficult voyage through the sea of Alaṅkāra, as expounded in the text of Maṅkhuka, he might prove to be their ship to carry them across in safety. Ravivarman himself is said to have given the exposition called afterwards *Alaṅkārasarvasva* on Maṅkhuka's work, which was collected and edited by Samudrabandha. It seems therefore clear that Ravivarman as a prince, was a cultivated prince with a taste in literature which led him almost instinctively to correct judgments which evoked the admiration of the poets of his court, and it is perfectly likely that they should have sat down and discussed day to day before him the work with his approval, and the result of these discussions might well have been recorded by a careful scholar which, in the actual circumstances of the case, might justifiably be held to be the work of the prince and allowed to pass as such. The *Alaṅkārasarvasva* of Samudrabandha may have been a work of that kind, for the quality of which the ruler Ravivarman may have been essentially responsible. It is to the great credit of an active ruler like Ravivarman Kulaśekhara that he should have cultivated a difficult branch of learning to this high degree of proficiency, and left us sufficient evidence of his achievement therein. That he should have found it possible to do so in the course of a life of great activity in other departments of work is greatly to his credit.

1. Kadāchin Maṅkhukōpajñam Kāvyaālaṅkāra lakṣaṇam |
Pradarśya Ravivarmāṇam Prārthayanta Vipāśchitaḥ |
Gambhīram nas titirshūṇām Maṅkhukagranthasāgaram |
Naurastu bhavataḥ prajñā sthēyasī Yadunandana ||

* * * *

Ityuktvaisha manishāvaibhava paribhūta vāsavāchāryah |
Budha parishad alaṅkāro vyākhyadalaṅkārasarvasvam ||
Avadhṛtyai Yadupatinā vivṛatasya gariyasastadartḥasya |
Kaśchid vyadhita vipāśchid śabda nibandham Samudrabandhākhyah ||

Why Ravivarman's Achievements proved Ephemeral.

Such as it was, Ravi Varman Kulaśekhara's achievement, though for a moment it succeeded, and perhaps even gave promise of permanence to those that assisted in his coronation as the supreme ruler of the Tamil land, still proved to be disappointingly short-lived. This was not because that there was anything inherently impossible in his ambition, but it seems to have been in the actual position of affairs at the time and the accident of his death soon after his accomplishment. We know from South Indian inscriptions that the last year of Māravarman Kulaśekhara was his 42nd year. That would take him to the year A.D. 1309. His successor, according to the practice of the Pandyas must have been Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pandya. We have a record of his 11th year dated January 1314,¹ which would mean that he must have come to the throne about January 1303. This would make the crime of patricide open to doubt, as the son and the father ruled together for about 11 years, unless Sundara put his father to death after this period, and some time at the beginning of A.D. 1309. Whatever that be, we have records of a Māravarman Kulaśekhara who must have been the successor of this Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pandya. The date of commencement of his rule is somewhere about January 1315, his earliest record being one of his 2nd year with a date equivalent to January 1316.² Therefore Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pandya must have died before December 8, A.D. 1315, which is the date of the first record of Māravarman Kulaśekhara II. So soon after Ravi Varman Kulaśekhara's 4th year after his imperial coronation Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pandya died, and Māravarman Kulaśekhara succeeded to the Pandya throne. But about the same time, Ravi Varman Kulaśekhara seems to have died as well. We find inscriptions of Muppidi Nāyaka, the general of the Kākatīya king, one of which states that he effected entry into Conjivaram on March 25th, and issued two grants in favour of the temple on June 11th and 16th, A.D. 1316.³ This Muppidi Nāyaka claims to have appointed a certain Mānavīra as the ruler of Conjivaram. This person seems to have been a Telugu Chola chief, as the record orders the payment in the coinage of Gaṇḍagōpāla.⁴ Whether this is real or no, the fact gives clear evidence of the establishment of the Kākatīya authority in Conjivaram, which would mean the definite ejection of Ravivarman's authority from the place. The next year A.D. 1317, the ruler of Travancore is said to be Vira Udaya Mārthāṇḍa Varman,⁵ as successor to Ravi Varman Kulaśekhara. He may have been his son or some other. Ravi Varman Kulaśekhara would have been then 50 years in the year A.D. 1316, and while it is not impossible that a

1. *Ep.* 871 of 1920.

2. *Ep.*, 103 of 1920.

3. *Ep.*, 517 of 1922.

4. *Ep.*, 43 of 1898 and *Epi.*, Ind VII, 128.

5. SEWELL'S *Historical Ins. of South India*, 170-180.

6. *Trav. Arch. Series*, IV pt. i. p. 89.

man could die at 50, it looks likely that there was war between the Kākatīyas and Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara, and probably he fell in the fight. If this should have been actually so, the death of Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara would be a prime factor in the undoing of his work of empire building for Travancore. The aggression of the Kākatīyas under Pratāparudra would be understandable, as there was constant contention for the possession of the territory extending northwards from Kanchi to the banks of the Krishna, between the Kākatīyas on the one side and the rulers of the Tamil country Chola or Pandya. In this constant struggle, the Hoyśala was gradually and slowly establishing his authority in this region ; but at this particular stage, he seems to have had no influence in what happened. The death of Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara therefore left the empire without a warden, and happening as it did so soon after he established it, the other forces asserted themselves and brought about the dismemberment again. In the same year we have a record of Jaṭavarman Virapāṇḍya in the Tinnevely District dated in his 21st year in October 1317. That would mean Virapāṇḍya had recovered his position so far as to hold rule over a part of the Tamil country, and in the next following years, we find his inscriptions fairly all over the central region of the Tamil country. This gives clear evidence of the undoing of the work of Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara.

Permanent Results of Ravivarman's work.

Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara's achievements therefore amount to the creation of the State of Travancore as it is at the present time as a political entity. His further effort to step into the breach as the leading power in South India was so far successful that had he continued to live longer and carry out his project a little further, it might have brought him into a clash with the last Hoyśala which might have proved detrimental to South India if the rivalry between the two powers actually developed into a war for supremacy. But even so, it is only a comparatively short period of respite that was given to the south during the confusion of the last years of the reign of Allaud-din, and aggravated by his death, which was followed by a struggle for succession. When Sultan Mubarak emerged successfully from out of this and adopted a vigorous policy, it looked as if South India would have to face another Muhammadan invasion ending in perhaps a more permanent occupation. The difficulties at headquarters necessitated the return of the general of Mubarak, Khusru, and his return was the signal for another revolution which ended in the abolition of Khilji rule and the establishment of a new dynasty under the Tughalaks. It was given to the second Tughalak, Muhammad, who succeeded to his father's position after a short reign of about five years to re-establish the Muhammadan power in the south. He was responsible for the establishment of a Muhammadan government in South India at Madura. Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara would have had to face this new flood of Muhammadan invasions. Whether he would have held out successfully against that is more than we can say for the present.

That rôle of champion of Hindu rule in the South fell to the lot of the last great Ballāḷa, Vīra Ballāḷa III, because of the disappearance of Ravivarman Kulaśekhara, who struggled hard throughout the last decade of his reign and fell in the efforts in his own turn. Notwithstanding this failure, the work that he attempted was carried to a successful conclusion by those who succeeded him and ended in the establishment of the Hindu empire of the South, which became known in history as the Empire of Vijayanagar. Ravivarman Kulaśekhara's effort may therefore be regarded as the first effort of this struggle which culminated in the successful establishment of the empire

A SANSKRIT INDEX TO THE CHĀNDOGYA UPANIṢAD

(With References to other Sanskrit Texts.)

By

E. G. CARPANI

I. a.

1. A (1), base of some prn. (see Nos. 254, 344). For the general employment of *ā'*, *ā* see WACKERNAGEL, *Altind. Gramm.* I, p. 290; WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER, *ib.* III, p. 517; OLDENBERG, *Ved. Unters.* 20; BRUGMANN, *Kurze Vergleichende Gramm. der Indogermanischen Spr.*, p. 408; *a*-, ZDMG. LXI, pp. 825-30. For exhaustive citations the reader is referred to Walther WÜST, *Vergleichendes u. Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Alt-Indoarischen (Altindischen)*, Heidelberg, 1935.

2. A- (2) (*an-* before vowels), neg. prefix. Gr. *α'*, *α'ν*; Lat. *in-* (as in Ital.); Germ. and Goth. *un-*; Eng. *un-*, *in-*. See WHITNEY, *A Sanskrit Grammar*, pp. 496-99, 508; WÜST, *op. cit.* p. 204ff.

3. AKARṬṢ, m. : non-agent, non-doer. *-tā* (nom. sg.): VI, 16.2; VII, 9.1.

4. AKĀMACĀRA, a. : not moving at desire (will). *-ras* (nom. sg. m.): VII, 25.2; VIII, 1.6. For *ātmaratir ātmakriḍa...* cf. Muṇḍ. U. III, 1.3.

5. AKṚTA, a. : uncreated (undone, unperformed, not made, incomplete). *-tam* (acc. sg. m.): VIII, 13.1. Cf. Muṇḍ. U. I, 2.12 (*akṛtaḥ [lokaḥ]*); M. U. VI, 18, and Muṇḍ. U. III, 1.3 for *vidhūya pāpam*. For a discussion of the term *akṛta* see my note on the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad VIII, 13.1, in *Indian Culture* (Journal of the Indian Res. Inst.), III, 3, pp. 545-47.

6. AKṚTVĀ, grd. : without effort (according to HUME's translation "without being active"). VII, 21.1.

7. AKṢA, m. *terminalia bellerica*. *-sau* (acc. du.): VII, 3.1.

8. AKṢAN, n. : eye. *-ṣṇā* (instr. sg.): IV, 17.9. *-ṣṇas* (gen. sg.): I, 7.4. *-ṣṇi* (loc. sg.): I, 7.5; IV, 15.1; VIII, 7.4. Cf. B. Ā. U. II, 3.5; V, 5.2; Kauṣ. U. IV, 17.

9. AKṢARA, n. : syllable (*a* : imperishable). *-ram* (nom.-acc. sg.): I, 1.1, 5, 7, 8; 2.14; 4.1, 4, 5; II, 10.3. *-rasya* (gen. sg.): I, 1.9, 10. *-re* (loc. sg.): I, 1.6. *-rāṇi* (nom. pl.): II, 10.4; 23.3 VIII, 3.5 (*trīṇy ak-*

Abbreviations :—Ch. U. : Chāndogya-Up(aniṣad); B. Ā. U. : Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka-Up.; Taitt. U. : Taittirīya-Up.; Ait. U. : Aitareya-Up.; Kauṣ. U. : Kauṣītaki-Up.; Ke. U. : Kena-Up.; Kāṭ. U. : Kāṭhaka-Up.; I. U. : Isā-Up.; Muṇḍ. U. : Muṇḍaka-Up.; Pr. U. : Praśna-Up.; Māṇḍ. U. : Māṇḍūkya Up.; Svet. U. : Śvetāśvatara Up.; M. U. : Maitrāyaṇa-Up.; Bh. G. : Bhagavad-Gītā. *Quotations* : Ch. U. in minuscule Roman characters; other Sanskrit texts, in *devanāgarī* characters.

ścārāṇi satīyam iti cf. B. Ā. U. V, 5.1). See P. M. MODI, *Akṣara, A Forgotten Chapter in the History of Indian Philosophy*, pp. 123-142 ; Baroda, 1932.

10. AKṢI, n. : eye. -*ṣiṇi* (nom. du.) : I, 6.7.
11. AKṢITA, a. : imperishable. -*tam* (nom. sg. n.) : III, 17.6.¹
12. AKṢETRAJÑA, a. : not knowing the place (country). -*jñās* (nom. pl. m.) : VIII, 3.2.
13. AKHĀDANT, a. : not eating. -*dan* (nom. sg.) : I, 10.4.
14. AGADA, a. : free from disease. -*das* (nom. sg. m.) : III, 16.2. 4. 6.
15. AGNI, m. : fire ; sacrificial fire ; Agni. Gr. αἷγλη and αἷλαός ; Lat. *igni-s* ; Lith. *ugni-s* ; Slav. *ognj* ; Goth. *ahun'-s*. -*nis* (nom. sg.) : I, 3.7 ; 6.1 ; 13.1, II, 2.1, 2 ; 20.1 ; 21.1 (cf. M. U. IV, 5 ; VI, 35) ; III, 13.3 ; 18.2 ; IV, 3.1 ; 6.1, 2 ; 7.3 ; 11.1 ; V, 4.1 ; 5.1, 6.1 ; 7.1 ; 8.1 ; 21.2 ; VII, 12.1 ; VIII, 1.3. -*num* (acc. sg.) : II, 12.2 ; III, 15.6 ; IV, 6.1 ; 7.1 ; 8.1 ; 17.1 *ninā* (instr. sg.) : III, 6.1, 3 ; 18.3. -*naye* (dat. sg.) : II, 24.5. -*nes* (abl.-gen. sg.) : I, 3.5 ; II, 22.1 ; III, 13.8 (cf. B. Ā. U. V, 9 ; M. U. II, 6 ; VI, 17) ; IV, 6.1 ; 7.1 ; 8.1 ; 17.2 ; V, 2.8. -*nau* (loc. sg.) : II, 12.1, 2 ; V, 2.4, 5 ; 4.2 ; 5.2 ; 6.2 ; 7.2 ; 8.2 ; 21.2 ; 24.3. -*nayas* (nom. pl.) : IV, 10.2, 4 ; V, 9.2. -*nūn* (acc. pl.) : IV, 10.1, 2 ; 14.2 ; V, 10.10.
16. AGNITVA, n. : fiery state. -*ram* (nom. sg.) : VI, 4.1.
17. AGNIHOTRA, n. : fire-sacrifice. -*ram* (acc. sg.) : V, 24.1, 2, 3, 5.
18. AGRA, n. : front ; beginning ; loc. : at first. -*re* (loc. sg.) : I, 8.2 ; 10.5 ; III, 19.1 ; VI, 2.1, 2 ; 11.1.
19. AGRASTA, a. : not swallowed. -*tās* (nom. pl. m.) : II, 22.5 See Rg-Veda-Prātiśākhya III, 14, 2, 3 edited by MAX MÜLLER, pp. CCLXXVff
20. AṅGA (1), pcl. : emphatic. IV, 1.5 ; VI, 12.1 ; 13.1, 2.
21. AṅGA (2), n. : member ; limb ; body. -*gena* (instr. sg.) : II, 19.1. -*gānām* (gen. pl.) : I, 2.10. -*geṣu* (loc. pl.) : II, 19.1, 2
22. AṅGĀRA, m. : coal. -*ras* (nom. sg.) : VI, 7.3. -*ram* (acc. sg.) : V, 7.5. -*rās* (nom. pl.) : II, 12.1 ; V, 4.1 ; 5.1 ; 6.1 ; 7.1 ; 8.1. -*rām* (acc. pl.) : V, 24.1.
23. AṅGIN, a. : having members or limbs. -*gī* (nom. sg. m.) : II, 19.
24. AṅGIRAS, proper name (m.) -*rās* (nom. sg.) : I, 2.10. -*rasa* (acc. sg.) : I, 2.10.
25. ACITTA, a. : inconsiderate. -*tas* (nom. sg. m.) : VII, 5.2
26. ACYUTA, a. : imperishable. -*tam* (nom. sg. n.) : III, 17.6.
27. AJA, m. : a drove ; goat. -*jās* (nom. pl.) : II, 6.1 ; 18.1.
28. AṆJALI, m. : the two open hands held together hollowed. -*lau* (l. sg.) : V, 2.6.
29. AṆIMAN, m. : subtilty (also as a superhuman faculty). -*mā* (nom. sg.) : VI, 6.1, 2, 3, 4 ; 8.6 ; 9.4 ; 10.3 ; 11.3 ; 12.3 ; 13.3 ; 14.3 ; 15.3 ; 16. -*mānam* (acc. sg.) : VI, 12.2. -*mnas* (gen. sg.) : VI, 12.2 ; VIII, 6.1.

1. ... *akṣitam asi, a-cyutam asi, PRĀṆA-SAMŚITAM ASI iti* ;

Dr. PAPERSSO's translation (*op. cit.*, p. 145 - see No. 36) is an acute and correct interpretation of the passage : "... tu sei l'imperituro, sei l'inconsusso, SEI L'AFFIL DAL SOFFIO VITALE." Cf. Atharva-Veda X, 5.35.

30. ANIṢṬHA, a. : smallest. *-ṭhas* (nom. sg. m.) : VI, 5.1., 2, 3.
 31. AṆU, a. : minute, subtile ; small ; atomic. *aṇvyas* (nom. pl. f.) : VI, 12.1.
 32. ATAS, adv. : from this ; hence ; therefore. I, 3.5 ; 12.1 ; III, 13.7 ; V, 10.6 ; VI, 12.1 ; VII, 25.1, 2 ; VIII, 4.2.
 32bis. ATI, adv.-prep. : beyond I, 8.5, 7.
 33. ATIJANA, a. : uninhabited. *-ne* (loc. sg.) : VI, 14.1.
 34. ATIDHANVAN, proper name (m.). *-vā* (nom. sg.) : I, 9.3.
 35. ATIMṚTYU, a. : beyond death ; overcoming death. *-yu* (acc. sg. n.) : II, 10.1, 6.
 36. ATIVĀDIN, a. : over talkative. *-dī* (nom. sg. m.) : VII, 15.4 :—
*prāṇo hy eva etāni sarvāni bhavati. so vā eṣa evaṁ paśyan
 evaṁ manvānaḥ evaṁ vijānann ativādī bhavati. tam ced
 brūyuh : atī-vādy asi iti. atī-vādy asmi iti brūyāt na
 apahnuvīta* : ¹
 37. ATIVIMĀNA, a. : beyond measurement. *-nam* (acc. sg. m.) : V, 18.1.
 38. ATISĒṢA, a. : remaining. *-śān* (acc. pl. m.) : I, 10.5.
 39. ATRA, adv. : here ; there ; in this place. II, 24.6, 10, 15 ; IV, 9.3 ; VI, 12.1 ; 13.2 ; VIII, 1.2 ; 3.2 ; 9.1, 2 ; 10.2, 4 ; 11. 1, 2.
 40. ATHA, adv. : now ; then ; so. I, 2.3, 4, 5, 6, 7 ; 3.1, 3, 6, 8 ; 5.1, 3.5 ; 6.5, 6 ; 7.1, 4, 5, 7, 8 ; 11.1, 3, 4, 6, 8 ; 12.1 ; II, 1.3 ; 2.2 ; 8.1 ; 9.1, 3-8 ; 10.1 ; 22.4 ; 24.2, 5, 9, 13, 14 ; III, 2.1 ; 3.1 ; 4.1 ; 5.1 ; 7.1 ; 8.1 ; 9.1 ; 10.1 ;

1. " Il paraît impossible de séparer ce texte d'un passage de la *Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad*. III, 1, 4, qui semble dire exactement le contraire, à savoir que celui qui connaît le *prāṇa* n'est pas un *ativādin*. Ou des deux textes l'un vise l'autre, ou ils visent l'un et l'autre quelque formule qui avait cours dans les écoles. Il n'est d'ailleurs pas impossible de les expliquer l'un et l'autre avec vraisemblance. Etymologiquement, *ativāda* se peut justifier soit pour dire 'langage excessif, violent, injurieux' (et cette acception est consacrée), soit pour dire 'langage sans mesure, bavardage inutile.' La seconde acception conviendrait bien à la *Muṇḍaka-Up.* ; ici ni l'une ni l'autre n'a d'application. Nous voyons par le paragraphe suivant que *ativadati* est entendu 'avoir l'avantage par la parole, dans la discussion', ce qui explique parfaitement *ativādin*. En même temps l'addition : 'Qu'il déclare qu'il est *ativādin*, qu'il ne s'en défende pas' implique que le rédacteur avait dans l'esprit l'autre sens, défavorable celui-là. d'*ativādin* pour dire 'un bavard, un diseur de riens', comme il est employé par la *Muṇḍaka-Up.* Il est donc probable que notre texte sacrifie ici une fois de plus au goût des jeux de mots, lequel y tient tant de place. Il se peut fort bien que le vers de la *Muṇḍaka-Up.* vise le présent passage et prétende le redresser au nom du sens courant d'*ativāda*. Ne peut-on pas d'autre part supposer que l'application particulière qui est faite ici d'*atī-vad* s'inspire de tout l'exposé qui précède, dont le cadre est une accumulation de termes superposés, donc, en un sens étymologique, un *ativāda* ?" (Émile SENART, "Chāndogya-Upaniṣad", Paris, 1930, p. 101-2.)

["*ativādin* :] è chi con le sue affermazioni mostra un sapere che va più in là di quello dei compagni di disputa. Ma se uno dice più di quel che realmente sa, se proclama un falso sapere, si espone a pericolo..." "per questo uno esita a dirsi superiore, vedi RUBEN, Die Debatten in den alten Upaniṣad's *ZDMG.*, 83. (1929), 242." (Valentino PAPPESIO, "Chāndogya-Upaniṣad", Bologna, 1937, p. 213, footnote 2).

11.1 ; 13.2, 3, 4, 5, 7 ; 14.1 ; 15.5-7 ; 16.3, 5 ; 17.2-4 ; 18.1, 2 ; 19.3 ; IV, 1.2 ; 3.3, 5 ; 5.1 ; 10.4 ; 11.1 ; 12.1 ; 13.1 ; 15.5 ; 16.4 ; 17.5, 6 ; V, 1.12-14 ; 2.4, 6, 7 ; 3.4 ; 9.1 ; 10.3, 5, 7, 8 ; 13.1 ; 14.1 ; 15.1 ; 16.1 ; 17.1 ; 20.1 ; 21.1 ; 22.1 ; 23.1 ; 24.2 ; VI, 7.2, 4 ; 8.5 ; 11.2 ; 13.1, 2 ; 14.2 ; 15.2 ; 16.1, 2 ; VII, 3.1 ; 4.1 ; 5.1, 2 ; 6.1 ; 8.1 ; 9.1 ; 10.1 ; 11.1 ; 13.1 ; 15.3 ; 17.1 ; 18.1 ; 19.1 ; 20.1 ; 21.1 ; 22.1 ; 24.1 ; 25.1, 2 ; VIII, 1.1, 6 ; 2.2-9 ; 3.2, 4, 5 ; 4.1 ; 5.1-3 ; 6.1, 4, 5 ; 7.4 ; 9.1 ; 12.4, 5.

41. ATHAKĀRA, m. : the sound atha. -*ras* (nom. sg.) : I, 13.1¹

42. ATHARVĀṆGIRAS, proper name (m.) : member of the sacerdotal race of Atharvan and Ṇgiras. -*rasas* (nom. pl.) : III, 4.1, 2.

43. ADATKA, a. : toothless. -*kam* (acc. sg. n.) : VIII, 14.1.

44. ADADĀNA, a. : not giving. -*nam* (acc. sg. m.) : VIII, 8.5.

45. ADARŚANĪYA, grdv. : not to be shown. -*yam* (acc. sg. n.) : I, 2.4.

46. ADDHĀ, adv. : certainly ; truly ; indeed. III, 14.4.

47. ADYA, adv. : now-a-days ; now. VI, 4.5 ; VIII, 8.5.

48. ADRAṢṬR, m. : non-seer. -*tā* (nom. sg.) : VIII, 9.1.

49. ADVITĪYA, a. : without a second ; unique. -*yam* (nom. sg. n.) : VI, 2.1, 2. (Primordial Non-being, cf. Ch. U. III, 19.1, and Taitt. U. II, 7.)

50. ADHARA, a. : lower ; inferior. -*re* (nom. pl. n.) : IV, 1.4, 6.

51. ADHARĀṆC, a. : southwards. -*rāṇ* (nom. sg. m.) : VI, 14.1.

52. ADHARMA, m. : unrighteousness. -*mas* (nom. sg. m.) : VII, 2.1. -*mam* (acc. sg.) : VII, 2.1 ; 7.1.

53. ADHASTĀT, adv.-prep. : below ; down. IV, 1.8 ; VII, 25.1, 2.

54. ADHI, adv.-prep. : on account of ; concerning ; on. V, 3.2 ; VI, 2.3, 4.

55. ADHIDAIVATAM, adv. : in reference to the divine. I, 3.1 ; 5.2 ; 6.8 ; III, 18.1, 2 ; IV, 3.2.

56. ADHIPATI, m. : ruler ; Lord. -*tis* (nom. sg.) : V, 2.6.

57. ADHIṢṬHĀNA, n. : standing-place. -*nam* (nom. sg.) : VIII, 12.1.

58. ADHYAYANA, n. : reading, studying. -*nam* (nom. sg.) : II, 23.1.

59. ADHYĀTMAM, adv. : in reference to self. I, 2.14 ; 5.3 ; 7.1 ; III, 18.1, 2, IV, 3.3.

60. ADHVAN, m. : a road ; way ; space. -*vānam* (acc. sg.) : V, 10.5.

61. ADHVARYU, m. : officiating priest. -*yus* (nom. sg.) : IV, 16.2.

62. ANA, m. breath ; spiration. -*nas* (nom. sg.) : V, 2.1. -*nasya* (gen. sg.) : V, 2.1

63. ANAGNA, a. : not naked. -*nas* (nom. sg. m.) : V, 2.2.

1. *ayam vāva loko hāu-kāraḥ, vāyur hāi-kāraḥ, candramā atha-kāraḥ, ātmā iha-kāraḥ, agnir i-kāraḥ.* According to SENART, *op. cit.*, p. 16, footnote 1, "ces diverses syllabes, appelées *stobha*, ont leur place marquée dans certaines parties du chant liturgique. Par exemple *atha* est la lune parce que *a* est la première syllabe d'*a-na*, 'nourriture', que *tha* (qui se trouve dans *sthita*) évoque une idée de permanence, et que la lune, comme réceptacle de l'ambrosie, est essentiellement nourritrice, etc."

64. ANADYAMĀNA, a. : not eating. *-nas* (nom. sg. m.): IV, 3.7.
 65. ANANUVIDYA, grd. : not having discovered. VIII, 1.6 ; 8.4.
 66. ANANUŚIṢYA, grd. without giving indication. V, 3.4.
 67. ANANŪCYA, grd. : not having taught. VI, 1.1.
 68. ANANTA, a. : limitless. *-tas* (nom. sg. m.): I, 9.2.
 69. ANANTAVANT, a. : limitless. *-vān* (nom. sg. m.): IV, 6.3, 4. *-vatas* (acc. pl.): IV, 6.4.
 70. ANANDHA, a. : not blind. *-dhas* (nom. sg. m.): VIII, 4.2 ; 10.1, 3.
 71. ANANNA, n. : non-food. *-nam* (nom.-acc. sg.): IV, 3.7 ; V, 2.1.
 72. ANAPĀNANT, a. : not breathing out. *-nan* (nom. sg. m.): I, 3.3, 4, 5.
 73. ANAŚITU, m. : non-eating. *-tum* (acc. sg.): IV, 10.3.
 74. ANASŪRI, m. : not unwise. *-ris* (nom. Sg.): IV, 3.7. (According to LÜDERS, *ana-sūri* [instead of *an-a-sūri*] : "Lord of the breath".)
 75. ANĀDARA, a. : indifferent. *-ras* (nom. sg. m.): III, 14.2, 4.
 76. ANĀRAMBAṆA, a. : having no support. *-ṇāni* (nom. pl. n.): II, 9.4.
 77. ANĀŚAKĀYANA, n. : a course of fasting. *-nam* (nom. sg.): VIII, 5.3. (According to another possible division (*a-nāśaka-ayana*), the word would mean "entrance into the unperishing.")
 78. ĀNĀHITĀGNI, a. : not keeping up the holy fire. *-nis* (nom. sg. m.): V, 11.5.
 79. ANIRASTA, a. : not thrown forth. *-tās* (nom. pl. m.): II, 22.5 (See No. 19).
 80. ANIRUKTA, a. : unuttered ; not clearly explained. *-tas* (nom. sg. m.): I, 13.3 ; II, 22.1.
 81. ANISTIṢTHANT, a. : accomplishing naught. *-ṭhan* (nom. sg. m.): VII, 20.1. (For a discussion of the rendering of *nistiṣṭhanti*, see SENART, *op. cit.*, p. 103.)
 82. ANU, adv.-prep. : after, along, over, near to ; according to ; in order. III, 16.2, 4, 6 ; IV, 2.2, 4 ; 17.9 ; V, 3.1, 4 ; 19.2 ; 20.2 ; 21.2 ; 22.2 ; 23.2 ; VIII, 9.1, 2 ; 12.4.¹
 83. ANUJÑĀ, f. : assenting, permission. (nom. sg.): I, 1.8.
 84. ANUTKRĀNTA, a. : not departed. *-tas* (nom. sg. m.): VIII, 6.4.
 85. ANUTTAMA, a. : unsurpassed ; best ; without a superior. *-mesu* (loc. pl.): III, 13.7.
 86. ANUPATĀPIN, a. : not ill. *-pī* (nom. sg. m.): VIII, 4.2.
 87. ANUPANĪYA, grd. : without having received. V, 11.7.
 88. ANUPALABHYA, grd. : without having comprehended. VIII, 8.4.
 89. ANUPĀNA, n. : drink. *-nam* (nom. sg.): I, 10.3.
 90. ANŪCĀNAMĀNIN, a. : thinking oneself learned. *-nī* (nom. sg. m.): VI, 1.2, 3.

1. For a discussion of the rendering of *anu* by "well," see R. E. HUME, *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, pp. 299ff., Oxford, 1934.

91. ANṚTA, a. : not true ; false ; n. falsehood. *-tam* (acc. sg. m. ; nom.-acc. sg. n.) : I, 2.3 ; VI, 16.1 ; VII, 2.1 ; 7.1 ; VIII, 3.1. *-tena* (instr. sg.) : VI, 16.1 ; VIII, 3.2. (See Taitt. U. II, 6).¹

92. ANṚTĀPIDHĀNA, a. : having a cover of what is false. *-nas* (nom. sg. m.) : VIII, 3.1. *-nās* (nom. pl. m.) : VIII, 3.2.

93. ANṚTĀBHISANDHA, a. : declaring untruth. *-dhas* (nom. sg. m.) : VI, 16.1.

94. ANEVAMVID, a. : not knowing thus. *-dam* (acc. sg.) : IV, 17.10.

95. ANTA, m. : end, limit ; object. *-tam* (acc. sg.) : VIII, 1.5 ; 2.10. *-tāt* (abl. sg.) : VI, 13.2. *-te* (loc. sg.) : V, 3.6. *-teṣu* (loc. pl.) : VIII, 7.4.

96. ANTATAS, adv. : finally. I, 2.9 ; 3.12.

97. ANTAR, adv.-prep. : in the middle ; between ; among. I, 6.6 ; 7.5 ; III, 12.4, 8, 9 ; 13.7 ; 14.3, 4 ; V, 8.1 ; 9.1 ; VIII, 1.1-3.

98. ANTARĀ, adv.-prep. : between. VIII, 14.1.

99. ANTARIKṢA, n. : the middle of the three spheres or regions of life (in the Veda) ; atmosphere. *-sam* (nom.-acc. sg.) : I, 3.7 ; 6.2 ; II, 2.1, 2 ; 17.1 ; III, 1.1 ; 15.5 ; IV, 6.3 ; VII, 6.1 ; 8.1 ; 10.1. *-ṣāt* (abl. sg.) : III, 14.3 ; IV, 17.1. *-ṣe* (loc. sg.) : IV, 9.4.

100. ANTARIKṢAKṢIT, a. : dwelling in the atmosphere. *-te* (dat. sg.) : II, 24.9.

101. ANTARIKṢODARA, a. : amid the atmosphere. *-ras* (nom. sg. m.) : III, 15.1.

102. ANTARHRDAYA, a. : in the heart. *-yas* (nom. sg. m.) : VIII, 1.3.

103. ANTAVELĀ, f. : hour of death ; final hour. *-lāyām* (loc. sg.) : III, 17.6.

104. ANTEVĀSIN, m. : pupil. *-sine* (dat. sg.) : III, 11.5.

105. ANDHA, a. : blind. *-dhas* (nom. sg. m.) : V, 1.9 ; 13.2 ; VIII, 4.2 ; 9.1, 2. *-dham* (nom. sg. n.) : VIII, 10.1, 3. *-dhe* (loc. sg.) : VIII, 9.1, 2.

106. ANNA, n. : food. *-nam* (nom.-acc. sg.) : I, 3.6 ; 8.4 ; 11.9 ; 12.2, 5 ; 13.2 ; II, 22.2 ; IV, 3.6, 8 ; 11.1 ; V, 2.1 ; 6.2 ; 7.2 ; 10.4, 6 ; 12.2 ; 13.2 ; 14.2 ; 15.2 ; 16.2 ; 17.2 ; 18.1 ; VI, 2.4 ; 5.1 ; VII, 4.2 ; 7.1 ; 9.1, 2 ; 10.1 ; 26.1. *-nena* (instr. sg.) : VI, 7.6 ; 8.4. *-nasya* (gen. sg.) : I, 8.4 ; 10.6 ; VI, 4.1-4, 6 ; VII, 4.2 ; 9.1, 2. *-nāt* (abl. sg.) : VI, 8.4 ; VII, 9.2 ; 10.1. *-ne* (loc. sg.) : I, 3.6.

107. ANNAPATI, m. : possessor of food. *-te* (vcc. sg.) : I, 12.5.

1. सच्च त्यच्चाभवत् । निरुक्तं चानिरुक्तं च । निलयनं चानिलयनं च । विज्ञानं चाविज्ञानं च । सत्यं चानृतं च ।

“... though the Brahman has in this way been described as ‘*anṛta*’, the word *anṛta* does not mean false or unreal ; .. in the Taittirīyopaniṣad... it is stated that ‘this *anṛta* (invisible) Brahman is the *pratiṣṭhā* (support) of the world, that it does not depend on anything else, and that he who has realised this need not fear anything.’” (B. G. TILAK. *Gītā-Rahasya*, I, p. 337 ; Poona, 1935. Transl. by B.S. SUKTHANKAR.) See A. M. PIZZAGALLI—E. G. CARPANI, *Taittirīya-Upaniṣad* (Italian Translation with Critical Notes), *Philosophical Series*, 1, Italian Branch of the Indian Res Institute.

108. ANNAPĀNA, n. : food and drink. *-ne* (nom. du.) : VIII, 27
109. ANNAPĀNALOKA, m. : the world of food and drink. *-kena* (instr. sg.) : VIII, 2.7.
110. ANNAPĀNALOKAKĀMA, a. : desirous of the world of food and drink. *-mas* (nom. sg. m.) : VIII, 2.7.
111. ANNAMAYA, a. : composed of food. *-yam* (nom. sg. n.) : VI, 5.4 ; 6.5 ; 7.6.
112. ANNAVANT, a. : having food. *-vān* (nom. sg. m.) : I, 3.7 ; 13.4 ; II, 8.3. *-vatas* (acc. pl.) : VII, 9.2.
113. ANNĀDA, a. : eating food. *-das* (nom. sg. m.) : I, 3.7 ; 13.4 ; II, 8.3 ; 12.2 ; 14.2 ; III, 13.1, 3 ; IV, 3.8. *-dāi* (nom. sg. f.) : IV, 3.8.
114. ANNĀDYA, n. : food ; food in general. *-yam* (nom. sg.) : III, 1.3 ; 2.2 ; 3.2 ; 4.2 ; 5.2 ; 13.1, 3 ; VI, 2.4. *-yena* (instr. sg.) : V, 19.2 ; 20.2 ; 21.2 ; 22.2 ; 23.2.
115. ANYA, a. : another ; another person ; other. *-yas* (nom. sg. m.) : I, 1.6 ; VII, 24.2. *-yat* (nom.-acc. sg. n.) : II, 21.3 ; VII, 24.1 ; VIII, 3.2. *-yam* (acc. sg. m.) : V, 11.3. *-yasmai* (dat. sg.) : III, 11.6. *-yasya* (gen. sg.) : I, 1.6. *-yasmīn* (loc. sg.) : VII, 24.2. *-ye* (nom. pl. m.) : I, 10.2 ; 12.2 ; IV, 3.8 ; 9.2. *-yāni* (nom. pl. n.) : I, 3.5. *-yās* (nom. pl. f.) : VIII, 6.6. *-yān* (acc. pl. m.) : I, 11.2 ; IV, 10.1.
116. ANYATARA, a. : either of two ; one of two. *-rā* (nom. sg. f.) : IV, 16.3, 4. *-rām* (acc. sg. f.) : IV, 16.2, 3.
117. ANYATRA, adv. : elsewhere. VI, 8.2, 4, 6 ; VIII, 11.3 ; 15.1.
118. ANYATHĀ, adv. : otherwise. VII, 25.2.
119. ANYARĀJAN, a. : having another as sovereign. *-jānas* (nom. pl. m.) : VII, 25.2.
120. ANYĀDRŚA, a. : of another kind. *-śās* (nom. pl. m.) : IV, 14.2.
121. ANVĀYATTA, a. : in accordance with. *-tā* (nom. sg. f.) : I, 10.9-11 ; 11.4-9. *-tās* (nom. pl. m.) : II, 9.2-8 ; III, 16.1, 3, 5. *-tāni* (nom. pl. n.) : II, 9.2, 4.

(To be continued.)

ROUND THE MEHARauli INSCRIPTION

By

O. STEIN

The personality of a ruler, named Candra, in the Meharauli inscription, on the iron pillar near the Qutb Minār,¹ has formed the subject of many discussions and recently a new interpretation has been added.² There existed till now three main hypotheses with regard to the ruler, mentioned in the short, *kāvya*-like written record. While the former views saw in the Candra either Candragupta I or II of the Gupta dynasty, to the earlier age of which the palæography would point, or Candravarman, known from the Mandasor and Susuniā inscriptions, a contemporary of Samudragupta, by whom he was vanquished, but re-instated, the latest view brought forward proposes to identify him with Candragupta of the Maurya dynasty. It is only in connection with other views, expressed by the same author, that we proceed in this paper to consider such a hypothesis; it is difficult to decide whether one should wonder more at the suggestion of such a hypothesis or its detailed exposition.

The reasons brought forward for an identification of Candra in the Meharauli inscription with Candragupta of the Maurya dynasty are: Candragupta did not inherit a big empire, but conquered by his own efforts at least the whole of India; there is no doubt that a considerable part of the country south beyond the Vindhya (!) was also included in the Maurya empire, and as it is certain that Aśoka did not conquer it, it was either Candragupta or his son Bindusāra. The author decides himself for the former, referring to V. A. SMITH and RAYCHAUDHURI.⁴ To these arguments DR. SETH adds a passage from the *Mahāvamsa*⁵ and *Mudrārākṣasa*, Act III, verse 19 and 21). Further, he refers to his paper⁶ in which he has shown, as he asserts, that Candragupta's empire extended beyond modern Afghanistan and included considerable parts of Eastern Persia as well as considerable parts of Central Asia, so that the statement in the Meharauli inscription that the ruler has crossed the seven tributaries of the Indus and

1. The best description of the pillar is given by V. A. SMITH, *JRAS* 1897, I ff. An illustration of the upper part of the pillar is found in COOMARASWAMY, *Geschichte der indischen und indones. Kunst*, Fig. 150. A full picture in FERGUSSON-BURGESS, *History of Indian Architecture* (2nd ed.) II, 207f. Fig. 370.

2. DR. H. C. SETH, *Journal of Indian History* XVI, 1937, 117ff.

3. *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 149; but see below note 23.

4. *Political History of India*, 183ff., who gives references to S. KRISHNASWAMY AIYANGAR'S *Beginnings of South Indian History*.

5. V, 16f.

6. *IHQ* XIII, 1937, 400ff.

conquered the Bāhlikas (Bactrians) will be true. His overthrowing of the confederated enemies in Vaṅga may refer to his overthrow of Nanda and his campaigns further east. Thus the pillar inscription "can apply to none so well and correctly as to the great founder of the illustrious Maurya dynasty."

The opening argument which declares that a considerable part of the country south beyond the Vindhya was included in the Maurya empire and that it is certain that Aśoka did not conquer it, lacks any proof. All that can be said positively is that the first Maurya emperor Candragupta established his reign in Pāṭaliputra, Magadha, and that this realm extended probably through the whole northern part of India. This is to be inferred from the reminiscence in Rudradāman's Junāgaḍh inscription (line 8)² that under Candragupta the *rāṣṭriya* Vaiśya Puṣyagupta had constructed the dam of the late Sudarśana, a work which was repeated under Aśoka by his governor Yavanarāja Tuṣāspha, under Rudradāman by the Pahlava Suviśākha, and, as another inscription reveals, under Skandagupta by Paṇḍadatta's son Cakrapālita.³ As the locality of that lake leads to Surāṣṭra, into the neighbourhood of Grinagara, the modern Junāgaḍh, where, along with Aśoka's inscriptions those of Rudradāman and Skandagupta are incised in the very same rock, the realm of Candragupta must have extended from Magadha in the East to Surāṣṭra, Kathiawar, in the west, apart from the conclusions to be derived from the indications in the records of classical authors about the peace between the Indian ruler and Seleukos I Nikator. The inference from the mentioning of the dam-reconstruction under Aśoka holds good for this ruler's time and, as no war seems to have intervened, for the latter's father, Bindusāra. For an extension of the Maurya empire under Candragupta to the South DR. SETH refers to DR. RAYCHAUDHURI's statements, namely, that Plutarch and Justin say Candragupta had overrun and subdued the whole of India, or, was in possession of India, respectively. It is doubtful, whether the words of Plutarch (Alex. 62, 2) and of Justin (XV, 4, 20) can be taken literally, as for the authors—as sometimes for modern authors too—India means northern India. That these two authors had any geographical knowledge of the country and a possibility or even intention to state exactly the extension of the dominion of Candragupta at all, may be doubted. For, till the times of the geographer Ptolemaios (2nd cent. A.D.) the real form of India is misrepresented, and if the authors speak of Alexander's subjugation of India, they do not differentiate between northern and southern India, as even the historians of Alexander's time knew only the former. The reference to Māmulanār, stating the invasion of a great army,

1. *JIH* XVI, 127.

2. *Ep. Ind.* VIII, 43.

3. *CII* III, 58ff. The view that Paṇḍadatta has been an Iranian as the late CHARPENTIER (*JRAS* 1928, 904f.) suggested, is not likely in view of his son's

led by "Vambar Moriyar," a Maurya upstart, is neither chronologically reliable nor historically of any value, as no name is given.

The expression "Vambar Moriyar"¹ has been interpreted by Tamil scholars in various ways. While some explain *vamba* as "new,"² others take the word in the meaning "bastard"³ or "unsettled."⁴ Again the Vaḍukas, known to be the vanguard of the Moriyar in their war, helping the Kośar, against the chief of Mohūr, are said to be "Northerners", but as they are believed to be the modern Badagas of the Nilgiris,⁵ the view that they came from the western coast,⁶ appears quite plausible. As for the Kośar who have been tried to be identified with the Satiyaputas of Aśoka's 2nd rock-inscription,⁷ their home has been perhaps the Tuḷu country which points to the North of the Tamil country and would explain their designation.⁸ The odes of Tamil poets do not contain an allusion that a Moriya line ruled over the Tamil country,⁹ and if there is any explanation possible then only that the Moriya must be the Mauryas of the Koṅkaṇa.¹⁰ The connection of Moriyar with the Nandas in Ahanānūru 251 may be a reminiscence, but the term *vamba*, if it means "new", is evidently a hint to the new line, i.e. the Koṅkaṇa line, of the Mauryas. The passage in Mā-mūlar-ār 265 about the wealth of the Nandas which has been swept away by a flood of the Ganges,¹¹ has been declared as 'wrong together.'¹²

Nowhere is it stated that Candragupta or Bindusāra extended their realm to the South, though achievements of this kind have been ascribed to

1. Cf. *CHI* I, 596.

2. Lastly V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, *The Mauryan Polity* 58ff

3. *CHI* I, c.

4. T. N. SUBRAMANIAM, *JRAS* 1923, 93ff., S. S. DESIKAR, also translates "unstable" *IHQ* IV, 141.

5. V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR also says so, *Indian Culture* I, 99 as before him K. G. ŚARKAR, *JRAS* 1924, 667 THURSTON, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* I, 67: 'The name Badaga or Vadugan means northerner, and the Badagas are believed to be descended from Canarese colonists from the Mysore country, who migrated to the Nilgiris three centuries ago', their number is given (p. 63) as 34,178 in 1901. *Ibid.* VII, 266 s. v. Vadugan (180,884 individuals in 1891) is said the word means "a native of the northern or Telugu country"

6. ŚARKAR, I, c. 666.

7. DIKSHITAR, *Ind. Cult.* I, 100f.

8. Against their identification with the Satiyaputas and that the Kośar occupied Tuḷuva in the early centuries of the Christian era see B. A. SALETORE, *Ancient Karmāṭaka*, Poona 1936, I, 48ff.

9. S. S. DESIKAR, *IHQ* IV, 145, where the discussions are referred to. Also K. G. SETHA AIYAR, *Cera Kings of the Sangam Period*, London 1937, denies an invasion of the Mauryas in Southern India, as to be seen from the review by U. N. GHOSHAL, *IHQ* XIII, 366.

10. ŚARKAR, I, c. 667; P. T. SRINIVAS IYENGAR, *History of the Tamils*, Madras 1929, 522.

11. DIKSHITAR, *The Mauryan Polity* 61ff.

12. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, *Beginnings of South Indian History* 206, as quoted in *IHQ* IV, 136f.

the latter, on insufficient grounds.¹ For Candragupta, however, the argument, used by LASSEN,² still holds good to some extent, that the military forces only of southern peoples are mentioned in the list of peoples and kingdoms, going back apparently to Megasthenes; thus these people did not belong to the Maurya Empire under Candragupta. This tallies with the fact of the war which Aśoka waged against the Kalingas, a people described by Megasthenes (Plinius, n. h. VI, 66) as independent, so that even under Bindusāra they have not been permanently subdued, if ever before Aśoka. It has been asserted that certain Mysore inscriptions refer to Candragupta's rule in North Mysore; that is an exaggeration. The Nāgakhanda inscription (Shikarpur Tāluq) belongs, as stated by DR. RAYCHAUDHURI on the authority of RICE, to the 14th cent. A.D. and says nothing positively for Candragupta Maurya; and if DR. RAYCHAUDHURI and DR. SETH have perhaps in mind the Śravaṇa Belgola inscription, that inscription has been shown as of no historical value with regard to the first Maurya emperor.³ A passage from the *Mahāvamsa* V, 16f. that the Brāhmaṇa Cānakka anointed a glorious youth, known by the name of Candragupta, as king over all Jambudvīpa, ranks with the reports of the classical authors, mentioned above, and has, considering the facts under Aśoka, no weight as referring to an extension of the realm to the South. DR. SETH quotes two passages from the *Mudrārākṣasa*, which, however, do not state if a passage in a drama, composed centuries later than the main figure of it lived, is able to state anything—the extent of the dominion, but contain only the wishes of Cānakya, as the answer of Candragupta (after III, 19) shows. The second passage (III, 24) mentions in a conventional form the extent of the dominion up to the four oceans.

1. JAYASWAL, *JBORS* 2, 79ff., GAWRONSKI, *Roczn. Orientalist* 2, 26f.

2. *Ind. Alt* II (2nd ed.) 219f., *CHI* I, 473f. By the way, DR. SETH quotes, as remarked, SMITH, *Early History* p. 149 in favour of his view that Candragupta subjugated Southern India, firstly, the quotation is incomplete, as SMITH in the preceding lines believes it more probably that Bindusāra extended his reign to the South; secondly, the quotation is taken from the 3rd edition, while in the last edition, according to which it is a custom to quote, the late author holds it more probable that the conquest of the south was the work of Bindusāra than that it was effected by his busy father (4th ed., p. 157).

3. *Mysore and Coorg*, 10.

4. Cf. *Archiv. Orient.* I, 369, n. 3; SMITH, *Early History* 154 is disposed to believe that the tradition probably is true in its main outline, but the epigraphical support is far from conclusive. SHANTILAL SHAH, *The Traditional Chronology of the Jains* (Bonner Orientalist. Studien 9), Stuttgart 1935, 45ff. arrives at the conclusion that "the stories of Candragupta Maurya and Śrutakevalin Bhadrabāhu are productions of popular fancy." On the same sources, on *Plutarch* and the *Mysore inscriptions*, B. L. BHARGAVA founds his view that the ruler did conquer a considerable part of the Deccan. cf. *Chandragupta Maurya*, Lucknow 1935, 37.

5. The same is said of Aśoka V, 20.

6. For *nāśāsya*tc exist vv. 11.

DR. SETH bases his identification of the ruler Candra in the Meharauli inscription with Candragupta of the Maurya dynasty on a paper of his in which he tried to show that the dominion of Candragupta included Afghanistan and considerable parts of Eastern Persia and of Central Asia. Therefore the statement in the inscription that he crossed the seven tributaries of the Indus and conquered Bāhlikas (Bactrians) is the "bare truth".

In this paper alluded to,¹ DR. SETH starts with Aśoka's inscriptions as far as they mention the peoples Gandhāras, Kambojas, Yonas and Nābhakas, then he uses again the *Mudrārākṣasa* and refers to two other papers of his.² But neither can the people of the North-West who are mentioned in Aśoka's inscriptions, prove anything for the time of Candragupta, as they do not rank with the subjects of his dominion,³ nor are to be found there the Pārasikas who are supposed to have been conquered by Candragupta according to the *Mudrārākṣasa*. The surmise that Candragupta is to be identified with Śaśigupta (Sisikottos)⁴ and belonged therefore to Gandhāra, is absurd. One may not trust Plutarch much, but on the whole he might be chronologically right when he records that Candragupta as a boy has seen Alexander.⁵ Sisikottos partook already in the usurpation of Bessos, afterwards joining Alexander by whom he was installed, after the capture of the Aornos citadel, as commander there; thus he must have been an adult man already in 330 B.C., as he made politics at that time on

1. *IHQ* XIII, 400ff.

2. *ABORI* 1937 (not available) and *IHQ* XIII, 361f, that according to the former inscription the Yonas, Kambojas and Gandhāras seem to belong to the borders; he believes that XIII shows them included in the dominion proper. But that is not correct; for, on the latter passage (line 8f. Kālsī) the iteration of *hevam evā* shows that the king as with other peoples, mentioned before, so also in his own realm he has won his victory, consisting in *dhamma*. With the *Yona-Kambojeṣu* begins a new sentence, and they are summed up by *savatā* and ranked with those where his envoys do not go. As he stated before (line 38) that there do not exist Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, it is obvious that the king nevertheless sent messages to them; the Yonas are the representatives of those peoples, mentioned afterwards. How Aśoka behaved towards those borderers, has been pointed out in *CHI* I, 514f., referring to *Jaug Sep.* II, lines 5-7.

3. BHANDARKAR (*Aśoka*, 2nd ed., p. 29 and 312) believes the peoples, occurring in Rock inscriptions V and XIII as "subject peoples, occupying some of the frontier districts of Aśoka's empire". While he (p. 312) admits.

4. The Sanskrit equivalent Śaśigupta is not even sure. CHARPENTIER, *JRAS* 1928, 902ff. explains the name as Śisugupta, but does not exclude an Iranian origin. For Iranian names, formed with Sisi, cf. JUSTI, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 303f. DR. SETH goes so far to assert (*IHQ* XIII, 411, referring to his paper in the "*Indian Review*", June 1937) that Candragupta was responsible for driving Alexander out of India. That is more than any student who has once read the history of Alexander's invasion in India, will be ready to take seriously. Of the same value are the etymologies, e.g. Komaroi Komedai in *Ptolem.* VI, 13, 3, which are explained as *Kom + Rāi* and *Kom + Dev* respectively (*IHQ* XIII, 1937, 403); similar are the derivations of other people's names.

5. *Arch. Orient.* I, 367.

the Persian side. Unintelligible is the inference that, if the Maurya empire extended to the highlands of Balkh, Badakshan and Pamir, the Tibetan traditions are correct "that even the adjoining region now known as Chinese Turkistan was also within the Mauryan empire" (p. 412). "These stories seem to be merely mythological explanations of the fact that the ancient civilization of Khotan was derived from both India and China," says SMITH,¹ on whose remarks about the Tibetan traditions that amazing statement is based. But even granted that Aśoka had some political connection with Khotan, that would prove nothing for the incorporation of Chinese Turkistan into his dominion and still less into that of Candragupta. Reliable sources, Chinese specially, have nothing to tell about an Indian regime in Chinese Turkistan in the 4th and 3rd century B.C. Thus constructing the extent of Candragupta's realm in the North, DR. SETH explains the crossing of the seven tributaries of the Indus and the conquering of the Bāhlikas (Bactrians). The *sapta mukhāni Sindhor* in the Meharauli inscription are to be taken as the seven rivers which formed the source of the Indus, according to Ptolemy. Even the perusal of MCCRINDLE's translation (ed. MAJUMDAR, p. 81) must have shown that Ptolem. VII, 1, 26f. does not mention seven rivers as the *sources* of the Indos, but enumerates the order of the rivers which are confluent of the Indos and come from the Imaos mountain. Of these, seven in number, again their own sources are given and the confluence of the rivers (VII, I, 27). Notwithstanding the apparent mistakes in Ptolemy's description of the river system of the Indus, he never believed these rivers to be the sources of the Indus, as he states the longitude and latitude of his source (VII, 1, 26) by 120°30' and 37° (ed. RENOU) respectively. It is questionable whether *sapta mukhāni* means at all the seven sources", or, rather "the seven mouths"²; most probably the expression means the Punjab, being a *kāvya*-like circumscription of the many rivers there and perhaps a reminiscence of the *sapta sindhavaḥ*.³ However that may be, it is a fact that even in Aśoka's inscriptions the ethnonym Vāhlika is not found, which is to be expected there, if Candragupta had subjugated the people and as other peoples of the North-West are mentioned in his grandson's inscriptions. That the overthrowing of the confederated enemies in Vaṅga may refer to the overthrow of Nanda is impossible. Under the quite natural supposition that the victories, mentioned in the Meharauli inscription, are arranged in a chronological order, such an explanation would contradict the hypothesis of DR. SETH, who⁴ suggested that Candragupta overthrew Nanda with the help of Śakas, Yavanas, Kirātas, Kambojas, Pārasikas and Vāhlikas, as the war in Vaṅga is mentioned before the overthrowing of the Vāhlika. Apart from this, the sources say nothing of a war be-

1. *Early History*, 203.

2. Thus also ALLAN, *Catal. Gupta Coins* XXXVI; L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Dynasties et Histoire de l'Inde depuis Kanishka* 50.

3. Cf. *Vedic Index* II, 424.

4. *IHQ* XIII, 409ff.

tween confederated peoples and Nanda on one side, and Candragupta on the other side ; rather, the stories about the beginning of Candragupta's career point to his gaining slowly more and more followers till he could get so much power to ascend the throne, appearing as a liberator too.

The other arguments of DR. SETH are less of a historical character : that Candra of the Meharauli inscription ruled a big empire like Candragupta ; that the type and size of the iron pillar implies a very advanced stage of the development of the industrial arts, is an illusory argument. For, though the so-called Kautiliya *Arthaśāstra* may show mining and metallurgy including the melting of iron as well advanced in the supposed time of Candragupta Maurya, even granted for that sake, that the work has as its author the prime-minister of Candragupta, the fact that Aśoka did not use iron pillars, is remarkable. An explanation that only Candragupta did it is insufficient, if nothing of this kind of pillars has been found as yet of his time, of his son or grandson, and as must be added, of later times. The "Persian" form of the pillar (that means of the capital) does not exclude a later date.¹ The position of the pillar in the neighbourhood of which two pillars of Aśoka have been found and have been removed to their present position by Firoz Shah, cannot prove that Candragupta erected his pillar in the centre of his realm. For, if such comparisons are of any value, Aśoka erected pillars not only in the centre, but also in all provinces and parts of his dominion ; the real centre of the Maurya empire was Magadha ; the contents of the Meharauli inscription are not of that kind to need, like an important political and historical record, an erection at the geographical centre ; lastly, the present position is not the original spot where the pillar once had its founding. DR. SETH did not take into consideration that Aśoka never used Sanskrit, all his inscriptions are not only in different Prākṛit-dialects, but also entirely in prose, while here Sanskrit and the Śārdūlavikṛidita metre are used.

From HILLEBRANDT's edition of the *Mudrārāksasa* from which DR. SETH quotes, he could have seen that just the passage VII, 16, where the abbreviation Candra is used for Candragupta, is not found in those Mss., which HILLEBRANDT (Introd. p. IV) marked as belonging to the second group, containing the best and most reliable text. A veiled reference to Viṣṇugupta in line 6 of the Meharauli inscription (*prañidhāya ... Viṣṇo matim*) presupposes a short-name for Viṣṇugupta which nobody would have understood, apart from the question whether such short-names, which may not be confounded with the exceptional short forms on coins, have been in vogue in ancient India as in modern times ; for, the name in ancient India as in other

1. SMITH, *JRAS* 1897, 5 and note 3. An iron pillar exists at Dhār, from 1591-92, with a Persian inscription of Akbar ; one is said (*Encyclop. Brit.* 14th ed. 12, 681) to exist at Mount Abu (probably as a column) ; on the iron pillar on Kaṁiṣka's stūpa cf. BEAL, *Buddhist Records* I, CIV ; on the iron beams in Konarak see FERGUSON-BURGESS II, 107 ; on the Dhār pillar II, 247.

cultures was a kind of mysterium and formed one of the *Śaṁskāras*. Such a suggested pun in the inscription is impossible from the context which points clearly to the god in honour of which the pillar with the (now lost) figure was erected, and would mean an offence of the god which the pious ruler would not have intended to commit. The sentence cannot be translated "following with devotion the counsel of Viṣṇu (gupta)," as neither *matī* means "counsel" nor *praṇidhā* "follow"; though *Viṣṇo* is a clerical mistake for *Viṣṇau*, it is easier to explain than the omission of *r* in the suggested reading *Viṣṇor*; further the veiled reference to Viṣṇugupta pre-supposes the original sense with regard to the god, and here the expression *matim praṇidhā* needs the supplementary object in the locative. That remoteness of the events is indicated by the use of *adyāpi* in lines two and four and by the use of *āhvena*, is not convincing, as the inscription has been believed by most of the scholars hitherto as posthumous; in no case can it prove that Candragupta Maurya is meant by Candra in the inscription.

The main difficulty of DR. SETH's hypothesis, the palæographical state of the inscription, is tried to be removed by the explanation that the iron pillar was erected by Candragupta, and that the inscription put by him was blurred out in course of time. This is a contradiction to his former statement (p. 127) that the present inscription on the iron pillar was put on the pillar after Candragupta's death. Even granted that Samudragupta, as DR. SETH proceeds to explain the gap between Candragupta's time and the palæography of the inscription, had put the present inscription on the iron pillar, there arise some questions: if that original inscription was blurred out, such an assumption pre-supposes that the original inscription must also have been incised after the death of Candragupta, as DR. SETH stressed the remoteness of the events (p. 129); or, the present text of the inscription cannot be the same as that of the original. Further, inscriptions in stone since the time of Aśoka are quite well preserved; as to be seen from the lithograph in *CII* III, PL. XXI a, the "engraving is good; but in the process of it, the metal closed up over some of the strokes (*CII* III, p. 140); nevertheless, no vestiges of a former inscription are to be seen and it is not probable that such a one should have been blurred out within the time between Candragupta Maurya and Samudragupta, but not between that of the latter and the present day. Why should Samudragupta have put, conceding to him such a liking for a "revival of the glorious tradition", an inscription referring to this "mysterious"¹ emperor Candra, so that nobody could understand who this emperor might have been and who is still a riddle to modern historical research? And who can at all assert that Samudragupta is the author of the present text or even only of the revival of the text? There are so many questions which DR. SETH does not discuss, except in general sentences about the revival of a glorious tradition. Lastly, as mentioned

1. FLEET, *CII* III, Intro. p. 12.

above, the use of Sanskrit in the inscription points to a time not earlier than the second century A.D., so that for that reason also Samudragupta's text must have differed from Candragupta's original, apart from the characters which belong to the Gupta time.

It is to be seen with what right DR. SETH can claim to have based his hypothesis of an identification of the Candra in the Meharauli inscription with Candragupta Maurya on sound reasons.

Two terms in the Meharauli inscription would deserve a closer consideration: the geographical term *Vaṅga* and the ethnical appellation *Vāhlika*. Both of them are connected with historical events, about which nothing as yet has come to light. *Vaṅgāḥ*, the plural of a people's name, is found in a curious compound in *Ait. Ār.* II, 1, 1; in *Baudh. Dh.* I, 1, 14 and *Ath. Paris.* I, 7, 7. Common to all these passages is the occurrence of *Vaṅga* in connection with other peoples, among which such of the East are found too. In the Meharauli inscription *Vaṅgesu* must have the sense of the country, i. e. a part of present Bengal. Such a use of *Vaṅga* is late, certainly later than the time of Candragupta Maurya who would have used Magadha as the country of the battle. In Patañjali's *Mbh.* the plural of the people's name can be used, according to the *Vārttikakāra* as the name of the country.¹ In Harṣa's time again, as to be seen from Hiuen-Tsiang's itinerary, present Bengal and Bihar were divided in seven parts.² From the epigraphical point of view the Meharauli inscription offers the first mention of *Vaṅga* as a country, without the *Aṅga*, *Kaliṅga*, *Suhma* etc. as is the case also in later inscriptions. But it is not clear which part of present Bengal may be meant by the term, which otherwise denotes Eastern Bengal.

Vāhlika again has hardly anything to do with Balkh. That Candragupta should have conquered the ancient Bactria, is out of question. He could have done so only after Alexander's raid on Bactria. The satraps Amyntas, Philippos, Stanasor are known from the sources till the partition of the dominion at Triparadeisos 321 B.C.; afterwards Bactria fell to the share of Seleukos I Nikator;³ the country remained with the dynasty of the Seleucids till the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C., when, apparently the younger, Diodotos, the son of the "prefect of the thousand cities", revolted under Antiochos I and built up his own kingdom.⁴ Thus there is no space left for a reign of Candragupta Maurya, which would also contradict the evidence,

1. II, 4, 62, V. 1, 4; IV, 1, 170, V. 1; IV, 3, 120, V. 5; especially IV, 2, 52, V. 1.

2. Cf. H. C. RAY, *The Dynastic History of Northern India* I, 277f.; S. K. CHATTERJI, *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* I, 70ff.

3. For the satraps see the histories by DROYSEN, BELOCH; BERVE, DAS ALEXANDERREICH II, nos. 60, 29, (216, 219), 785, 719; *Arrian* (ed. ROOS) II, p. 266, fgt. 1, 36; JUSTIN XV, 4, 11.

4. JUSTIN XLI, 4, 5; *CHI* I, 435ff., referring to the coins. Also STRABO XV, 1, 3 mentions that Eukratides had 1000 cities under himself.

borne by the effigies and legends of the coins. For the meaning Vāhlika it is difficult to decide whether a people and which people should be understood. There exists a confusion, as it seems, between the different forms Bāhlika, Bāhlika, Vāhika etc. It is, however, noteworthy that PARGITER¹ has differentiated between a people of the North and one of the Punjab, both called Vāhlika ; but the readings in the passages of the *Mhbh.* and *Rām.* are so unreliable that it is difficult to arrive at definite conclusions. In Varāhamihira's *Bṛhats.* (V, 37, 80 ; IX, 10 ; X, 7 ; XVI, 1 ; XVII, 13, 25 ; XXXII, 15) the forms Vāhlika, Vāhlika, Vahlika, Vahlika, Vāhlika, Vāhlika are found, sometimes in connection with eastern peoples ; according to Parāśara the Bāhlika are located in the South-West.² Though in an inscription of Taxila of the year 136³ a Bahalia from Noaca occurs, which place seems to point to Balkh, Bactria, there is no proof that later on Vāhlika etc means this country.⁴

In the recent discussions⁵ on the identification of the Viṣṇupada, where the Meharauli pillar is stated to have been erected, the vicinity of the Vipāśā in passages from both the Epics has been referred to. According to Yādavaprakāśa's *Vaijayanti* (ed. OPPERT) 37, 53f. the Bāhlika, are Ṭarkas, the Vāhlika identical with the Vāhikas. The Ṭarkas again appear as Ṭakvas in Hemac. *Abhidh.* 959, where they are said to be another name for the Vāhikas. This people of the Ṭarka or Ṭakva are the Ṭakka. Passing over the many passages in the *Rājatar.*, Huen-Tsiang⁶ offers the possibility of a location of their settlements. He mentions the soldiers of Tse-kia, a country which he entered on his way from Rājapura in a south-eastern direction and which he reached after a journey of 700 *li* and crossing a river. It was 10,000 *li* in circuit and lay between the river *P'i-po-she* (Bibas = Vipāśā) in the East and the Indus in the West. Also the *Dharaṇkośa*⁷ identifies the Vāhika with Ṭakka, as has to be read there. The equation Bāhlika = Ṭarka, Vāhlika = Vāhika, in the *Vaijayanti*, and Vāhika = Ṭakva, Vāhlika = Valhika, shows that the Vāhlika are also Vāhika, i.e. Ṭakka. These Ṭakka seem to belong to the Āraṭṭas, and all these peoples, less rigid in their Brāhmanical faith or altogether staying outside the religious and social frame

1. *Mārk. Purāṇa* transl. p. 311, n.

2. KIRFEL, *Die Kosmographie der Inder* 86.

3. *CII* II, Part 1, p. 74f.

4. The material seems to point that the word has undergone a change of meaning between the Taxila and Meharauli inscriptions, Bāhlika has been identified with Bāhika or rather *vice versa* ; the Bahlika of the *Ath. Veda* are still to be explained.

5. *ABORI* VIII, 172ff. ; *Ind. Culture* I, 515 ; *JIH* XVI, 15ff. ; *Ind. Culture* III, 511ff. *Journal of the Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.* X, 1937, 86ff. CH. CHAKRAVARTY, J. C. GHOSH, DASHARATHA SHARMA, D. R. BHANDARKAR respectively.

6. BEAL, *Buddhist Records* I, 165 ; WATTERS, *On Yuan Chwang's travels* I, 286.

7. ZACHARIAE, *Beitr. z. ind. Lexik.* 16.

of Āryāvarta, belong to the Punjab. It is possible that Vāhlika of the inscription denotes the people of the Punjab and Sind, which latter province the "seven mouths" of the Sindhu seem to imply. That the mouths and not tributaries are to be understood, is likely with regard to the "Southern ocean", which does not point to the Deccan, but rather to the coast of the Indus delta.

As for the historical interpretation of the Meharauli inscription the proposals made hitherto are not convincing. It seems better to acknowledge the impossibility of identifying the ruler named Candra of that inscription on account of the lack of sources than to force it into the Procrustes-bed of an identity with a brother of Mihirakula,¹ Candragupta I,² Candragupta II,³ Candravarman,⁴ apart from Candragupta Maurya, attempts which show already the uncertainty. Neither can the indications, contained in the Meharauli inscription, be applied to one of these rulers, nor can they be said to have done the acts of the hero of the inscription. The posthumous character of the inscription has been contested in the last papers,⁵ as yet with no convincing arguments. Not only no titles of the late ruler are given, but also no pedigree and no country where he reigned are offered by the panegyric inscription. This does not prove that Candra was no longer on the throne. But even the panegyric tenor of the *praśasti* must not mislead to the assumption of a ruler of great power. The "mysterious" inscription will still, as it has been, remain an open field of rich conjectures.

1. FLEET, *CII* III, Introd. p. 12f.

2. Ibid. Text p. 140, n. 1 ; R. BASAK, *Ind. Ant.* 48, 1919, 98ff

3. HOERNLE, *Ind. Ant.* 21, 42ff. ; V. A. SMITH, *JRAS* 1897, 1ff. ; DASHARATHA SHARMA, *JIH* XVI, 1937, 13f.

4. MM. HARAPRASAD SHASTRI, *Ind. Ant.* 42, 217f., referring to N. N. VASU, *Proc. ASB* 1895, 177ff. R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.* XIV, 367ff. ; SMITH, *Early History* (4th ed.) 307, n. 1 ; N. BHATTASALI, *Ep. Ind.* XVIII, 86 ; S. K. CHATTERJI, 1. c. I, 75f. denies the identification.

5. BHANDARKAR, *Ind. Cult.* 3, 511 = *JAHS* X, 86 ; D. SHARMA, *JIH* XVI, 17f.

NOTES ON THE KATHA UPANIṢAD.*

By

ANAND K. COOMARASWAMY

FOURTH VALLĪ

IV. 1 *khāni vyatīṇat ... āvṛtta-caḥśur*, : see above on III. 1 and the discussion in *IHQ*. XI, 1935. *Khāni vyatīṇat* is fully elucidated by MU. II 6 where Prajāpati, desiring to partake of his purposes (*arthān*),¹ "breaks open these doorways (of perception), and now arisen, by means of his five rays eats of the objects of the senses" (*khānīmāni bhītvoditaḥ pañcabhir raśmi-*

* The two previous instalments of this paper have appeared in the April and May issues, pp. 43 ff. and 83 ff.

1. Cf. KU. III, 10 where the "objects" (*arthāḥ*) are prior to the sense-powers themselves (*indriyebhyaḥ parāḥ*). The word *artha* corresponds exactly to Late Latin *intentio*, of which the meaning is in the first place "object" as "purpose" foreseen, and in the second place "object" as that which is actually seen (*intentio visibilis*). The "object" as foreseen is evidently prior to the being in act of the organ by means of which it is actually or accidentally seen. But more than this is implied in our texts. Observe that what is being discussed here is not "the eye's intrinsic faculty" according to which "I" see by a physical light reflected from the "object", but the manner in which God (*Svayambhū* in KU. IV. 1 = *yo bhūtebhir vyapaśyata* in KU. IV. 6, Prajāpati in MU. II. 6) sees in me. What my eye sees is a simple aspect of which I have no knowledge, but only a sensation; but what God sees in me is the idea of the object by which he both knows it and gives it being. Insofar as "I" see an already existing object, its being does not depend on "me"; but insofar as my vision coincides with His, *esse est percipi*. Insofar as I see empirically, what I see is accidental; insofar as I see with (*anupaś*) His ray (*raśmi*), for the sake of which the eye is really opened ("subtract the mind, and the eye is opened to no purpose", ECKHART) I see the thing as it is in Him, rather than as it is in itself.

Our texts, inasmuch as they are dealing with His manner of seeing, employ the traditional (Neo-Platonic as well as Indian, etc.) interpretation of perception as taking place by means of a projected through the "eye", in which light the "object" itself inheres: the "eye" in this case being as it were the lens of a projector, which sees what is projected upon the screen (the "wall" of Plato's "cave") by the image-bearing light that passes through it. We see, then, as God sees, to the extent that we see not with the "eye of flesh" (*māṁsa-caḥśus*), but with the "angelic eye" (*divya-caḥśus*), "which sees in the eternal mirror, where it sees both all things and itself better than anywhere else." On the other hand, as is evident, to see God himself, and not merely some of those things which He sees the eye must be inverted (*āvṛtta-caḥśus*), so as not to look outward with the ray, but inward at its source, the *fons lucis*, and Light of lights (*jyotiṣān jyotis*); and this inverted eye is the "eye of gnosis" (*jñānacakṣus*).

*bhir*¹ *viṣayān atti*).² It is God himself that "opens the gates of the senses" (which senses are not themselves the gates, but make use of them) in order that He himself, who is the only knower and seer, may see out through them, coincidentally with ourselves who see out *with* them only, in so far as we observe only empirically, with the "eye of flesh" (*māṁsacakṣuṣā*). To the extent that we see intellectually, with the "angelic eye" (*divya-cakṣuṣā*), we see what He sees. And to the extent that we see with an "inverted eye" (*āvṛtta-cakṣuṣā*),³ i.e. with the "eye of gnosis" (*jñāna-cakṣuṣā*), along the ray to its source, we see Him, and can truly say with Eckhart (Pfeiffer. XCVI) that "that eye, with which I see God inwardly, is the same eye wherewith God sees in me;" which "seeing in me" is just what is denoted by KU. IV. 6 b, the whole verse reading "Him⁴ born of old of the glowing, who erst was born of the waters, him stationed indwelling the cavern (of the heart), who looked about in beings,—this, verily is 'That'";⁵ without any emendation of the text.

1. *Pañca raśmayah* here = *pañca jñānām* in KU. VI. 10, and *pañcendriyāṇi* or *pañca prāṇāḥ* commonly elsewhere.

Pañca jñānāni in KU. VI. 10 recalls BG. XIV. 11 "When the gnostic light arises from the doorways in the body, then may it be known that one is more in being" (*sarvadvāreṣu dehe' smin prakāśa upajāyate, jñānam yadā, tadā vidyād vivṛddham sattvam ity uta*, where *dvāra* = *kha*).

2. "A parcel of myself, even the Lord, when he taketh up his stand on hearing, vision, etc., himself enjoys the objects of the senses" (*mamaivāṁśo . īśvaraḥ . . . adhiṣṭhāya śrotam cakṣuḥ . . . viṣayān upasevate*, BG. XV. 7-9).

The situation is paralleled in the rite of the "opening of the eyes" of an image, wherewith the image is brought to life. Only when this analogous rite has been performed can one think of the Deity as looking out through the image, and of the image therefore as a connection made between the worshipping and the Deity whose image it is. It is significant that the Chinese expression for the "opening of the eyes" of an image, *k' ai kuang*, often rendered by "to light up the eyes" (and rather awkwardly by TAKACS as "' punsing the eyes', viz. painting the eyeballs") is literally "to open a ray", or "open up the pathway for a ray" *kuang* being the equivalent of Sanskrit *raśmi*, while *k'ai* can mean to "cleave" or "cut" in the sense of "cutting a path", Latin *secare viam*, while *k'ai* in combination with the character for "eye" means "to open the eyes; to gain experience." It is precisely an opening of the doorways of the senses in order that the immanent Spirit may look out of these opened windows that is meant by *khāni vyatṛṇat* in KU. IV. 1. It must also be borne in mind that in traditional optics, knowledge of an object is acquired, not by light reflected by the object seen (which produces only a reflex image in the retina, and not an understanding), but by the light of the intellect which is directed to the object through the eye; in just this way, for example, ECKHART distinguishes a seeing *with* the eye from a seeing *through* the eye.

3. RUYSBROECK's "in-staring" (*instaernde*, *Book of Supreme Truth*, Ch. XIV) —"But those who turn outwards and find consolation in outward things, do not feel this, and if I should say much more of it, yet they would not understand".

4. We take the accusatives in IV. 6 to be in apposition to those of IV. 5, which are governed by *ya . . . veda*.

5. "That", as usual, Brahman and here specifically as the Svayambhū of IV. "Who looked about in beings", or "looked out through beings", cf. AV.

One sees how utterly absurd are those modern, Indian or European, interpretations of IV. 1 which assume that it is meant that "God injured the senses" (RAWSON, p. 149, note 1) and agree with RAWSON that this is an unacceptable interpretation. We see, however, no reason to believe that this was what Śaṅkara meant by *vyatīṇat* = *himsitavān hananam kṛtāvān ity arthaḥ*, since it is not the sense-powers that are pierced (*kha* is never a "power" but always a "space" or "opening", as in AA. II. 3.3 *khāni sa ākāśaḥ*) but the gales of the senses that are, as MU. II. 6 expresses it, "broken open". With all the words meaning to "pierce", or "cleave", or "break open", which are used with *khāni* in the various parallel passages may be compared Latin *secare* in the expression *secare viam*, "to cut a way", which certainly does not mean to injure that which is to use the way. It is through the open gateways of the senses that the Inner Being, God himself, looks forth; and this assuredly does not imply any disparagement of the "world picture" that he thus "depicts for himself and delights in" (Śaṅkara, *Svātmanirūpaṇa*, 96, cf. Genesis, I. 31 "and saw that it was very good").

IV. 5 *na tato vijugupṣate*: without rejecting RAWSON'S various explanations, we suggest that the general sense is "thereafter need not fear", and the more particular sense "no longer needs to guard himself from evil doing" (JUB. IV. 25.4 *pāpāt karmaṇo jugupṣeta*, but with a negative),—parallel, therefore, to I John III. 9 "Whoever is born of God, cannot sin" and Gal. V. 18 "If you are led by the Spirit you are not under the law".

IV. 7: RAWSON introduces a great confusion by failing again to distinguish between the divine nature (*prakṛti*) that is one with essence from the separated nature (*prakṛti*) of the Sāṅkhya, i.e. the lower from the higher nature of BG. VII. 5 (*aparā* and *parā prakṛti*, corresponding to *apara* and *para brahman*)¹; by a failure to distinguish, in other words, Aditi as

XIII 2.9 "The Son of Aditi beheld all beings" (*vyakhyad aditeḥ putro bhuvanāni rīṣvā*), AA. II. 4.3 "The Spirit, born, thoroughly considered beings" (*sa jāta bhūtāny abhyaikṣat*), and BU. I. 4.1 "Scrutinising, he beheld naught other than himself" (*so 'nvīkṣya nānyadātmano 'paśyat*). It is moreover, to this way of seeing that we should aspire,—it is the "sameness of vision" that the unified-spirit enjoys when it "beholds itself stationed in all beings, and all beings in itself" (*sarvabhūta-stham ātmānam sarva-bhūtēni cātmani ikṣate*, BG. VI 29). "His sight for ours—what a goodly recompense" (Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, I. 922).

It is of course as the Supernal Sun and by means of his rays that the Self-existent sees all things; and we take it that it is precisely as the "Seer" that Ikṣvāku (Rv. X. 60.4) denotes the solar Self-existent the ancestor of Rohita (AB. VII. 15.) Bhagīratha (JUB. IV. 6.1), Bṛhadratha (MU.) and of that other *ādicca-bandhu*, the Buddha (Sn. 991).

1. BG. VII. 4 describes the Sāṅkhyan "nature": VII. 5-6 continues "This is my lower (*aparā*) nature, therefrom distinguish (*atas ... viddhi*) my transcendental nature (*prakṛtim ... parām*), living-being, whereby this moving world is kept in being *dhāryate jagat* possess of (*upadhārya* holding, bearing, etc.) and qualifying *aham*,—not as usually rendered, an imperative, cf. *Pāṇini* III. 1.38) this, the worms (*etad yoninī*) of all beings, I am the coming-forth (*prabhavaḥ*) and the dissolution of the whole moving-world". As the text im-

Magna Mater from Aditi as Mother Earth, or in Eckhart's terms, "Mary ghostly" from "Mary in the flesh". The Essence (m.) and Nature (f.) of verses 6 and 7, both referred to as *guhām praviśya*, are the *kṛṣṇaprutau* ... *sakṣitā ubhā* ... *mātarā* of RV. I. 140.3, *parikṣitā pītarā* of III. 7.1 and the "conjoint principle" of St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* I. 27.2, whence the Son proceeds "by way of generation and parturition". The Aditi of verse 7 is, of course, the Vāc of RV. VIII. 100. 10-11 and X. 125 : *guhām praviśya tiṣṭhantīm* corresponding to the question *kva svid asyāḥ paramam jagāma* of VIII. 100.10, *devatāmāyī* to *devīm*, *ib.* 11, *yā prāṇena sambhavati* to *aham eva vāta iva pravāmi* in X, 125.8, and *yā bhūtebhīr vyajāyata* to *aditir jātam aditir janitvam* in I. 89.10. As EDGERTON has observed, "Everything contained in at least the older Upaniṣads, with almost no exceptions, is not new

plies, these two Natures *aparā* and *parā* are one Nature in the same sense that the *apara* and *para brahman* are one Brahman. It is just as in Christian formulation, where there is one essence and two natures; but nature and essence are one in Him.

Aditi : Natura naturans, creatrix, Deus. Merely to say that Varuṇa's *para* Brahman's "world is the waters" to recognize that the "nature" of the Godhead is one of universal possibility, is to speak of a maternity as well as a paternity *in divinis*; and we find, accordingly, that the Brahman is repeatedly referred to as a "womb", e.g. BG. XIV. 3 *mama yonir mahad brahma* ... *sambhavaḥ sarva-bhūtānām tato bhavati*; Mund I. 1.6 and III. 1.3 *akṣaram bhūtavonim puruṣam bhūtayonim*; *Brahma Sūtra* I. 4. 7.27 *yonis ca gīyate*.

Incidentally, it may be remarked that the "two wombs" (*yonim* pl for *du* of BG. VII. 6, whether as "two natures" (*prakṛti*, f.) or as essential and separated natures (*puruṣa*, m. and *prakṛti*, f.) correspond to Varuṇa's *kuksī* in AV. IV 16.3. *samudrau jathare* in TS III. 2.2. *sarasvatyaḥ kuksyaḥ* in XIII 35 *hiraṇyamayaḥ* ... *kuksyaḥ* in JUB. I. 56, *dve yonī* JUB. IV. 27, JB I. 17 and GB. I. 33 (*dve yonī ekam mithunam*) etc. and considered in their identity, to the single womb or belly in texts such as RV. III. 29. 1 where Agni is born *asurasya jatharāt*, and those in which Prajāpati is spoken of as *garbhīn*, "pregnant". A full collation of all the parallels would require far greater space than can be devoted to it here.

1. Neither the *devatāmāyī* of KU. nor Śaṅkara's *sarva-devātmikā* can be translated by "soul of the gods". *Devatāmāyī* is simply "divine", just as *dārumāyī* would be "wooden". *Sarva-devātmikā* is "whose nature is to be all the gods", —just as in AA. II. 3.8 "all the gods are unified in the *aksara* (Brahman)", cf. Eckhart, I. 469, "All the Persons being clapt into their nature vanish into the dim silence of their interior being". *Sarva-devātmikā* merely restates RV. I. 89.10 *viśve devā aditiḥ*. We can say that "her's is" but scarcely that "she is" *ātmā devānām*: it is her Breath (*prāṇa*), the Gale (*vāta*, *vāyu*), her Child (*garbha*), the Sun (*āditya*, *sūrya*) that is *ātmā devānām*, RV. I. 115.1, IX. 74.5, X 168.4, JUB. III. 2.4 and 14, etc.—Hiraṇyagarbha therefore *ātmada*, like Agni, RV. X. 121.2, I. 149.3. Aditi is the *viśve devāḥ*, but apart from her spirative procession by which she gives them life, and which is her motherhood, without distinction of spiration from generation *in divinis*, they have no independent being, but are all one in her unmanifested, *guhām praviśya*: *ab intra* as in RV. VIII. 48.2 "When thou (Soma) art entered in, thou becomest Aditi" (*antaś ca prāgā aditih bhavāsi*).

See also my Angel and Titan, Note 38 in *JAOS.* 55, p. 405, and La doctrine tantrique de la 'Bi-Unité' divine, in *Etudes Traditionnelles*, 42, 1938, 289-301.

to the Upaniṣads, but can be found set forth, or at least *very* clearly foreshadowed, in the older Vedic texts". (JAOS. 36, p. 197) ; cf. BLOOMFIELD, "*mantra* and *brāhmaṇa* are for the least part chronological distinctions ... Both forms existed together, for aught we know, from the earliest times".

IV. 8 *dive dive*, "daily" : with reference to the 36000 daily *agnivarkāḥ* of SB. X. 5. 3. 3, viz. the "contemplative fires" (*dhyeyā agnayaḥ*, Sāyaṇa) that are to be kindled within you on every day of the hundred years of a complete life.

IV. 9. The "home" (*astam*) has been discussed above in connection with I. 10 and 11. The Sun, of course, "never really rises nor sets" (AB. III. 44) for the Comprehensor, it is rather Day and Night that rise and set (*pramlocanti*, *anumlocanti*, SB. VIII. 6. 1. 18), "Day and Night together are Death, they do not affect the divinity Āditya (Sol Invictus), for they are only the occasion whereby this divinity 'goes forth' and again 'goes home'" (*anv astam eti*, Vādhulasūtra, see *Acta Orientalia*, pp. 26-27). "He indeed neither rises nor sets (*udeti na nimlocati*), and for the Comprehensor of this, it is evermore high noon" (CU. III. 11.3).¹

The first two *and* the fourth lines of KU. IV. 9 are from AV. X. 8. 16 (not as RAWSON has it, the first two only from AV. X. 18.6). In AV. the third line reads "that same I deem the best" (*jyēṣṭham*, i.e. the Brahman of the first verse of the hymn, who is referred to as the Breath in BU. I. 523). The third line in KU. is identical in value with AV. X. 7.38 *tasmin* (in the Brahman-Yakṣa) *chrayante ya u ke ca devāḥ*, and close in wording to AV. X. 8.6 *tatra* (in Brahman) *sarvam idam arpitam* : and thus as in RV. 1. 35.6 *āṇim na rathyam*, (Dante's *il punto dello stelo al cui la prima rota va dintorno*) *amṛtā adhi tasthuh* "As 'twere upon the axle-point of the chariot-of-light depend the immortal (Devas)" Professor RAWSON's remarks to the effect that the ancient Vedic gods are but shadows of themselves in the Upaniṣads, "all their reality consisting in the One from whom they derive their being", are altogether without foundation in fact ; the individual Devas are no more and no less "shadows" in the Upaniṣads than they are in RV., AV., and Brāhmaṇas, where their dependence upon the "One" is as plainly stated as it is in any later text.

IV. 10 : *iha*, contrasted with *amutra*, means as usual, "here", "in this world", "now" ; in the last two lines, the meaning is that though things appear to be diverse here (cf. verse 14), he who sees them in their unity, and does not run after them in their apparent difference, escapes recurrent death. The first two lines enunciate the well known doctrine of the correspondence of all states of being : "as above, so below". It is only because of this analogy, taken for granted alike in Vedic, Neo-Platonic, and Christian

1. Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, II. 1107-8, "The rising-place of the sun is the pitch-coloured tower of heaven : my Sun is beyond all rising places. His 'rising-place' is only in relation to His motos ; His essence neither rose nor set."

doctrines of exemplarism,¹ that an adequate symbolism is possible, so that a person "by the mortal aspires to the immortal" (AA. II. 3.2), and Death can say "By contingent things I have obtained the eternal" (KU. II. 10). By an "adequate symbolism", we mean, of course a natural and inevitable as distinguished from a conventional symbolism: no better example can be cited than that of the sun, employed as an image of God in the Vedic and all other traditions, of which usage Dante remarks that "No object of sense in the whole world is more worthy to be made a type of God than the sun" (*Convito*, III. 12).²

IV. 11. *Manasaivedam āptavyam* is apparently in flat contradiction to KU. VI. 12, *na manasā prāptum* and many similar texts. Śamkara's explanation of the mind as a means, i.e. an *upāya* in the sense of Muṇḍ III. 2.3, covers at least a part of the ground. The same problem is presented, however, by KU. VI. 9 *manasā abhikṛpto ya etad viduḥ*, and enhanced by the fact that it so often affirmed that it is not by the formation of mental concepts that the Brahman can be truly known, as for example in Kena IV. 4-5, where "that which in the lighting flashes forth, and at which one can only gasp" is contrasted with "that which comes to mind and by which one continually remembers," viz. 'concept' (*saṅkalpa*).

As to this, it may be observed in the first place that *abhi* adds a force to *kṛp* of the sort that 'Super-' might add to "conceive", just as *abhi-jñāna* is "supernatural knowledge" as distinguished from *jñāna* as "know-

1. See my Vedic Exemplarism, in *HJAS*, I, 1936, pp. 44-64.

2. Our modern exponents of what they call "natural religions" and "solar myths" are afflicted, of course, with that same myopia that Plutarch ridicules in the Greeks when he says that "the (physical) sun has made all to be ignorant of Apollo by using the power of sense-perception (*aesthesis*) to turn aside the power of the intellect (*dianoia*) from the being to the phenomenon" (*Moralia*, 400 D).

3. Cf. Kena I. 6 "That which thinks not with a mind (cf. BU. IV. 3. 28), but by which, they say, the mind is thought, know That as Brahman, not what men worship here" (*idam upāsate*). "What men worship here" is of their own imagining, to which He lends him-self, *yathopāsate tad eva bhavati*. SB X. 5. 2. 20: which is not, of course, a denial of the value of such conceptual and iconolatrous "worship" for the Wayfarer: on the contrary, "In that one worships (*upāsati*) Him as one to be made a friend of, that is his form as the Friend", AB. III. 4. The iconoclasm of Kena I. 6 simply affirms with Eckhart that "To know God really you must know him as the Unknown", with St. Thomas that "Every relation which is predicated of God does not put something real in the eternal God, but only something according to our way of thinking" (Sum. Theol. III. 35. 5), with Augustine that "God evades every form of our intellect" (*De vid. Dea*, Ep. cxlvii), and with Dionysius that "Negations about God are true; but affirmations are vague" (*De coel. hier.* II).

4. Memory is, of course, a temporal, not an eternal virtue. As Plotinus asks, "What subjects of remembrance can there be for souls whose lot is to remain unchanged? ... In other words, they have seen God, and do not remember? Ah, no: it is that they see God still and always, and that as long as they see, they cannot tell themselves they have had the vision, such reminiscence is for souls that have lost it" (*Enneads*, IV. 4. 6).

ledge" though *jñāna* alone, as "gnosis" may have a like value. What is of all of more significance, however, is the question of what sort of mind it is by which he can be obtained; for as Maitri. VI. 34 makes evident, "the mind is two-fold, clean and unclean: unclean when connected with desires, and clean when unconnected with desires"; and in the same way KU. II. 24 *nāśānta-mānaso . . . enam āpnuyāt*, "One whose mind is not at rest cannot obtain Him" implies the converse "One whose mind is at rest (*śānta-mānasaḥ*) may obtain Him." "At rest" means something more than simply peaceful; the sacrificial victim is "at rest" when it "has been given its quietus" (*śamyate*); and let us also remember that it is always assumed that the victim is a willing victim. It is then for the mind to cleanse itself (by contemplative practices, for the most part), to put itself to death. "The contemplative here and now attains the station (*padam*) of the 'mind at rest' (*manah-śānti*-. . . having brought the mind to a standstill, when he proceeds to de-mentation, (*amanī-bhāva*) that is the last step, (*paramam padam*); the mind is to be arrested in the heart until its undoing is reached, this is gnosis,¹ this liberation, and all else" (Maitri. VI. 34). It is thus that one obtains Him "by the mind."

FIFTH VALLI

V. 8 *tad u nātyeti kaścana*, "beyond it none soever goes": cf. M. II. 40 "the ultimate (*paramo*) beyond which there is no further leading (*pañīta-taram*). ECKHART, "On reaching God, all progress ends," and Anselm, Et quidem credimus te esse aliquid quo nihil majus cogitari potest (*Proslog.* c. 2).

V. 11 *Ekas tathā sarvabhūtāntarātmā na lipyate loka-duḥkheṇa bāhyah* "So the one immanent Spirit in all beings is untouched by the grief of the world, being outside it." The same is often expressed in terms of the lotus, growing in water, but unwetted thereby (CU. IV. 14. 3 and MU. III. 2). Cf. Dionysius, *De div. nom.* II. 10 (quoting S. Hioretheus), "It is the Being that pervades all beings at once though not affected by them."

V. 12 *ekam rūpam bahudhā yaḥ karoti* "Who maketh his one form to be manifold" Cf. Dionysius, *De div. nom.* II. 11 "that single Existence of his is said to become manifold through bringing forth many existences from itself while yet remaining One in the act of self-multiplication," and Plotinus, *Enneads* IV. 4. 1 "The unity of the Power is such as to allow of its being multiple to another principle, to which it is all things."

Parallels throughout our texts are innumerable, for example RV. I. 146 5 *purutrā . . . abhavat*; VI. 47.8 *pururūpa iyate*; VIII. 58.2 *ekam vā idam vi babhūva sarvam*; III. 54. 8 *viśvam ekam* (the "integral Multiplicity" of Plotinus and "Indivisible Plurality" of Dionysius). The KU. text recurs in MU. VI. 26. The implications could only be fully developed by an extended

1. "This knowledge dement's the mind" (ECKHART, I. 370).

treatment of the Exemplarist doctrine involved of that of the Divine procession as the radiation of a Light.¹

The complete statement implied by the *sam ca vi ca eti* of VS. XXXII. 8 is explicit in S. II. 212 *eko pi bahudhā homi, bahudhā pi hutvā eko homi* in A. I. 254 this power of being one and becoming many, and of being many and becoming one is connected with the possession of *samādhi* as an unbroken habit; it is one of many powers, amongst which are those of walking on the water, and of motion-at-will in various senses. The bearing of this upon the problem of the Divine unity in variety and variety in unity will be apparent if we recall that "procession (considered as a local motion) implies duality" (*krama*=*dvita*, *Taittiriya Prātiśākhya*, XXI. 16) and that "there is no (such) procession in *samādhi*" (*kramo nāsti samāhite, Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, II. 117).

RAWSON'S difficulty (p. 178, last paragraph) is unreal. Śāṅkara rightly says that the Ātman is "unmodified" (*avikṛta*) whatever the forms it assumes and this is true, because these visible forms are not its "modifications", but its "possibilities of manifestation" reduced to act.

V. 13 *Eko vaśi* here and *sarvasya vaśi* in BU. IV. 4.22 applies equally to the Sun and to Death, so constantly identified. *Sarvabhūtāntarātmā* "the Spirit indwelling all beings," as in KU. V. II and RV. I. 115. 1 *sūrya ātmā jagatas tasthuṣaḥ*, "the Sun, the Spirit of all that moves or is at rest." *Vaśa* denotes the sun in R. V. VIII. 46. 33, X. 171. 4, etc. In BU. IV. 4.22 *mahān aja ātmā...sarvasyeśānaḥ* are definitely solar terms, while *sarvasyā-*

1. We have discussed Professor RAWSON'S Patripassianism elsewhere. Here we shall only add that to deny that there is (and affirm that there ought not to be) any principle apart from suffering is to deny the basic Christian doctrine (Hindu also and Buddhist) that "man's last end is one of beatitude." The problem is very clearly treated by Śāṅkara on *Brahma Sūtra* II. 3. 45-47: the Supreme Self cannot be thought of as feeling the pain of individual selves, because this pain depends upon the Agnosia (*avidyā*) according to which the individual self literally sympathises with its own psycho-physical affections or with those of others, in this way identifying itself with what-is-not-the-self (*anātman*, Buddhist *anattā*). The Supreme Self does not suffer, because it does not thus ignorantly identify Itself with any of the accidents to which its various psycho-physical vehicles are subject: It distinguishes Itself from what is not-Itself. It is precisely this un-sympathetic and un-sentimental nature of the Supreme Self that gives *value* to such dicta as "That art thou." The scriptural texts admit both a distinction and an absence of distinction (*bhedābheda*); but because we are already only too conscious of distinction (*bheda*) and misunderstand its nature (which is that of illumination from light, and not of illumined things from light), the emphasis of the texts is laid upon the indoctrination of non-distinction (*abheda*).—"Their intention is to teach non-difference only, because it is by the realisation of self-identity with Brahman (*brahmātmatra-pratipattau*) that man's last end (*puṣārtha*) is won."

Cf. KU. VI. 2-3 "A great fear (*mahad bhayam*) . . . Through fear of Him" Are we to suppose that "He" also fears? and if so, what? It is precisely the "Weltschmerz" of Vol. 11 that is the "great fear": *dukkham assa (lokassa) mahabbhayaṃ*, Sn. 1033. The goal to which Naciketas is directed is an *abhayaṃ pāram*.

dhipatiḥ recalls TS. V. 2.3 *yāvatī vai prthivī tasyā yama ādhipatyam paryāya*. Vaśī recalls the Buddhist Māra Vasavati. For the general identification of the Sun with Death SB. II. 3. 3.7 and VI. 2. 2.5 "He who glows yonder is doubtless Death," and X. 5, 2, 3 "Death is the Person in the orb" will suffice.

RAWSON's remarks, pp. 181-2 are confused. The Brahman is not the "inner soul of our individual souls"¹ but as Śaṅkara would express it, is our inner being; "One as he is yonder, and many as he is in his children" as said of Death in SB. X. 5.2.16. Granted that what many modern scholars understand by the Māyāvāda is an "illusion doctrine" implying the pure non-entity of the outer world, we can agree that this would "make nonsense of the Vedas." To put it as briefly as possible, *natura naturata* is not, however *māyā*, but *māyā-maya*; and even if *māyā* be taken as *asat*, "non-being", this "non-being" is also the maternal possibility of being and the source of being (*asataḥ sad ajāyata*, RV. X. 72. 3=TU. II. 7), in the same way that in Christian doctrine the world *ex nihilo* fits without it following that the world *nihil est*.² How little Śaṅkara denies the reality of the external world (however unreal our knowledge of it may be, as illustrated by the parable of the rope and the snake) is sufficiently obvious from his endorsement of *Brahma Sūtra* II. 2.28 *nābhāva upalabdhe*, THIBAUT's rendering of the commentary reading "The 'non-existence' of external things 'cannot be maintained' because we are conscious of external things," etc. The *bhedābheda* relation of distinction without difference (ECKHART's "used but not confused") is expressly accepted by Śaṅkara in the commentary on II. 3.43 *aṁśo nānāvyapadeśād anyathā cāpi*, " (The individual spirit) is a part (of the Lord) inasmuch as it is not taught that they are different, and also the contrary": by which he understands that the individual and the Lord are related as sparks to fire (*Jiva īśvarasyāṁśo bhavitum arhati, yathāgner visphulingaḥ*), in which heat is the same (notwithstanding that the sparks are distinguishable from the fire), and he concludes that "From these two doctrines of difference and non-difference (*bhedābhedāv-āgamābhyām*) the meaning of 'participation' (*aṁśattva*) follows." He explains, of course, that by "part" is not meant

1. Unless, of course, we properly distinguish "inner soul" = spirit from "our individual soul" = psyche. As Philo says, "The word 'soul' is used in two senses, with reference either to the soul as a whole or to its dominant (*hēgemonikon* = *antaryāmin*) part, which latter is, properly speaking, the soul of the soul (*psyche psychēs*)" (*Quis rerum divinarum Heres*, 55), this "dominant" being the "Spirit of God" (*pneūma theion*), (*De specialibus legibus*, IV, 123). But like most Western scholars, RAWSON renders *ātman* by 'soul' in a quite indiscriminate way.

2. As he is in himself, *ab intra*, God is *sadasat*, "being and non-being" (RV. X. 5. 7, Muṇḍ. II. 2. I, Pṛaśna Up., II. 5-6). As also in St Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* I. 45. 1, *oportet considerare . emanationem (=sargam) totius entis a causa universalis, quae est Deus. Et hanc quidem emanationem designamus nomine creationis . . . ita creatio, quae est emanatio totius esse, est ex non ente, quod est nihil.* ("We must consider the emanation of all being from the universal cause, which is God. And this said emanation we call 'creation.' So that creation, which is the emanation of all being, is from the non-being, which is nothing").

a "piece," but "a part, as it were" (as in BG. XV. 7). The theme would admit of a long development, but all that need be pointed out here is that Śaṅkara by no means denies, but explicitly endorses, *bhedābheda* doctrine.

V. 14 : *kim u bhāti vibhāti vā*, "Does it shine, or does it shine forth?" The question raises the whole problem of "uncreated" and "created" light, and could only be fully elucidated in the light of the whole doctrine of light, which is the common property of Indian, Islamic, and Christian theology. The question is asked in Brahmodya style and answered in the following verse. The question itself must first be understood. *Bhāti* presents no difficulty. *Vibhāti* is *bhāti* combined with *vi*, the particle having its usual distributive value; the forms are parallel to those of *bhū* and *vibhū*, "to be," and "to be distributively" or "be forth," and so indeed are the meanings, since in this doctrine *lux et ens convertuntur*.¹ *Vibhāti* is not "reflects," for which we should expect either *ābhāti*,² or the *anubhāti* of the following verse in which, however, there is a nuance suggesting a participation rather than a mechanical reflection.³ The rather naive question of whether "it" ("the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world," John I. 9) is itself illuminated by some other source of light is not raised at all. What is propounded has to do with the distinction of light from illumination as this is drawn by Bonaventura, who "distinguishes between the light (*lux*) and its raying (*lumen*, '*Lichtausstrahlung*'), without always maintaining a sharp distinction between the two notions."⁴ What is asked, whether the Light of the Spirit (which shines when all other lights have gone out, BU. IV. 3.6, like KU. V. 15), whether the Light of lights (*jyotir jyotisām*, RV. I. 113.1 and BG. XIII. 17) is a simple and hidden or also an omniform and manifested light.⁵ The answer of KU. V. 15 is that there is no *light* that shines there (cf

1. Our question is, then, virtually the same as that of SB. X. 5.2.16 "Is Death one or many," with its answer "One and many, one as he is yonder, and many as he is in his children," as also in BG. XIII. 16 "Both undivided, and also divided in beings" (*avibhaktam ca bhūteṣu vibhaktam*, where *avibhaktam* corresponds to *bhāti* and *vibhaktam* to *vibhāti* in our text).

See also my "Beauté, Lumière et Son" in *Études Traditionnelles*, Feb. 1937 and "The Source of, and a parallel to Rionysius on the Beautiful" in *Journ. Greater India Soc.*, III, 36-42, and "Vedic Exemplarism," *HJAS*, I. 1936, pp. 58-60.

2. Cf. my "Ābhāsa" in *JAOS*, 52, 1932, pp. 208-212.

3. Cf. Witelo, *Lib. de intelligentiis*, VI "Light (*lux* = *jyotis*) is the primordial substance; whence it follows that all other substances participate in the nature of light."

4. Baumker, *Witelo*, Münster, 1908, p. 396 Bonaventura, in fact, distinguishes three modalities of light : *Sicut lux potest tripliciter considerari, scilicet in se et in transparenti et in extremitate perspicui terminati : primo modo est lux, secundo modo lumen, tertio modo hypostasis coloris*" (I *Sent.* d. 17 p. 1 a unic. q. 1). In this division *lux* corresponds to *jyotis* or *bhāsa*, *lumen* to *raśmi* and *vibhāsa*, and *hypostasis coloris* to *ābhāsa*; or in other words, *lux* to *svarūpa*, *lumen* to *viśvarūpa*, and *hypostasis coloris* to *pratirūpa* or *anurūpa*.

5. As "hidden," of course, the Light of the Spirit does not "shine forth," but is "obscured" : KU. III. 12. *gūḍho 'tmā na prakāśate*. Hence the perpetual quest of

GB. XV. 6, and Rev. XXI. 23, appropriately cited by RAWSON), but only the uncreated (*akṛta* as in CU. VIII. 13) Light of the Spirit (BU. IV. 3.6¹ : "Him-shining the world-all after-shines (*tam eva bhāntam anubhāti sarvam*)² by His shining this all shines forth" *tasya bhāsā sarvam idam vibhāti* : (*bhāti ca vibhāti ca*)⁴ ; i.e. "shines" as He is yonder, in himself, in the darkness, and "shines forth" here, as he is in us, as light."

SIXTH VALLI.

VI. 9 *hrdā manīṣā manasābhikṣiptaḥ*, "super-conceived by the heart, by thought, by the mind" : cf. RV. I. 61.2 *hrdā manasā manīṣā*, and X. 177.2 *hrdā paśyanti manasā .manīṣām n pānti*.

VI. 4 *Tataḥ sargesu lokesu śarīratvāya kalpate*, "Then in the emanated worlds he is fitted for embodiment" (the *sargesu kālesu* of one Ms. merely substitutes time for space); corresponding to KU. III. 17 *anantyāya kalpate*, "is fitted for infinity, or endlessness," and Manu I. 98 *brahmabhūyāya kalpate* "is fitted for becoming Brahman" We have discussed this passage at some length elsewhere in a wider context.⁶ It is easy to see from what point of view Śamkara should have wished to evade the plain meaning of the words. We agree with RAWSON that it would be "better frankly to emend the text and supply a negative" than to twist its meaning. In fact, however, no emendation whatever is necessary. For what or who is it but the Brahman, Ātman, that is

the "hidden Sun" *gūlham sūryam*, RV. passim). On the other hand, in proportion as it is "found" or "known" it reveals itself, and shines with its own Light (*svaprakāśa*), becoming more and more manifest (*āristarām*), *tasya ya ātmānam āristarām vedāśnute harir bhūyah*.

1. The "Dark Ray" or "Radiant Darkness" of Dionysius, . "blinding by excess of light."

2. *Anubhāti* : for example CU. IV. 9.2 *brahmanīva bhāsi* ("Thou shinest as though a Knower of the Brahman" and TU. III. 10.6 *suvarṇa-jyotiḥ ya evam veda* ("Thereof the Comprehensor shines with golden light"). Cf. Witelo, *Lib de intelligentiis*. VIII. 1 *Unumquodque quantum habet de luce, tantum retinet ease divini. Unaquaeque substantia habens magis de luce quam alia dicitur nobilior ipsa* ("Insofar as anything has 'light,' to that extent it contains divine essence. Whatever substance has more light than another is therefore called 'more noble'").

We little realise to what extent the technicalities of the traditional doctrine of light ("The perfection of all things in the cosmic order is light," Witelo, l.c.) survives in current speech. When we speak of a "clear complexion" or "sparkling wit" or of a "bright lad" or a "shining example," we are speaking superstitiously, i.e. without understanding the proper significance of these expressions.

3. Note *bhāsā*, instrumental ; like *brahmanā* in S.I. 2.3.6 and *prāṇena* in J'B. IV. 14.1.

Sarvam idam, the subject of *vibhāti*, is "*sūryādi*," "the sun, etc." (Sāyana).

4. Dante's *splendore...risplendendo, Paradiso*, XXIX. 14, 15

5. ECKHART'S "Eye wherewith God sees in me." *Sarvabhūtai vibhāti*, Muṇḍ III. 1.4=*bhūtebhir vyapaśyata*, KU. IV. 6.

6. "The coming to birth of the Spirit," to appear in *Indian Culture*.

"embodied in the emanated words"? What but the *śarīrātman*, *āśarīrah śarīreṣu*? Who but the Ātman, who but Agni, is the rider in the chariot of which the wheels are Heaven and Earth and the axle-tree the Axis of the Universe? If Śaṅkara balks, it is as Agni balks at the task of becoming the Devas' charioteer in RV. X. 51, as the Buddha balks at the turning the Wheel, and as Christ says "May this cup be taken from me"! He would become the Brahman, but only in one nature, not in the double nature predicated of the Brahman in BU. II. 3 and as implied throughout RV.; he would be the Ātman that shines but not the Ātman that shines forth (forgetting his own *bhāti ca vibhāti ca* cited above); of the Supreme Identity of Being and Non-being (*sadasat*, *passim*) he would be only *asat*. Śaṅkara's goal is that of a Pratyeka Buddha. In Christian terms, he would be united to the Father, through the Son, but not with the Supreme Identity of Father and Son. But as is explicit in our Upaniṣad, III. 10-11, while one must have gone beyond the Manifested (Sun) to reach the unmanifested (Darkness), the Person and last end lies beyond the Unmanifested; one has not reached the end of the road until one knows Him both as Manifested and Unmanifested (*vyaktāvyaktah*). "That One" is equally spirated, despirated" (*tad ekam ānīd avātam*, RV. X. 129. 2), not only despirated.¹ That One is not only Infinite (*ananta*, in the sense "without beginning or end") but also Indefinite (*ananta*, in the sense of BU. IV. 1. 5 "What is its endlessness? Just the quarters of heaven"). That One is both the silent and the vocal Brahman (*śabdāśabda*); *madā-mada*, *stārīr uttvad sūtaḥ*,—not only indifferent but also exhilarated, not only impotent, but also progenitive. In a word, one essence and two natures.

"Know that he on whom the worlds, the mind, and all the powers are woven is the One Ātman. Where the vectors meet, like spokes in the hub of the wheel (i.e. in the centre, in the heart) therein he moves, multifariously born" (*tam ekam jānatha ātmānam .antaś carati bahudhā jāyamanah* Muṇḍ. II. 2. 5-6).¹ We must not, however, misunderstand the nature of this "motion" and "birth"; it is as Unmoved Mover that he *carati bahudhā jāyamanah*, as in KU. II. 21 "Seated, he travels afar; recumbent, he goeth everywhere", and Īśā 4 "Standing, he foregoeth them that run." It is by means of his rays, or "feet" as they are sometimes called, that he travels (*carati svarociḥ* RV. III. 38. 4): the solar omnipresence is a vision, and not a local motion, . . . "The Sun is the Eye. . . Truth is the Eye; it is with the Eye that the Person ranges the dimensioned" *caṣuṣā hy ayam mātṛāś carati*, MU. VI. 6). The "embodiment" for which the Wake is prepared, even here and now if he is Wake, is not an incarnation under the Sun as so-and-so, but such as the Universal Man, the Eternal Avatar takes part in, not by any necessity of ends to be gained, but because it is the nature of the Light not only to be the Hidden Light but also one that shines. All that our

1. In the same way Prajāpati "wanders in the (Golden) Germ, and whilst remaining within, unseen, is multifariously born abroad (*prajāpatiś carati garbhē-antar adṛśyamāno bahudhā vi jāyate*, AV. X. 8.13).

verse affirms, then, is that the Wake are fitted for a state of Universal Being, as distinct from that of the private being which is the mark of those who are still asleep. Whoever participates in the Being of the Sun is a Mover-at-will in every world. We do not see why anyone should have wish to explain this away.¹

VI. 11 : *prabhavāpyayau*, also Māṇḍ 6 where "He (Brahman, Ātman, in "deep sleep") is the *prabhavāpyayau* of beings", and alternatively *mutyapīti* in Māṇḍ. 11. DEUSSEN'S "schöpfung und vergang" and HUME'S "origin and end" are much nearer to the meaning than is RAWSON'S "acquired and lost".² RAWSON'S rejection of HUME'S and DEUSSEN'S versions "as involving much later ideas which are foreign to the Kaṭha" introduces in any case a confusion of literary history with the history of ideas,—which have no history. In the present case, however, it is a question of ideas which are not merely implicit in "older" texts, but explicit there.

As *prabhū*, literally to "forth-become" or "come forth" ("hervorragen," GRASSMAN) and *prabhava*, "forth-becoming", "manifestation" ("sich hervorthuen," GRASSMANN) are to be found in RV., and we know too that "a fourth (*pādah*) of him is all beings, a fourth of him becomes (*abhavat*) here" (X. 90. 3-4)³, no difficulty is presented by the rendering of *prabhava* as "origin", or rather, "origination". This is further supported by the substitution of *muti* for *prabhava* in Māṇḍ. 11, since the act of being which we

1. Cf. Iṣā 12-13 condemning equally the goals of "coming to be" and "not coming to be", the truth being that the Person is neither of these in the sense that he is not also the other. Śaṅkara's position can only be defended if we understand that his polemic, like Eckhart's, is directed not against the divine activity and immanence as such, but against the pantheistic view that the whole of the divine nature finds expression in this activity, leaving nothing over. This is probably his true position, but one that is not explicit in the present context. See also the discussion of KU. II. 11, above.

2. The problem of an "acquisition and loss" of Yoga is not raised by our text. "The difficulty some have found" (RAWSON, p. 199) in conceiving such an idea may nevertheless be noticed. "Yogi" (like "Šūfi") is strictly speaking the designation of one who has reached the end of the road, and for whom no fall or loss is possible (at this point also the notion of an "acquisition" loses its meaning,—"When I enter there," as Rūmī says, "no one will ask me whence I came"). On the other hand, those are also called Yogīs who are still on their way (just as some are called Šūfīs who are really only *mutasawwuf*), and in this case, "yoga" being considered as a method, or technique, one can speak, as in BG. VI. 37, of a "wandering from yoga and failure to attain perfection in yoga". This is what is implied by the common expression "to lose one's *dhyāna*". How deeply these ideas are embedded in the racial experience can be judged from the use of the expression *dhyān karo* even in schools, when students are called to attend to their work.

3. To "distinguish", "signalise" (FLÜGEL), cf. ECKHART, I. 391. "Creation is his love of clear discrimination".

4. Related to this is AA. II. 2.2 *eṣa vai padam eṣa hīmanī sarvāṇi bhūtāni pādī*.

call "creation" is described throughout RV. and later as one of "measurement".¹

Apy-aya, from *api-i*, to "approach" or "mingle with," "come into", "combine with" (whether sexually, as in RV. II. 43. 2, or otherwise), or "flow into" (as rivers into the sea), and hence also to "die" in the sense of "die and go to heaven", as in RV. I. 162. 20 *apiyantam* "as thou diest" and at the same time "as thou enterest" into immortality).² The locus classicus for *apyaya* is SB. X. 5.14 where we find a hermeneia (*nirukta*) of *svapna* "sleep" as *svāpyaya* "entering in of one's own", viz., the "breaths that are 'one's' own (*svāḥ*)".³ These are, of course, "the divine immortal breaths" of BU. I. 5. 17, where they are said to "enter into him"⁴ (*enam ... āviśanti*), just as in SB., *enam ... apiyanti*. Again in CU. VI. 8. 1. we find "When a person here sleeps (*svapiti*), as it is called, then, my dear, he has attained (*sampanno bhavati*), he becomes 'one who has come into his own' (*svam-apītaḥ*). So they say of one who sleeps that 'He has come into his own' ". It is, then, more than sufficiently evident that the meanings that RAWSON rejects as "late" are already explicit in texts which he himself accepts as much older than the Katha. We render accordingly, *Tām paramām*

1. In KU. V. 8 also, *Kāmam kāmam puruṣo nirmāṇaḥ* cf. BU. IV. 3.9 *asya lokasya mātṛām . svayam nirmāya*, and Māṇḍ 11 *minoti ha vā idam sarvām*. BU. IV. 3.9. *vihatya nirmāya* corresponds (in reversed order) to the *mity-apīti* of Māṇḍ 11 and *prabhavāpyaya* elsewhere ; but it should not be overlooked that while the reference of *vihatya* ("striking off") and *apīti* ("coming into" sc. one's own, whence the hermeneia *svapiti*, "sleeps") is to one and the same act of being, the words themselves are not synonymous, but refer to the same act under different aspects. The same applies in the case of *prabhava* and *mity* : the act of "coming forth" is an act of "measurement".

2. Similarly in CU. IV. 3, 1 "When Agni blows out (intransitive), he just enters into the Gale of the Spirit" (*Yadā vā agnir udvāyati, vāyur evāpyeti*), and JUB. III. 1.7 *Sa etam (vāyur) evāpyeti*.

3. EGGELING renders *svāpyaya* by "being taken possession of by one's own people", as if *apy-aya* had been *āpyāya*. The result of this too free translation is a false assimilation of the present text to that of XI. 2. 3. 6, cited above, where the Devas, originally mortal "take possession of immortality by means of the Brahman" ("by means of", because "Himself the bridge", "I am the Way"). The "entering in" (*apyaya*) of the immortal principles is an activity on their part : the taking possession" (*āpyāya*) an activity on the recipient's part. These activities are coincident ; unification is the "coming into one's own" of the one and the other that are "united" ; to find Him and to find oneself is the same, as is explicit in JUB. IV. 14. where the Brahman says "with the breath of my mouth ye shall obtain (*upāpnavāthe*) yourselves, and shall obtain me". Whichever way we look at it, it is a matter of "coming into one's own" : nevertheless, these "ways of looking at it" should not be confused in a translation.

4. "Into him", viz. the Comprehensor (*evamvit*), when he has made the "full-bequest (*sampratti* = *sampradānam*, Kaus. Up. II. 15), and as he departs from this world, enters into his son (*putram āviśati*) with mortal breaths, or powers, at the same time that the immortal breaths or powers into him (*enam ... āviśanti*). The text is important, because of the clear distinction made as between metempsychosis and transmigration, and of both from "reincarnation".

gatim) ‘*yogam*’ *iti manyante sthīrām indriya-dhāraṇām...Yogo hi prabhavāpyayau*, “The which (last step), ‘yoga’ to wit, they understand to be the ‘firm hold of the senses’...Yoga is both the coming forth and the entering in”. The senses are the steeds : yoga is expert driving (cf. BG. II. 50 “Yoga is skill in action”), start and finish of the race. Yoga is the true art alike of living and of dying ; *contemplatio ars vivendi et moriendi*.

VI. 13 : “‘He is’, thus only can be apprehended ; when he is apprehended as ‘He is,’ his essential nature shines out clearly (*prasīdati*)”, cf. Damascene, *De Fid. orthod.* I, “‘He who is’ is the principal of all names applied to God ; for comprehending all in itself, it contains existence itself as an infinite and indeterminate sea of substance ; and Eckhart, “God’s only idiosyncrasy is being”. Cf. also SB. II. 3. 2. 1 ‘In him that exists’. *Prasīdati* here recalls *prasādāt* in KU. II. 20, “by the shewing forth of”, or “by the clear light of”, rather than “by the grace of”.

ŚLEṢA IN BĀṆA

By

V. RAGHAVAN

In his note on the Gauḍī Rīti in the *NIA*, I. i, p. 74, Dr. DE says in footnote 2 that the word 'Śleṣa' in *Harsa-carita* introductory verse 7, is usually rendered as 'play upon words', following Śaṅkara, but that it should not be taken in that sense, that is, as an Alamkāra and that it should be taken "in the sense of Daṇḍin's poetical excellence (Guṇa) of the same name, which emphasises freedom from looseness and compact coalescence of word and sense."

Firstly, as far as I am able to see, Daṇḍin's Guṇa, Śleṣa, refers only to Śabda and to explain it as 'coalescence of word *and* sense' seems unjustified.

Secondly, Bāṇa's Śleṣa in *Harsa-carita*, introductory verse 7, refers only to Śleṣa Alamkāra ; for, verse 8 which follows here and which Dr. DE certainly notes, offers a commentary on verse 7 and shows what Bāṇa means by the term Śleṣa. When in the next verse, Bāṇa says that Śleṣa should not be strained,—'*Śleṣo akliṣṭaḥ*'—He evidently means by Śleṣa the Alamkāra of play upon word.* What is the relevancy of 'Kleṣa' or 'Akleṣa' in the *Guṇa* of Śleṣa ?

I may be permitted here to refer to my humble contribution to the subject Rīti in the *Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri Comm. Vol.* pp. 89-90,

APABHRAMSA AND MARĀTHI METRES

By

H. D. VELANKAR

1. It has been proved almost beyond doubt, that the Vernaculars like Marāṭhī and Gujarati have descended from a particular stage called Apabhramśa of the ancient Prakritic languages. In the following paragraphs, it will be my attempt to show that the vernacular metres have also directly descended from the Apabhramśa metres and that the so-called pure Marāṭhī metres are nothing but a developed form of some one or the other of the old Prakrit and Apabhramśa metres. What is true of the Marāṭhī metres can also be shown to be true of the metres in the other vernaculars, which are similarly derived from the Prakrits through the Apabhramśa stage.

2. Before we actually begin the discussion of the subject, it is very necessary for us to know and to remember a few peculiarities of the Apabhramśa poets. First, that they were, as a rule, *of* the masses and wrote their poetry *for* the masses; secondly, that they liked greater freedom of diction and, for this purpose, chose generally the Mātrā Vṛttas for their compositions; and thirdly that they cared more for the time-keeping capacity of their poems than for their structural ornamentation and rhythm secured by the use of long and short syllables at particular places. Their poems were to be sung and not merely to be recited, and the singing was usually accompanied by a time-keeping musical instrument, as also by the movements of the hands and feet. The quantity of the individual letters was unimportant for them; a short letter could be made to yield two or even more Mātrās by the introduction of a metrical pause or rest if necessary, and similarly a long letter or even a group of letters could be so quickly pronounced as to yield only one Mātrā. They never cared to know how *many letters* intervened between the two strokes of the time-keeping instrument, but they always faithfully observed the rule regarding the number of the Mātrās or the metrical moments, which must occur between them. Mātrā is indeed a theoretical unit in connection with a metre,¹ its existence being postulated only for the purpose of measuring the time. All the letters, therefore, intervening between the two strokes were pronounced by them in such a manner that they yielded only the required number of Mātrās and no more nor less.

3. Another important peculiarity of these poets that ought to be noted is that, when they actually compose their Kaṭavakas (Kaṭavaka is a group of stanzas in the same metre, preceded and followed by stanzas in a different

1. See Apabhramśa Metres, para. 44, *B.U.J.* Nov. 1936, pp. 51-52.

metre and which forms the unit of the cantos in a poem), they use any of the Mātrā-vṛtta Catuṣpadīs or even the Varṇa-vṛtta Catuṣpadīs but they do not treat them as Catuṣpadīs. They form their Kaḍavakas with any number of rhyming couplets and not quartets as might be expected, of lines composed in such metres. Thus Pajjhaṭikā or Bhujaṅgaprayāta may be a Catuṣpadī metre, but the poet actually uses any number of couplets of lines in these metres for their Kaḍavakas and not necessarily a number of lines which is divisible by four, which would be obligatory, if the metres were treated as Catuṣpadī metres. This means that they do not observe the rule regarding the number of lines which a stanza in the Pajjhaṭikā or the Bhujaṅgaprayāta metre must contain, though they do not disregard the rules regarding the formation of a line in these metres. This practice of considering halves of Catuṣpadīs as independent units with which to compose the Kaḍavakas is indeed very common among the Apabhraṁśa poets and the same may be said of even the Ardhasama Catuṣpadīs and the Ṣaṭpadīs. Halves of these latter seem to have been treated as independent metres in a similar manner. The Dhruva Padas or the Sthāyīs of the modern Padyas in the Vernaculars are surely to be traced back to the similar halves of the Ardhasama Catuṣpadīs in the Apabhraṁśa language, treated as independent metres. In Ṣaṭpadīs whose 3rd and 6th lines are considerably long, there also appears to be a growing tendency to split them up and to make the earlier part rhyme with the preceding lines, after making it also equal to them in length. The latter part, of course, then, remains shorter than the first three lines, and the whole half, when considered by itself, assumes the appearance of a stanza having three and half lines. Four such halves are put together to form the metre called the TRIBHANGI.¹ In each of these four halves we get four short lines of 10, 8, 8, and 6 Mātrās respectively. These halves of a Ṣaṭpadī which contain 2 or 3 rhymes and which are divisible into four short lines, the last of which is the shortest, are naturally of various kinds. But the most popular among them seems to be the one which is divisible into four lines of 8, 8, 8, and 6 Mātrās respectively. The Ṣaṭpadī which is made with two such halves, but which is treated as a Catuṣpadī by Piṅgala,² is the Caubolā. It is indeed one of the Upajātis described by Hemacandra, in his *Chandonuśāsana*.³ These halves appear to have been largely used as independent units for the songs intended to accompany the various kinds of popular dances. The well-known Tiparī song in Marāṭhī, i.e. 'Eka tiparisa ghe, dusarisa mār ge, tisari deunī cavathī ghe &c.' is composed in these halves and so are the Fatkas of Anantafandī. The beat of the Tāla, indicated by the stroke of the Tiparīs in these, occurs on the first Mātrā of each of the four short

1. Compare *Prākṛta Paṅgalam*, Bibliotheca Ed. p. 311 ; Apabhraṁśa Metres, para, 26, *B.U.J.* Nov. 1933, p. 49.

2. Cf. *Prākṛta Paṅgalam*, p. 226, Apabhraṁśa Metres, para 24, *B.U.J.* Nov. 1933, p. 47.

3. N. S. P. Edition, p. 38b, l. 14.

lines, and a pause of 2 Mātrās is introduced at the end, to fill up the gap left by the shortest line.

4. It is this particular half of an Apabhramśa Ṣaṭpadī, treated as an independent metre consisting of 3 and $\frac{1}{2}$ lines, and which may therefore be described as Ardhacatuṣpadī, which seems to have gained great popularity among the early Marāṭhī-speaking masses influenced by the Apabhramśa poets. Women appear to have composed and sung their songs in this metre while doing their work, or while enjoying their leisure on the household swings. The songs with which they lulled their babies to sleep in their cradles, or with which they tried to forget the hard labour involved in their daily grinding of corn, were also without doubt, composed in this same metre. Later on the metre came to be called Oṽī and is preserved in practice even till to-day, though, in course of time its origin from the Apabhramśa parent was altogether forgotten. We may however have a glimpse of it through the significant name Oṽī which it has received. I have no doubt, that the name Oṽī is to be derived from the Sanskrit word *Ardhacatuṣpadī* through the following process :—*Adḍhauṭhavaī-Adḍhūḍḍhavaī-Adḍhūḍḍhavaī-Adḍhūḍḍhavaī- Dhūḥavaī-Hūḥavaī-Hūḥavaī-Horāī* and finally *orāī-ovī*. It may appear a rather lengthy process, but the word *Auṭa* derived from the Sanskrit *Ardhacaturtha* offers a good parallel, and nothing in the process is impossible according to the rules of Prakrit grammar, which after all are based on the observation of the process of deterioration. The name is significant because, in its remodelled form, the Oṽī has actually 3 and $\frac{1}{2}$ lines. The last line—the shortest of all—has a history of its own in the development of the Oṽī metre through the first five centuries of the second decade of the Christian era. We shall consider this and also the other derivations of the word Oṽī in separate paragraphs below.

5. We have seen that the Marāṭhī Oṽī has developed out of the half of that particular kind of a Ṣaṭpadī, which is divisible into three shorter lines of 8 Mātrās each, and one of 6 Mātrās and which is treated as a separate metre. We shall now examine the structure of these lines of the Oṽī. Normally, we find that the first three lines of the Oṽī contain six letters and 8 Mātrās each, while the last one contains 4 letters and 6 Mātrās only. The six letters in the first three lines may be distributed over the 8 Mātrās in any way so long as the two clear divisions of 4 Mātrās each are maintained. As almost all Apabhramśa metres are Tālageya Vṛttas and since Oṽī is an Apabhramśa metre in a developed form, it was originally a Tālageya Vṛtta to be sung to the accompaniment of a time-keeping instrument and it has still remained so in the form of the Abhaṅga. Abhaṅga, as will be shown below, is nothing but the original Oṽī of the common Masses in its Tālageya form, the new name being probably invented for distinguishing between this and the other form of the Oṽī, which it assumed in the hands of the Marāṭhī poets, who turned it to the service of a literary nature. It is for this reason, that, in the original form of the Oṽī, called Abhaṅga

in later days, the clapping of the hands or the strokes of the time-keeping instrument must accompany the first Mātrā of each of the four lines, while at the end, a pause of 2 Mātrās has to be introduced, to keep the Tāla undisturbed ; for, the Ovī too, like its original, is sung in the Dhumālī Tāla of 8 Mātrās. Sometimes, this Ovī i.e. the Abhaṅga is sung very slowly. The line is then so pronounced that it yields 16 instead of the usual 8 Mātrās, and the stroke of the Tāla occurs twice, once at the beginning and once in the middle of the line, but the number of letters remains the same, i.e. 6. The 16 Mātrās, then, are distributed over the 6 letters as follows :—Each of the first four letters is pronounced long, thus yielding 8 Mātrās and forming the first Tālagāṇa. The remaining two letters are made to yield the other Tālagāṇa of 8 Mātrās. For this purpose, both are pronounced long and a pause of 2 Mātrās is introduced after each. Occasionally, the second pause of 2 Mātrās is shifted from the last letter of the first line of the Ovī-Abhaṅga to the 2nd letter of the second line, its first letter being substituted for this pause which is shifted. This of course, is only a stylistic peculiarity and is observed only in the case of the first line.

6. This popular Ovī was adopted for their literary compositions by the Marāṭhī poets towards the 10th or the 11th century A.D. For a long time it appears to have been handled by the Mahānubhāva poets only, and was thus restricted to the Marāṭhī-knowing followers of that sect alone. It cannot, therefore, be properly regarded as the real Marāṭhī literary metre, till the great *Jñāneśvarī* was written in it in 1290 A.D. This work finally and fully established the claims of the Marāṭhī language and of the Ovī metre, to be regarded as worthy of being employed for literary purposes. We find abundant references in the *Jñāneśvarī*, showing how till that time, both the language and the metre were treated with little respect among the learned Pandits. It is indeed abundantly proved, that the Mahānubhāvas had employed both these, for a sort of semi-religious poetry, but in spite of the literary merits that may have existed in some of them, they had never succeeded in establishing the supremacy of either, in the field of Literature. This is perfectly natural, because, these semi-literary compositions were actually closed to a large portion of the Marāṭhī-reading public, since they were scribed in a secret script, known only to the followers of the Mahānubhāva sect. It is no wonder, therefore, that in spite of their efforts for over a century, they could not make the Marāṭhī language a literary language or the Ovī metre, a literary metre. On the other hand, owing to the association of the Mahānubhāvas with them, they must have become an object of contempt, like them. But the internal development of the language and of the metre is another matter altogether. Being handled for a century or two by persons gifted with literary talents, the growth of these was inevitable, from a purely literary point of view. We are more or less concerned with this. It must, therefore, be admitted that before Jñāneśvara first handled it publicly, so to say, for a literary purpose, the Ovī metre had already undergone some changes in its form. It would seem that at the time of Jñāneśvara, the

origin of *Ovī* from its Apabhramśa parent was almost forgotten and that it was regarded as a sort of peculiar popular metre with three complete and one half lines. The peculiarity of the short fourth line has been studiously observed by every one of the Marāṭhī poets till the last days of Classical Marāṭhī Poetry, though Vāmana sometimes slightly disregarded it and though Ekanātha and Mahidhara introduced some important changes in it. The first three lines of the *Ovī* on the other hand, had, at the time of Jñāneśvara, already lost their original proportion of length, though they were carefully rhymed as before. Their length was undetermined and almost left to the caprice of the individual writers. This was due to the fact that in its literary form, the *Ovī* was free from the influence of the *Tāla*, which alone controlled the length of the lines till then. Thus from a *Tālageya Vṛtta*, the *Ovī* in its literary form, was turned into merely a *Svarageya Vṛtta*. The Apabhramśa poets had chosen the *Tālageya Vṛttas*, i.e. the *Mātrāvṛttas*, because they did not like to be bound by the rules regarding the number and quantity of letters which have to be observed in the *Varṇavṛttas*. They, however, imposed upon themselves the rules of *Tāla*, which determined the length of their lines, though it left them free, as regards the choice of letters. Their descendants, the Marāṭhī poets, went however, a step further. They flung away even this restriction of the *Tāla*. They were thus not only free in the choice of the letters with which to compose their lines, but there was also nothing to restrain them in respect of the length of the lines of their *Ovī*. It is clearly the conviction of every Marāṭhī poet, both old and new, that theoretically, he was free to employ any number of letters in a line of the *Ovī*, though he appears to have made use of this freedom only when he was in some difficulty as regards a suitable word or an expression which would both be short and capable of yielding the very essential rhyme. The usual practice of the Marāṭhī poets in this respect is to employ not less than 6 letters and not more than 10 or 12 letters in the normal lines of an *Ovī*. It must be remembered, however, that the tendency to compose short lines is found to disappear gradually, as we move farther away from Jñāneśvara and his times. This was probably due to the fact, that in the early days of Classical Marāṭhī Poetry, both the literary and the popular forms of the *Ovī* metre were recognized by the common name *Ovī*, and thus the real nature and length of the lines of a proper *Ovī*, preserved in its popular form, known as *Abhaṅga* in later days, was constantly kept before the eyes of the early Marāṭhī poets.

7. The popular form of the *Ovī*, i.e. the *Tālageya* one, which ran side by side with the above-discussed literary form and which existed only among the uneducated masses till the days of Nāmadeva, was revived by another class of Marāṭhī poets, who put it to the use of oral religious instruction. These poets, the earliest of whom is Nāmadeva, a contemporary of Jñāneśvara, composed their songs in the *Ovī* metre, and sang them to the accompaniment of a pair of cymbals and a lute, while instructing the masses in their Vaishnavite creed. They frequently describe these songs as '*Ovīs*'.

but never as Abhaṅgas. The name *Abhaṅga* is evidently of a late origin. It must have been given to the popular form of the *Ovī*, which is sung and not merely recited, at a time when there arose a necessity to distinguish this form from the other i.e. the literary one, which in course of time, became completely free from any metrical restrictions except the *Antya Yamaka* as explained above. Curiously enough, the new literary form retained the *old* name, while the original old form got a *new* name. In this connection, it must be clearly understood that in the early days of its currency, the word *Abhaṅga* must not have signified any simple metre. It only meant 'an unbroken or musically uninterrupted' group of stanzas composed in the *Ovī* metre. It may indeed be pointed out that the word retains this sense even to-day. To sing an *Abhaṅga* means, to sing not this or that stanza, but a group of stanzas forming a unity owing to the common idea and the concluding portion, containing the name of the poet and such other things. In this capacity, the *Abhaṅga* may be compared with the *Apabhramśa Kaṭavaka*. Only later on, the word must have been used in a secondary manner to signify the *Ovīs* themselves of which the *Abhaṅga* is made. Authors like *Nāmadeva* and *Tukārāma* describe their stanzas as *Ovīs* and not as *Abhaṅgas*. Attempts have been made to trace the word *Abhaṅga* and its meaning, as far back as possible in the works of *Marāṭhī* poets, including the *Mahānubhāva* ones. But except in a few *Abhaṅgas* of a doubtful authenticity, it is nowhere found to signify any simple or even a strophic metre. In all the three passages of the *Khrīsta Purāṇa*, the word is without doubt used euphemistically in the sense of the 'conclusion' or the 'end'. A word signifying end or finish is never used in connection with holy things such as the *saubhāgya Kumkuma* by orthodox women even to-day. In most other passages, the word signifies 'imperishable', which is the real meaning of the word in its Sanskrit form. *RĀJWĀṆE, Marāṭhī Chanda*, p. 8, derives the word from *Bhaṅga*, which according to him means 'a melodious group of letters' i.e. an *Akṣaragaṇa* like *Yagaṇa*, *Magagaṇa*, &c. *Abhaṅga* is that metre in which no such *Gaṇas* exist. A. K. PRIYOLKAR, *Vividhajñānavistara*, 1933, p. 279, on the other hand, tries to connect the name with an important episode in the life of the great saint *Tukārāma*, namely, the non-destruction of the books containing his poems, even when they were thrown into the water. Both these derivations appear to me unsatisfactory. In prosody, the word *Bhaṅga* is not known to me, to have been used in the sense of 'a melodious group'. In words like *Dvibhaṅgī* and *Tribhaṅgī*, it has the sense of 'a component part'. It may also mean 'an extended tune' in passages like *Hemacandra, Chandonuśāsana* (NSP. Ed.), p. 34b/12. But in any case, the derivation of the name *Abhaṅga* from some technical *Bhaṅga* seems to me to be improbable. As regards the second derivation, it is indeed difficult to believe that this particular strophic metre existed for over 200 or 300 years and had not yet obtained any specific name for it, till the middle of the 17th century. To me it appears, that the name was originally applied to the *strophic metre*, which

consisted of an 'unbroken group of Ovis,' resembling the Kaḍavaka of Apabhraṁśa Poetry and then in course of time it was applied to the constituent Ovis themselves. This indeed is a perfectly natural course. This may have taken place even during the 'boom period' of the Abhaṅga, i.e. when every Marāṭhī poet or poetess, who could compose, tried his or her hand on the Abhaṅga metre. The mere presence of the word Abhaṅga in the sense of a metre occurring in a poem therefore, need not drive us to the conclusion, that it is of a doubtful authenticity, if it can be proved to be otherwise authentic.

8. By the side of this most predominant form of Ovi-Abhaṅga, we find some other forms of it in the Abhaṅga literature. The more important among these is the one which is modelled just after the main variety. But instead of 8 Mātrās and 6 letters in each of the first three lines, we get here 16 mātṛās and 8 letters, while in the 4th line, we have 14 Mātrās represented by 7 letters, with a Yati and mostly a Yamaka after the 8th Mātrā or the 4th letter. In point of Mātrās, this variety is almost the double of the first. This form of the Ovi-Abhaṅga it is, which very probably was the origin of Ekanātha's Ovi with four Yamakas. The general rule of pronouncing 2 or more letters so quickly as to be equal to one long letter¹ and of pronouncing any letter short or long according to necessity, applies even to this variety. If we remember this very simple rule, so very patent to every reader of Prakrit Poetry, all the 20 and odd varieties, mentioned by RAJWADE, *Marāṭhī Chanda*, pp. 9-10, resolve themselves into only four or five, which we propose to discuss. The lines of this second variety as a rule contain 8 long letters and though I have said that they were modelled after those of the primary variety, yet the mode of singing them and the presence of 16 Mātrās in each, may indicate the influence of the commonest of the narrative Apabhraṁśa metres of 16 Mātrās, namely the Pajjhaṭikā. The shorter fourth line, however, shows the main source of inspiration in its composition. The 3rd and the 4th varieties of the Abhaṅga are each of two lines, and respectively represent the first and the second halves of the above-mentioned second variety. The 3rd variety has thus two lines, each normally containing 8 letters and 16 Mātrās, while the 4th has also 2 lines, but the first contains 8 letters and 16 Mātrās, and the second has only 7 letters and 14 Mātrās. The second line of the 4th variety, is further characterized by the Yati and the Yamaka occurring after the 4th letter or the 8th Mātrā in it, as in the fourth line of the second variety. There is one more variety of the Abhaṅga, but it is only a variation of the third variety. Instead of the 8 letters and 16 Mātrās, we get here only 6 letters and 12 Mātrās in the first line, while the second line is the same as in the 3rd variety. All these varieties are Tālageya Vṛttas. The first two of these are more suited to narration and

1. Cf. *Prākṛta Paṇḍalanī*, I. 5.

the last three to an impassioned appeal, an angry outburst, a forceful argument and the like.

9. We shall now look a little into the history of the fourth short line, which is the peculiarity of the *Ovi*, whether in its popular or literary form. The origin of this line is no more a secret to us. We saw above that it is really the latter part of the third line of the original *Ṣaṭpadī*-half, which became transformed into the *Ovi*. This third line of the *Ṣaṭpadī*-half contained 14 *mātrās* originally. But later, when the *Yati* and the additional rhyme came to be introduced after the 8th *Mātrā* within it, it became divided into two parts, the 1st containing 8 *Mātrās* and normally 6 letters, and the 2nd containing the remaining 6 *Mātrās* represented normally by 4 letters. Thus eventually the original 3rd line gave rise to two shorter lines of 8 and 6 *Mātrās*, and the original half of the *Ṣaṭpadī* which formerly had three lines of 8, 8, 14 *Mātrās*, became now possessed of four lines and thus turned out as a full-fledged metre like the other *Catuṣpadīs*. The great difference between this new metre and the other *Catuṣpadīs*, however, could not be overlooked. It was observed how, when the other *Catuṣpadīs* stood on all their four feet, the recently born metre was standing on its three feet alone, while its fourth foot—the short one—was hanging in the air without touching the ground. The popular bards did not, however, dislike their new-born metre on that account and rather took pride in having their own metre with some kind of peculiarity. They, therefore, not only did not seek to correct the defect, but on the other hand, commemorated the same by giving a significant name to it, namely, *Ardhacatuṣpadī* or *Ovi*. This is then how the shorter line originated and persisted, and though already at the time of *Jñāneśvara*, the origin of both the *Ovi* and its short leg were well nigh forgotten, yet the *Marāṭhī* poets have as a rule, never sought to make whole the defective *Pāda*, thus remaining true to tradition. Its growth, on the other hand, was inevitable, and it would be very interesting to trace it through the whole period, in which older *Marāṭhī* poetry flourished.

10. In the early days of its employment for literary purposes, this line kept very much nearer to its original form, in which it contained 4 letters and 6 *Mātrās*. But gradually as the consideration of the *Mātrās* entirely vanished in the new literary form—that of the letters was already neglected—the first three lines of the *Ovi* lost their normal form and length, and did not conform to the older standard of 6 letters and 8 *Mātrās*. They became unequal in length and often contained as many as 10 or 12 or even more letters. The natural result of this was a corresponding disturbance in the length of the fourth line. In the *Jñāneśvari*, the fourth line generally contains from 4 to 7 letters, but it is frequently seen to contain more than 7 letters. Now it is important to note, that when this line contains 4 to 6 letters only, a *Yati* or a narrative pause in its middle is unnecessary. When on the other hand, it contains 7 or more than 7 letters, the necessity of such a pause is felt at once. The line which contains 7 letters forms, as a matter

of fact, the transitional stage. While reciting such a line, one feels inclined, to split it up into two parts. But when there are 8 or more letters in it, it definitely requires to be split up, and here it is that the Yati in the middle of the 4th line of the Ovī is found to be definitely established. Such fourth lines containing more than 7 letters are comparatively few in the *Jñāneśvari*, but the growing tendency towards such lines is clearly noticeable in it. They are seen again, in an increasing proportion, in the two subsequent works of Jñāneśvara, namely the *Amṛtānubhava* and the *Uttara-Gītā Ṭikā*. When however, we come down to Ekanātha in the 16th century, such a fourth line had already become the rule rather than the exception. The next natural step after the introduction of the Yati is the introduction of the Yamaka and just as the original 3rd line of the Ṣaṭpadī had become split up into two owing to the Yati and the Yamaka, so now, the fourth line of the Ovī became almost split up into two, when Ekanātha and Mahīpati introduced the Yamaka, in its middle. Only the tradition of the 'limping fourth foot' must have saved the Ovī from being transformed into an Ardha-pañcapadī! It is probably out of this consideration for the tradition, that this rhymed portion of the 4th line occurring before the Yati has never been raised to the status of a real foot, which means that its length is never made to approach that of the other three lines. If we conceive the Ovī in its original form, as a limping quadruped, touching the ground with its three legs only and if we further imagine its three Yamakas to be the sounds produced by its striking the ground with its three hoofs, then we may say, that the new Ovī with the 4 Yamakas is also a limping animal, but it nevertheless strikes the ground even with its short leg and produces the sound though this last sound produced by the lame foot is easily detectable, because it comes much too early than the others and disturbs the rhythm in an evident manner. That portion of the new 4th line which comes after the 4th Yamaka does not hang in the air like the old 4th line but is, so to say, dragged on over the ground. The 4th line in the Ovīs of poets like Śrīdhara, Mukteśvara, Vāmana and Rāmadāsa is also long like that of Ekanātha, but it contains only the Yati and not also the Yamaka. Even Vāmana, who takes utmost liberty with the first three lines, observes the sanctity of the lame foot invariably, in all his writings.

11. The word Ovī has been derived from the Marāṭhī root 'ovaṇe' meaning 'to put together' (which again is to be traced back to the Sanskrit *ava*/*mā*) by RAJWADE, *Marāṭhī Chanda*, p. 18 and the derivation seems to have been unchallenged so far. In support of it, RAJWADE points out how the word 'ovaṇikā' occurs as a synonym for Ovī in a Mahānubhāva work called *Darśana-prakāśa*, composed in A.D. 1638 (published at the Chitrashala Press, Poona, 1901). Mr. A. K. PRIYOLKAR, *Vividhajñānavistāra*, Sept.-Oct. 1933, p. 272, further points out how the Marāṭhī root 'ovaṇe' is used in the sense of 'compose together' in a metaphor, where words are said to be gems, in a work called 'Bālāvabodha' of Tryambaka, who was a contemporary of Ekanātha. The derivation is not impossible, yet it presupposes

that Ovī is a purely Marāṭhī metre invented by the Marāṭhī poets and that there is no connection whatsoever between the Ovī and the Prakrit or the Apabhraṃśa metres ! RAJWADE indeed wants us to believe that (1) the peculiar Ovī metre with its characteristic 'lame foot' is but a rejuvenated old Vedic metre, and that (2) it is only an Akṣara Vṛtta like the Vedic metres ; cf. *Marāṭhī Chanda*, pp. 30-31. He further explains how in the Vedic metres there are several lines which are undersyllabled and how the 'lame foot' of the Ovī may have been imitated from such lines. He indeed admits that there is a great difference between the undersyllabled foot of the Vedic metres and the 'lame foot' of the Marāṭhī Ovī because while the former is an exception and may occur in any of the three or four lines of the stanza, the latter must occur as a rule, in the fourth line alone. But he offers an explanation that the fourth line of an Ovī is always kept short in order that the reader might know where one Ovī ends and the other begins ! cf. *Ibid.*, p. 30. All these assumptions of the great scholar are, however, most unconvincing. Firstly, it is impossible to imagine that the illiterate masses, with whom the metre originated, could have gone for their inspiration to the old and long-forgotten Vedic metres, leaving aside the common Apabhraṃśa metres which were in vogue fully at the time when the Ovī originated. Secondly, the Ovī cannot be regarded as an Akṣara Vṛtta like the Vedic metres. It is a Tāla Vṛtta proper as shown above, where all importance is attached to the Mātrās intervening between the two strokes of the Tāla and none at all to the number of letters. The general employment of a definite number in its lines and the indiscriminate use of long and short letters may give it the appearance of an Akṣara Vṛtta. But the fact that in its original and purer form of an Abhaṅga, it is always sung to the accompaniment of a time-keeping instrument, and that while singing, the letters assume only a secondary rôle, being twisted according to the necessity of the Tāla, ought to leave no doubt that the Ovī was originally a Tāla Vṛtta and is still so in its popular form of the Abhaṅga. Only those Marāṭhī poets, who gave it the new literary form, removed this characteristic from it, and made it an entirely 'free verse', without any restrictions as to the number of the Mātrās and letters or their quantity. If we maintain that the lines of the Ovī may contain *any* number of letters, how can we say in the same breath, that it is an Akṣara Vṛtta ? In an Akṣara Vṛtta, the number of letters that ought to occur in each line is restricted. But RAJWADE himself has said in the beginning (cf. *Ibid.*, p. 20), that any number of letters from 6 to 18 may occur in the lines of an Ovī, of course, in the first three lines. It is thus impossible to assume that the Ovī is an Akṣara Vṛtta. That the Ovī was borrowed from the illiterate masses by the Marāṭhī poets is not at all to be doubted. *Jñāneśvarī* XIII, 1743, describes the Ovī as the 'Ābāla-subodha bandha', i.e. a metre which is well-known even to a child. That originally it was a metre to be sung, but lost this characteristic, when it became a literary metre is also proved from *Jñāneśvarī*, XIII, 1742 (*jāṇivete miravī, gītemvīnahi raṅgu dāvī*) 'it shows the characteristic of a song, and

possesses the beauty of a song though it is not a song.' At *Mānasollāsa*, the Ovī is said to be the song which is sung by the Marāṭhā women while unhusking corn (probably while grinding it).

12. As regards the 'lame foot' of the Ovī, the remarks of RAJWADE are equally beside the point. It has obviously nothing to do with the exceptional and irregular undersyllabled lines of the Vedic metres, more particularly so when the connection between the Ovī and the Vedic metres itself is highly improbable. Nor is the reason offered by RAJWADE for its regular occurrence at the end of the Ovī, in any way convincing. If the last line of the Ovī is to be kept short in order to show where the earlier Ovī ends and the later one begins, why could the same rule not be applied to any other Catuṣpadī metres for the same reason? The fact is that the reason was given by RAJWADE because some reason had to be given and that, therefore, it need not be taken into consideration by us, in a serious manner. Finally, this short line of the Ovī should not be traced back to a similar short 4th line of the Prakrit metre Gāthā, because logically a connection between the two cannot be established. Gāthā is a very old Prakrit metre, which had almost become sacred to the Buddhist and the Jinas. It was not held in great favour by the Apabhraṁśa poets, though its derivatives like the Gīṭī were sometimes employed by them for their strophes. Besides it was obviously regarded as the metre of the 'learned'. Hence it was employed by even the Sanskrit Pandits for their compositions. There is again no similarity between the two as regards the construction or form. All this discussion ought to prove that the Ovī is a legitimate property of the Marāṭhī-speaking masses, inherited by them from their Apabhraṁśa-speaking ancestors, and then the derivation of the word Ovī from the Marāṭhī root 'ovaṇe' appears only to be a make-shift invented by those, who had forgotten the original significance of the word. The evidence of an author, who lived in 1608, is as good or as bad as the evidence of another living in our own times! On the other hand, the designation of a metre from the number of lines it contains, is a very common thing in the Apabhraṁśa language. Thus the Dvipadī, the Catuṣpadī, the Ṣaṭpadī and the Aṣṭapadī are well-known names. It is also possible to derive the word Ovī from the Sanskrit 'Upajāti', which is the name of the particular type of the Ṣaṭpadī, from the half of which our Ovī is derived; see above para. 4 and Hemacandra, *Chandonuśāsana*, p. 38b/14ff. But I am personally inclined to believe that the word is best derived from the Sanskrit Ardhacatuṣpadī. The name becomes very significant as it explains its connection with the Apabhraṁśa metres and also its own peculiar characteristic, i.e. the short 4th line.

13. Thus far, we have traced the origin and history of the two most important and widely employed Marāṭhī metres, i.e. the Ovī and the Abhaṅga. We shall now briefly examine the nature of the other two Marāṭhī metres, the Diṇḍī and the Sāki, which stand next in importance to the Ovī and the Abhaṅga. Both are Mātrāvṛttas and not Akṣara or Akṣaragaṇa

Vṛttas. All popular metres are indeed Mātrā Vṛttas, except when they are borrowed from the Sanskrit metres. The Dīṇḍī is to be traced to an Apabhraṁśa Catuspadī Galitaka, containing 19 Mātrās in each of its four lines. The Mātrā Gaṇas with which the 19 Mātrās are to be made up, are 3, 2, 2, 2, 3, 3, 2, 2. The last two Dvimātrika Gaṇas are to be represented by two long letters, and a Yati must occur after the 9th Mātrā. The other Mātrā Gaṇas may be made up in any way, so long as their separateness is maintained as described by me in my 'Apabhraṁśa Metres', para. 13, in *BUJ.*, Nov. 1933, p. '38, by avoiding the use of a long letter at the junction of the two Mātrā Gaṇas. Thus the 3rd and the 4th, the 5th and the 6th, the 7th and the 8th, the 9th and the 10th, the 12th and the 13th, as also the 15th and the 16th Mātrās must never be combined into a long letter. The name Dīṇḍī is very probably to be derived from the Sanskrit *Ḍiṇḍima* and not from Daṇḍikā, which is a stringed instrument. Dīṇḍī, like every other popular metre, is a Tāla Vṛtta and a stringed instrument is generally not used for keeping the Tāla. Dīṇḍī therefore could not have derived its name from a stringed instrument, with which it could not have been sung, in a proper manner. It is true, that some popular bards sing their songs to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument like the 'Ekatāri', which serves the double purpose of keeping the Tāla and helping the Svara; but this is possible in the case of every metre and there is no special reason why Dīṇḍī alone should get its name from it. There is much sense on the other hand, in deriving it from the *Ḍiṇḍima*. When sung, the metre produces a sound, which is very similar to the one produced by the *Ḍiṇḍima*, which is small hand-drum, similar to the *Ḍamaru*.

14. The next metre is the Sākī. It is really a Dvipadī, whose lines contain 28 Mātrās each. There is a double Yati in the line. First it comes after the 8th and then after the 16th Mātrā. The Yati is not accompanied by the Yamaka. The Mātrās are made up by employing any of the Caturmātrika Gaṇas. Regarding the name Sākī, RAJWADE derives it from the Sanskrit Śakvarī, which is a name given to all those Sanskrit metres, whose lines contain 14 letters and thus make up a total of 56 *letters* in all their four lines together. Our Sākī contains 56 *Mātrās* in its two lines together, and thus owing to the similarity in point of the number 56, we are required to believe that the name Śakvarī is secondarily applied to the Sākī! I am not at all sure about this. If at all, the name Sākī is to be derived from a Sanskrit word, I can only say, that that word cannot be Śakvarī. It may be any other word, but not this one at any rate. The Sanskrit *ra* is never dropped in the Prakrits. It is either changed to *la* or even to *da*; cf. PISCHEL, *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, Secs. 256-258. I am however, unable to offer a more satisfactory derivation at the present stage. Besides, I am not quite sure, that the name is not of a purely local origin, having very little to do with any corresponding Sanskrit or Prakrit name. When the Sākī is used singly, it has generally the appendage of two more lines, the 1st having 10 and the 2nd only 14 Mātrās in it. This appendage takes

the place of the Dhruvapaḍa, when several Sāḁīs are used to form a Kaḁa-va-ka, or a Paḁya. This appendage is evidently to be traced back to the half of a similar Ardhasama Catuṣpaḁī. There are no special Mātrāgaṇas, for the lines in this appendage. They may be formed with any Dvīmātrika or Caturmātrika Gaṇas. Trimātrika or Pañcamātrika Gaṇas cannot be used for fear of disturbing the Tāla, which is Dhumālī of 8 Mātrās.

15. There are two more metres, which are regarded as pure Marāṭhī metres. They are the Āratī and the Ghanākṣarī. The former is not noticed by RAJWADE. It is so called on account of its connection with the Ārtikya ceremony in the idol-worship. Āratī indeed is a very general term and may signify many different metres. The particular metre which I mean is however, the commonest among them. It is a Dvipaḁī with 22 Mātrās in each line, with the Yati after the 12th Mātrā. In its Prakrit form, it is known as Vicchitti to Virahāṅka.¹ The Ghanākṣarī is fully discussed by RAJWADE in his *Marāṭhī Chanda*, pp. 5-8. It is regarded by him as a separate metre. As a matter of fact, however, it is only the second variety of the Abhaṅga, sung in a slightly different way. The first three lines in the Ghanākṣarī, as in this variety, contain 8 letters and 16 Mātrās each, while the last line contains only 7 letters and 14 Mātrās. Naturally, all the letters are expected to be long, so as to yield the required number of the Mātrās in each line. It is for this reason, that the metre is called Ghanākṣarī. Even though the Ghanākṣarī is identical with the second variety of the Abhaṅga in all respects, this condition of all long letters seems to have been laid down only in the case of Ghanākṣarī, on account of the peculiar way in which it is to be sung. The rule however, is very elastic as will be shown below, and there is practically no difference between the two metres. This being so, RAJWADE'S entire discussion of the metre is clearly beside the point. His contention that the lines of Ghanākṣarī are made with Trimātras, which have a long letter in them, is never borne out by facts. He is perfectly conscious of this (cf. p. 6), but seeks to ignore it. His interpretation of the word Ghanākṣarī, considered by him as an equivalent of Gurvākṣarī, as meaning 'Having a long letter in each of its Trimātras' is entirely fanciful, and is only illustrative of his usual irresponsible and high-handed treatment of such topics. He also blames GODBOLE for *correctly* printing the Ghanākṣarīs in his *Vṛttadarpaṇa* ! This is because, he cannot satisfactorily explain the facts with the help of the theory that he has formulated. The facts therefore, must change so as to suit his theory !

16. In all the Tālavṛttas, where the number of letters in a line is restricted by the common practice of the poets and not by the necessities of the metre, such as e.g. the Abhaṅgas of all kinds and the Ghanākṣarī, it is important to remember, that the most essential thing even here, as in the other Tālavṛttas is the number of the Mātrās and not the number of the letters or even their quantity. It does not matter in all such cases,

1. Vṛttajāṭisamuccaya, (JBBRAS, 1929, p. 71), IV. 91.

how you pronounce the individual letters so long as you put in all the Mātrās that are required to occur between the two strokes of the Tāla. Thus, in the Ghanākṣarī or the Abhaṅga, where all letters are expected to be pronounced long, no real harm is done to the music even if the short letters are pronounced as such ; only the deficiency of the Mātrās has got to be made up by the introduction of a sufficient number of the metrical pauses. We shall make this clear by taking a concrete example of the lines of the Ghanākṣarī and the second variety of the Abhaṅga. Thus the lines 'Tina śireṁ sahā hāta', and 'Mhaṇe Bharata hā Rāma' contain 8 letters and 16 Mātrās each. Every letter therefore, is normally expected to yield 2 Mātrās and must, on that account, be pronounced long. But if we desire to read the short letters as short for the sake of Śuddhavācana, we might do so ; but then, the Mātrās that are dropped in so doing, must be restored. Again, as the metres are sung in the Dhumālī Tāla of 8 Mātrās, such deficiency must be made up within the *same* Tālagāṇa. To explain, the lines of the above-mentioned metres become divisible into the two Tālagāṇas of 8 Mātrās each. The deficiency in each must therefore be *separately* made up within itself. Thus the letters 'na' and 'śi' in the first half of the 1st line, when pronounced short, leave a deficiency of two Mātrās in the first Tālagāṇa. This has to be made up by introducing a pause of 2 Mātrās after 're' ; similarly the deficiency of one Mātrā caused by the short pronunciation of 'sa' in the second half is to be made up by the insertion of a pause of 1 Mātrā after 'hā'. Generally, these pauses are to be introduced after a long letter ; but when this is not possible, they must even be introduced after a short letter, which then, must be pronounced long. In the first half of the second line i.e. 'Mhaṇe Bhara', the deficiency caused by the short pronunciation of 'mha' and 'bha' must be made up by introducing a pause of 2 Mātrās after the short letter 'ra', which of course, has to be pronounced long, because the 1st Tālagāṇa ends with 'ra', and the Tāla does not brook disturbance, whatever may happen to the individual letters. It is for this reason, that these Metres cannot be regarded as the Akṣaravṛttas, though the number of letters in them is generally restricted by the common practice of the poets. We say 'generally', because, such Abhaṅgas containing more than 8 letters are abundantly found in the Abhaṅga literature, and in their case, the rule of quickly pronouncing two or more letters, so as to yield only the necessary Mātrās, as explained at the end of para. 2 above, has got to be applied. The discussion will also prove that the charge of correctly printing (!) the Ghanākṣarīs, after observing the rules of 'hrasva' and 'dīrgha', which is levelled by RAJWADE against GODBOLE, the editor of the *Vṛttadarpaṇa*, is quite baseless.

17. The other Marāṭhī metres like the Savāi, the Kaṭāva, the Faṭkā, the Lāvaṇī and the like have not been noticed here, because they are either to be traced to the Sanskrit Akṣaragāṇa Vṛttas, or to some one or the other Catuspadī or Ṣaṭpadī metres in the Apabhraṁśa language. They are most of them Mātrā and Tāla Vṛttas.

A NEW PERSIAN EMBASSY TO THE VIJAYANAGARA COURT

By

B. A. SALETORE

Historians of Vijayanagara were till now aware of only one embassy from the king of Persia to the court of Vijayanagara. This was the famous mission of 'Abdur Razzāk who came to India from the court of Sultan Shah Rukh, and who stayed at the court of Vijayanagara from the end of April 1443 till the 5th of December, 1443.¹ The generosity which the Hindu monarch Deva Rāya showed the Persian ambassador was unique. Few ambassadors were treated in that magnificent manner in which 'Abdur Razzāk was received by king Deva Rāya.² It may be that the later Persian court wished to reciprocate this royal treatment, and that made a later Persian monarch, therefore, send another ambassador to Vijayanagara.

The good feelings which existed between Vijayanagara and Persia seem to have been deliberately fostered by king Narasinga (A.D. 1496—A.D. 1503). He caused horses to be brought from Ormuz and Adeem (Aden) into his kingdom, and thereby gave great patronage to merchants, paying for the horses just as they asked. He took them dead or alive at three for a thousand *pardoas*, and of those that died by sea they brought him the tail only, and he paid for it just as if it had been alive.³

These two causes, among others, may have been responsible for the second Persian embassy to the Vijayanagara court in the first half of the sixteenth century A.D. Our two sources of information for this interesting chapter in the foreign relations of Vijayanagara are Firistah and the bas-reliefs on the walls of the throne-platform in the capital itself.

The Muhammadan historian mentions the Persian embassy in two different contexts—once while describing the events in the reign of Ismā'il 'Adil Shah of Bijapur, and, then again, while describing the events of the kingdom of Gujarat. In the latter connection he has quite a number of interesting details to give. Firistah writes thus while dealing with the Bijapur monarch :—"Some years previous to these events, the king of Persia Shah Ismā'il Sufvy had sent ambassadors to the several states of Hindoostan, who had been received with due respect both by the Ray of Beejanuggur and the king of Guzerat. At this time Mahmūd Shah, also, received an ambassador

1. SEWELL, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 87 ; SALETORE, *Social & Political Life the Vijayanagara Empire*, I., pp. 43-44.

2. Read SALETORE, *ibid.*, I. p. 396.

3. SEWELL, *ibid.*, p. 307.

from him with proper attention, and wished to dismiss him with royal presents, but was prevented by Ameer Bereed.¹ In this dilemma the ambassador wrote to Ismael 'Adil Shah, complaining of his being detained at Ahmudabad Bidur. The king of Beejapur demanded the dismissal of the Persian ambassador, who, having obtained his audience of leave, came to Beejapoor, where he was met by Ismael 'Adil Shah at Allapor. He was honoured with rich presents, and a suitable escort attended him as far as the part of Dabul, from whence he embarked on his return to Persia."² The king of Persia deputed in return for this attention paid to his ambassador, Ibrahim Beg Turkman, with letters and presents to Ismāil 'Adil Shah. But this was in A.D. 1519. The Bijapur Sultan honoured the ambassador in a fitting manner and even ordered the recital of prayers at the mosques on Fridays for the royal family of Persia.³

From the above account of Firistah the following may be deduced :—

(a) That the king of Persia Shah Ismāil Sufvy sent ambassadors to several courts of India ;

(b) That the Persian king sent again an embassy to the court of Bijapur in A.D. 1519 as a result of the special favour shown to the Persian ambassador on the previous occasion ; and

(c) That it was on this previous occasion that the Persian king had sent an ambassador (or ambassadors) to three courts—that of the Bahmani Sultan, of the king of Gujarat, and of the ruler of Vijayanagara.

Now we have to ascertain the year when Shah Ismāil Sufvy of Persia had sent an embassy to the court of Gujarat. This is gathered from the following account of the reign of king Mahmūd Shah I of Gujarat which Firistah describes thus :—

Shortly after his return from Ahmedabad, Mahmud Shah I fell dangerously ill. He summoned his son Prince Muzzāffar from Baroda. However the king recovered but having a relapse of his complaint, he again sent for the Prince. "At this period, Yadgar Beg Kuzilbash arrived as ambassador from Shah Ismael, king of Persia ; but before he could obtain an audience, Mahmood Shah died, on the 2nd of Ramzan, A.H. 917 A.D. 1511, (Nov. 23), in the seventieth year of his age, and the fifty-fourth of his reign."⁴

It may be noted, by the way, how long the Persian ambassador remained at the Gujarat court. On the death of Mahmūd Shah I, his son Muzzāfar

1. I assume the ruler Mahmūd Shah mentioned by Firistah was no other than the Bahmani ruler of that name, called Mahmud Shah II, who ruled from A.D. 1481 till A.D. 1518. [Firistah, *The Rise of the Mahommedan Power in India till the year A.D. 1612*, II, pp. 519-552. (Trans. BRIGGS.). The reference to Amir Barid and Ismail 'Adil Shah confirms this view.—B.A.S.]

2. Firistah, *ibid.*, III, pp. 47-48.

3. Firistah, *ibid.*, III, p. 48.

4. Firistah, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 77.

Shah II ascended the throne. Firistah continues to narrate that "on the following month Yadgar Beg, the Persian ambassador, reached the capital, and all the principal officers and heads of departments were deputed to meet him at some distance from the city, in order to welcome him in the king's name, and to escort him to a handsome palace fitted up for his reception. At his first audience, the ambassador delivered his credentials and some of the rarities of Persia, when he and the rest of the suite were honoured with robes."¹

"Some time afterwards" Muzzāffar Shah II went to Baroda where Sahib Khan, a refugee prince from Malwa, sought his protection against Sahib Khan's brother the ruler of Malwa. This Sahib Khan contracted a close intimacy with the Persian ambassador which ended in a street scuffle between the Persians called Kuzilbash or Red-haired and the Indians. This street scene does not concern us.² But we may note that the Persian ambassador was in the Gujarat court at least for some months. Firistah does not give us the exact date of the arrival and departure of the Persian ambassador Yadgar Beg.

But from his statement made in an earlier connection, it is evident that the Persian ambassador "was received with due respect both by the Ray of Beejanuggur and the king of Guzerat" almost at the time of the death of Mahmūd Shah I on Nov. 23, 1511. "In the next month" he was received by Muzaffar Shah II. Hence we may legitimately place Yadgar Beg's arrival at the Gujarat court on Nov. 23, 1511, and his official reception in the same court in the next month of December, 1511. If we allot one more month for the Sahib Khan—Yadgar Beg episode mentioned by Firistah, it may mean that the Persian ambassador remained in all three months at the court of Gujarat.

From Firistah's testimony it seems as if we are to assume that Yadgar Beg was the same Persian ambassador who also visited Vijayanagara. For the Muhammadan historian mentions the Persian ambassador in connection with both the Rāya of Vijayanagara and the king of Gujarat. If our assumption that Yadgar Beg may have left the court of Gujarat somewhere in December 1511 is correct, and if we allot about a month for him to cover the distance from Gujarat to the Hindu kingdom of the South, Yadgar Beg may have arrived at the court of Vijayanagara towards the end of December 1511 or early in 1512.

The only monarch who sat on the throne of Vijayanagara about this time was Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great (A.D. 1509-A.D. 1529).³ Therefore, if Firistah's statement is accepted, Shah Ismāil Sufvy of Persia sent an embassy to the court of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great in A.D. 1512.

1. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 79.

2. Firistah, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 80-81.

3. RICE, *Mysore & Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 118.

Now it must be admitted that so far as the reception of the Persian ambassador at the court of Vijayanagara is concerned, Firistah's testimony is not directly borne out by any epigraphic evidence. But this does not mean that Firistah has given us incorrect information. From a parallel case we may argue that such direct epigraphic evidence concerning the arrival of a foreign ambassador at the court of Vijayanagara is not necessary. In regard to the earlier and more famous embassy of 'Abdur Razzāk, there is no epigraphic evidence at all. And yet it is an undisputed fact that 'Abdur Razzāk did visit the great capital of Vijayanagara. Turning to the embassy of Yadgar Beg, we find that there is one piece of corroborative evidence which is lacking in the case of the mission of 'Abdur Razzāk. And this is the faithful depiction of the scene of the reception of the Persian ambassador by Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great, on the east wall of the steps on the south side of the Throne-platform at Vijayanagara. Before we turn to this side of the question, it may be observed that notwithstanding the fact of the epigraphs being silent on the topic of the reception of the Persian ambassador, yet their evidence may be indirectly utilized in connection with his arrival at Vijayanagara. To decide whether Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya received any embassy, the following points have to be solved—(a) when the coronation of that monarch took place; and (b) where that ruler was soon after his coronation—whether in the capital itself or outside on his numerous campaigns. The coronation of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great was celebrated in Śaka 1430, expired Śukla Māgha śu. 14 (= A.D. 1509 Feb. Sunday the 14th).¹ Both on the strength of epigraphs which we shall cite presently, and on the evidence of a foreign witness, we know that Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya was in the capital at least for two or three years after his coronation. Nuniz, the Portuguese traveller, who visited Vijayanagara in A.D. 1530, relates that soon after his coronation, Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya sent his nephew to Candragiri, and he himself stayed “in the city Bisnaga for a year and a half without going outside it, learning the affairs of the kingdom and looking at the testaments of past kings.”²

But we know from epigraphs that Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya was in the capital at least for four years after his coronation. That is to say, he did not undertake his famous campaigns from A.D. 1509 until A.D. 1513. It is here that we utilize indirectly the evidence of these epigraphs to show that there was a foreign embassy at the court of that great monarch. Inscriptions dated A.D. 1511, 1512, and 1513 bestow great praise on Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya. Thus in the Mattōḍu copper plate grant dated A.D. 1511 we have three significant phrases used in connection with that monarch :—“From his *wide spread fame* all nature became as if of the same (white) colour (*kīrtiyā yasya samantataḥ prasṛtayā viśvam rucaikyam vrajed*). Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya seated on

1. *Epigraphia Indica*. I, pp. 361-371; RANGACHARYA, *A Topographical List of the Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*, I, pp. 304; SWAMIKANNU *An Indian Ephemeris*, V, p. 220.

2. SEWELL, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

the jewelled throne in Vijayanagara, *shone with surpassing fame* (*Vijayanagara ratna*) *śimhāsanasthaḥ kṣmāpālān Kṛṣṇarāya kṣitipati-adharīkratya... kīrtim simindhe*). And finally, we are told that the copper plate which registered a grant of land by the *renowned king* Kṛṣṇa Rāya, was composed with soft expressions by Sabhāpati (*tad-idam avani vanīpaka vinuta-dharāyasya Kṛṣṇarāyasya śāsanam uru-Kavi-vaibhava-nivaha-nidanasya bhūri dānasya*).¹ These phrases are not given to any of the predecessors of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, although king Narasimha had many conquests to his credit. And as regards the successors of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, the epithet *great* is given in A.D. 1532 to king Acyuta, obviously because he came after the Great Kṛṣṇa Rāya and because of his munificence.²

The above statements in the Mattōḍu copper plate grant are significant. We know that in spite of the composer Sabhāpati's assertion that Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya "filled with the accounts of his victories to each point of the compass," that that monarch had nevertheless not embarked on the series of campaigns that were to make his reign the most glorious in the history of southern India. For in this year A.D. 1511, only two years after his coronation, Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya was still in the capital; and, if we are to believe the evidence of Nuniz, the monarch was busy looking into the details of administration. Then what made the composer of the above Mattōḍu copper plate state that in A.D. 1511 Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's fame had become "widespread", and that he shone with "surprising fame"? The reference is obviously to the celebrity of the monarch in the courts of neighbouring and foreign rulers. It is not unlikely that because of the news of the arrival of the ambassador from Persia at the court of the Vijayanagara monarch that the latter is described to be "famous" in A.D. 1511. Whatever that may be, on the basis of the above Mattōḍu copper plate grant, it may be asserted that Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya was in the capital in A.D. 1511.

The uncommon fame of the Vijayanagara ruler as given in the purely official record of Mattōḍu, may be compared with the praise bestowed on the same ruler in a private grant of the next year. This is the Sātanūr, stone inscription found at Sātanūr, Māgadi tāluka, Mysore State, and dated A.D. 1512. In this record we have the following—*Śrīmān mahā-Kṛṣṇa-rāyara kālādalli* (In the time of the Great Kṛṣṇa Rāya).¹ Perhaps because of the fact that the fame of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya had reached foreign lands that he is called Mahā Kṛṣṇa Rāya in this year.

In another official record, too, an identical epithet is used in regard to that monarch. This is the Shimoga Uraḡadūra copper plate grant dated A.D. 1513, which says the following :—That in the presence of the god Virūpākṣa on the Tungabhadra, the Great Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya (*Kṛṣṇa Rāya mahā*

1. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, XI, Hk. 94, pp. 127-128, text, pp. 366-368.

2. *Ibid.*, IV, Ch. 115, 122, pp. 16, 17.

3. *E. C.*, IX, Mg. 22, p. 54, text, p. 108.

matih) made a specified grant of land.¹ Then, again, in the Bhaṇḍigere stone inscription, Chāmarājanagara tāluka, Mysore State, dated also in the same year (A.D. 1513), the same ruler is styled *Śrīmān mahā Kṛṣṇa Rāyaru*.²

The above records indirectly suggest, therefore, that Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya had become uncommonly famous between the years A.D. 1511 and A.D. 1513. Since we know that he started on his famous campaigns only in the year A.D. 1515, and since there is no evidence of his having done anything remarkable while in the capital during the first four years after his coronation (A.D. 1509—A.D. 1513), we are to suppose that he had become celebrated because of some uncommon event in his court. A foreign embassy from a ruler outside India was precisely such an event which increased the fame of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya both in and outside his dominions.³

More direct and convincing evidence of the arrival of an embassy from Persia is afforded in one of the bas-reliefs on the walls of the imperial buildings at Vijayanagara. These bas-reliefs are well worth a detailed study, since they form by themselves a mine of information concerning the daily life of the princes and people of Vijayanagara. For our purpose we may observe that one scene on the walls of the Throne-platform illustrates admirably the incident of the Persian ambassador. It is the following where the monarch is represented as seated in the customary Hindu manner with his legs crossed over on the throne, and before him are two persons with a boy leading a horse by the bridle behind them. (Figure 1).

Before we proceed further with this interesting bas-relief, an objection may be raised. It may be maintained here that the foreigners described in this scene were Jesuit Fathers who also visited the Hindu court about this time. But a careful consideration of (*a*) the dress worn by the Jesuit Fathers and the Persians, and (*b*) the dates of the Jesuit missions and of the Persian ambassador, will reveal that the sculpture representing the Persian scene is quite distinct from that representing the Jesuit mission.

(*a*) The embassy of the Jesuit Fathers has been represented in an equally suggestive manner by a separate bas-relief on the east wall of the same Throne-platform. (Figure II) Here the same monarch Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya is seated on the throne along with his two queens. One of the legs of the monarch is let down the throne, while his left hand is raised to acknow-

1. *Ibid.*, VII, Sh. I, p. 1.

2. *Ibid.*, IV, Ch. 109, p. 15, text, p. 41.

3. For another record to show that Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya was in the capital, see *ibid.*, IV, Ng. 81, p. 133. His capture of Koṇḍaviḍu was effected on June 23, 1515 (257 of 1892); and in the next year the conquest of Kalinga (Saka 1438., Dhātri). (244 & 245 of 1899; RANGACHARYA, *A Top. List.*, II, p. 765; III, p. 1675). Hence Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's great conquests began after A.D. 1513. These military victories and the celebrity which he had secured in the earlier part of his reign, among other causes, were responsible for his being called the Great Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya in A.D. 1523 and 1529 (*E C.*, IV, Ch. 1, and 99, pp. 1, 13).

ledge the salutation of the foreigners. These foreigners are undoubtedly Jesuits, as is proved by the manner in which they wear their head gear, their mode of salutation, and, finally, their dress. On their heads are European hats; their hands are carefully couched, the wrist of the left hand holding the elbow of the right (in both cases); and they bow in the customary European manner, with their heads gently and respectfully inclined more towards the right. Their robes are the typical Jesuit robes, which stretch from their necks down to their ankles hiding their trousers. Their beards are pointed at the end in the manner of the Jesuits. Behind them are two elephants, each fully caparisoned and led by a *māhut*, and one following the other.

Now have we contemporary evidence of the visit of the Jesuits to the court of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great? On three different occasions the Portuguese sent embassies to the Vijayanagara court. The above scene (Figure II) which we shall style the Jesuit embassy, refers to two of the three embassies sent by the Portuguese. Before we give further details about these three European embassies, it is worth while to note the causes which made the Portuguese send embassies to Vijayanagara. Firstly, it was the anxiety which the Portuguese felt for their commercio-political designs. They desired the aid of Vijayanagara to repel an attack on one of their coastal centres by their enemies. Thus in A.D. 1509 the Portuguese Governor Albuquerque sent Father Luis of the Order of St. Francis as an ambassador to Vijayanagara to beg Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya to come by land and reduce the Samuri (Zamorin) of Calicut, promising himself to assault simultaneously by sea.¹ Secondly, the Portuguese sent ambassadors to the court of the same ruler to secure permission from him to build a fort at Bhaṭkaḷ. Thus in A.D. 1510 the same Governor Albuquerque sent Gaspar Chanoca on a mission to Vijayanagara. The object of this mission was to ask the Vijayanagara ruler to renew the request of Albuquerque's predecessor Governor Almeida to build a fort at Bhaṭkaḷ.² And, finally, the Portuguese sent ambassadors for purely commercial reasons. Thus in A.D. 1517 Correa relates that Governor Lopo Soares sent Christovão de Figueiredo as factor with horses and elephants to the court of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya.³ Paes and Nuniz also mention the personal visit of de Figueiredo to the court of the Vijayanagara monarch.⁴

Which of these three ambassadors—Father Luis, Gaspar Chanoca, and Christovão de Figueiredo—is represented in the bas-reliefs under discussion?

An answer to this question will be secured when we ascertain the fate that befell every one of these three ambassadors.

(a) *Father Luis' mission*:—Fr. Luis' mission was due to the great concern the Portuguese felt in subduing the Zamorin of Calicut. As related

1. SEWELL, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

2. SEWELL, *ibid.*, p. 124.

3. SEWELL, *ibid.*, p. 251.

4. SEWELL, *ibid.*, pp. 251, 343.

above, it was Governor Albuquerque that had sent him to Vijayanagara. This viceroy succeeded Almeida at the end of A.D. 1509 as the head of the Portuguese settlements on the coast.¹ Since it is improbable that Albuquerque sent Fr. Luis as soon as the former became viceroy, we have to assume that Fr. Luis was despatched to Vijayanagara in the month of January 1510. The Jesuit ambassador left Cochin, reached Bhatkal, and thence came to Vijayanagara.² Here it is worthwhile to remember that Governor Albuquerque promised in future to supply Vijayanagara alone with Arab and Persian horses, and not to send any to Bijapur. But in spite of this assurance, no answer was given to Fr. Luis by the Vijayanagara Emperor.³ And poor Fr. Luis never returned from the great Hindu capital : he was murdered there under unknown circumstances.⁴

(b) *The embassy of Gaspar Chanoca* :—This followed closely on the heels of the former. Albuquerque had by the beginning of A.D. 1510 captured Goa from the Bijapur Sultan Yusūf 'Ādil Shah ; and he entered that city triumphantly on March 1, 1510.⁵ It was immediately after this success that he sent Gaspar Chanoca to Vijayanagara with the request mentioned above. Barros tells us that although Chanoca was received most solemnly and courteously by Kṣṛṇa Deva Rāya, yet the latter gave Chanoca merely a diplomatic answer without granting the Portuguese Governor's request.⁶

What we have to remember is that these two embassies followed immediately one after the other, almost to give the impression that both were sent at the same time. For whereas Fr. Luis led an embassy in January 1510, Chanoca followed him in March of the same year.

(c) *The embassy of de Figueiredo* :—As regards its nature, there is some difference of opinion. According to Correa, as we have already seen, he was sent in A.D. 1517 essentially as factor with horses and elephants ; but as pointed out by SEWELL, this is doubted by Senior Lopes.⁷ From the account of Paes we are to suppose that de Figueiredo went to see the Emperor along with Paes himself and others. This is clear from the following statement of Paes :—"When we came to this country the king was in this new town, and there went to see him Christavão de Figueiredo with all of us Portuguese that came with him, and all very handsomely dressed after our manner, with much finery ; the king received him very well, and was very complacent to him. The king was as much pleased with him as if he had been one of his own people, so much attention did he evince towards him ; and also towards those amongst us who went with him he showed much kindness. We

1. SEWELL, *ibid.*, p. 123.

2. SEWELL, *ibid.*, p. 123, (n) 2.

3. SEWELL, *ibid.*, p. 124.

4. Alfonso d'Albuquerque, *Commentaries* III, p. 35, SEWELL, *ibid.*, p. 125.

5. Firistah, *op. cit.* III, pp. 29-30 ; SEWELL, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

6. SEWELL, *ibid.*, p. 124.

7. SEWELL, *ibid.*, p. 251, (n.) 1.

were so close to the king that he touched us all and could not have enough of looking at us. Then Christavão de Figueiredo gave him letters from the Captain-Major and the things he had brought for him, with which he was greatly delighted ; principally with certain organs that the said Christavão de Figueiredo brought him, with many other things (*peças*). The king was clothed in certain white clothes embroidered with many roses in gold, and with a *pateca* of diamonds on his neck of very great value, and on his head he had a cap of brocade in fashion like a Galician helmet, covered with a piece of fine stuff all of fine silk, and he was barefooted ; for no one ever enters where the king is unless he has bare feet, and the majority of the people, or almost all, go about the country barefooted. The shoes have pointed ends, in the ancient manner, and there are other shoes that have nothing but soles, but on top are some straps which help to keep them on the feet. They are made like those which of old the Romans were wont to wear, as you will find on figures in some papers or antiquities which come from Italy. The king gave to Christavão de Figueiredo on dismissing him a *cabaya* (tunic) of brocade, with a cap of the same as the king wore, and to each one of the Portuguese he gave a cloth embroidered with many pretty figures, and this the king gives because it is customary ; he gives it in token of friendship and love.”¹

From the above account of Paes we may deduce the following :—

(a) That de Figueiredo went along with Paes and other Portuguese traders to see the monarch Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya ;

(b) That all of them were dressed “ very handsomely ” after the manner of their country, with much finery ;

(c) That the king was wearing rich dress and had on his head a cap of brocade with a piece of fine stuff all of fine silk (*kullāyī*), and he was barefooted ; and

(d) That the monarch gave fitting presents to every one of the Portuguese.

It is significant that Paes does not mention that the monarch was seated, and that the latter's two queens were seated likewise on the throne by his side. Neither does his account help us to fix the date of the visit of Christavão de Figueiredo to the Vijayanagara monarch.

But Nuniz's account helps us to assert when exactly de Figueiredo saw Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya in person. Nuniz relates the following, while describing the great victory which that monarch won at Raichur :—“ These things done, he (the Emperor) turned again upon Rachol and pitched his camp as he had done before. During this return of the King there came to meet him Christavão de Figueiredo, who was at that time in the city of Bisanga with horses, and he took with him twenty Portuguese musqueteers, he also himself

1. SEWELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 251 - 252

having his musquet. The King took much pleasure in his company, glad that he should see the war and his great power ; and he ordered some tents to be given to him of those taken from the Ydallcão, and commanded that he should be lodged close to his own quarters. One day Christavão de Figueiredo told the King that he wanted to go and see the city, but the King said that he should not set his heart upon that because he did not want any disaster to befall him. But Christavão de Figueiredo replied that the whole business of the Portuguese was war, and that this would be the greatest favour that he could do him, namely that His Highness should permit him to go and see the Moors." ¹

According to SEWELL, Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya won the famous battle of Rachur on May 19, 1520.² Accepting this date as correct, we may maintain that Christavão de Figueiredo visited the Vijayanagar Emperor in May 1520. It may be noted in this connection that along with de Figueiredo were twenty Portuguese musketeers, and that he himself carried a musket.

Neither the account of Paes nor that of Nuniz is applicable to the two figures which are found in the bas-relief which we have styled as one representing the Jesuit mission (Figure II). There are no musketeers and no guns in this particular scene. As for the account of Paes, the fact that in the sculpture under discussion the king is bare headed is alone enough to prove that the scene represented therein is different to the one mentioned by Paes. The bas-relief in Figure II, therefore, represent only the two missions of Father Luis and Gaspar Chanoca. Since, as we have above, one followed soon after the other, the sculptor represented both as having taken place at one and the same time. This representation is not really erroneous. Although Father Luis may have reached the city of Vijayanagara in about January 1510, yet he seems to have continued to stay in the same city for more than a month. Otherwise we cannot explain his death in the capital soon afterwards. It can hardly be that he was murdered as soon as he had reached Vijayanagara. His stay in the capital, therefore, seems to have synchronised with the visit of Gaspar Chanoca--hence the two are represented as having seen personally the monarch *together* in Figure II.³

Having dispensed with the bas-relief representing the Jesuit ambassadors from Goa, let us now turn to the bas-relief depicting the Persian embassy (Figure I). Here the monarch is squatted on a raised platform in the usual Hindu manner. His left hand is raised in acknowledgement of the salute by the two foreigners, while his right hand is placed akimbo. The two

1. SEWELL, *op. cit.*, p. 343.

2. SEWELL, *ibid.*, p. 147

3. The Rev. Fr. Henry HERAS has discussed the question of the Jesuit embassies in his article styled Historical Carvings in Vijayanagara in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* which particular issue unfortunately is not accessible to me when I am writing this article.—B. A. S.

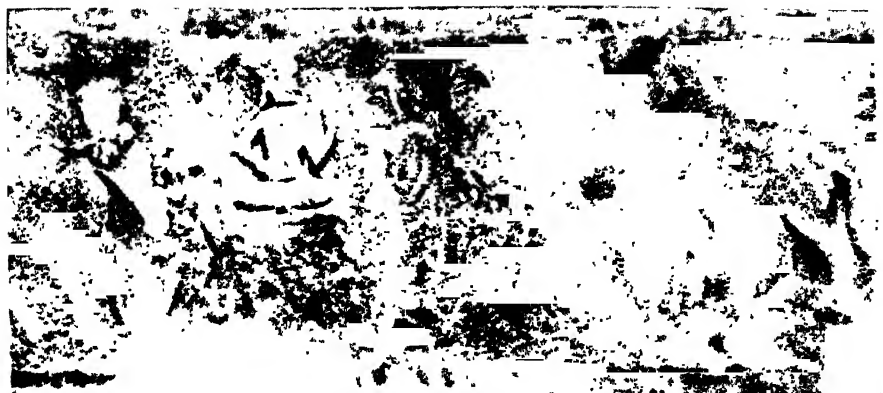


Fig I. Persian Embassy



Fig II Jesuit Embassy

foreigners are seen bowing to him in the Oriental manner with their right hand raised respectfully from near the ground to their heads. They are doing obviously the *salām*. Their head wear is typically of the Persian type. They wear tapering turbans which seem to fall behind in a sort of a tuft. Their outer robe is long, it stretches down their knees, while below it flows their inner garment. The left hand of both the Persians is respectfully placed on their body ; and as in the case of the Jesuits in Figure II, both are doing obeisance at the same time. We may note that none of the details mentioned in connection with the embassies of Father Luis, Chanoca and de Figueiredo, is applicable to this scene in Figure I which undoubtedly represents the great Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya receiving the Persian ambassador Yadgar Beg and the latter's secretary or attendant. We assume that it was no other than Yadgar Beg from the manner in which Firistah couples the "Ray of Beejanuggar" with the king of Gujarat in the passages cited above. It was not uncommon in those days for one and the same ambassador to visit two royal courts. Thus, according to Firistah, Syud Ahmad Hirvy was the ambassador whom, first, the Bijapur Sultan Yusūf 'Adil Shah sent to the king of Persia, and whom later on Yusūf 'Adil Shah's successor Ismāil 'Adil Shah sent to the court of Ahmadnagar.' And we already cited the example of the (unnamed) Persian ambassador who first went to the Bahmani ruler Muhammad Shah and then went to Ismāil 'Adil Shah of Bijapur.

We may now chronologically fix the various foreign embassies to the court of Vijayanagara in the early years of the reign of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great, thus :—

Fr. Luis' embassy	January 1510
Gaspar Chanoca's embassy	March 1510
The Persian embassy	December 1511—January 1512
Christavão de Figueiredo	1517

We thus find that from A.D. 1510 till A.D. 1517 there were four distinct embassies to the court of Vijayanagara—three sent by the Portuguese, and one by the Persian monarch. Of these two embassies sent by the Portuguese have been represented in one bas-relief on the walls of the imperial buildings, as they were sent almost at the same time. These were the embassies led by Father Luis and Gaspar Chanoca. While the Persian embassy has been depicted quite distinctly in another bas-relief also of the same building (*viz.*, the Throne-platform) at Hampi. Although we are in the dark as to the actual reception that was accorded to the Persian ambassador, whom we have provisionally identified with Yadgar Beg, yet there cannot be any doubt that Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great must have received him in a manner befitting the dignity and grandeur of that celebrated monarch.

KADAMBA MAYŪRASARMAN

By

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

According to the Talgunda inscription, the Kadambas belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family devoted to the study of the Vedas. There the family has been described as *tryārṣa-vartma*, *hārili-putra* and *Mānavya-gotra*. In this family of *dvijas* was born an illustrious and learned Brāhmaṇa named Mayūrasarman who went with his preceptor Viraśiṃha to Kāñcīpura, the Pallava capital, in order to prosecute his Vedic studies. There Mayūrasarman was drawn in a quarrel with the Pallavas,¹ and considering the illtreatment he received a dishonour to the Brāhmaṇas, "he unsheathed a flaming sword eager to conquer the world". He then easily defeated the frontier guards of the Pallava king (*antaḥ-pālān pallav-endrāṇām*)² and established himself in a dense forest near Śrīparvata. His power gradually increased, and he levied tributes from the Bṛhad-Bāṇa³ and other kings. At length a compromise was brought in, and Mayūrasarman accepted service under the Pallava kings of Kāñcī, from whom he received the *paṭṭabandha-saṃpūjā*, that is to say, the status of a subordinate ruler, as well as the territory extending from Apar-ārṇava (Western or Arabian sea) and Prehāra (river?) with a specification that no other chief would enter into it. The era (Gupta?) in the eightieth year of which the Halsi grant of Kākusthavarman (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 23) is dated, is supposed to have begun from this time.

KIELHORN is of opinion (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 29) that as Mayūrasarman is said in the Talgunda inscription to have entered into the service of the Pallavas, he seems to have become a *daṇḍanāyaka* (field-marshal) of the Pallava king of Kāñcī. This view is further supported by verse 3 of the

1. May the passage *āśva-saṃsthena kalahena* suggest that the quarrel of Mayūrasarman was in connection with a horse-sacrifice (see my *Early Pallavas*, p. 35)? Among the Early Pallavas Śivaskandavarman and Kumāraviṣṇu of the Omgodu (no. 1) grant are the only kings known to have performed the Aśvamedha. This fact appears to suggest that Mayūrasarman lived about the time of the great Śivaskandavarman who is known to have held sway over the greater portion of Lower Deccan. Kumāraviṣṇu seems to have ruled in the second half of the fourth century.

2. The plural number in *Pallavendrāṇām*, etc., may suggest that the quarrel of Mayūrasarman was not limited within the reign-period of a single Pallava king of Kāñcī, but continued in several succeeding reigns. *Antaḥ-pāla* (Warden of the Marches) is mentioned in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (SAMASAŚTRY'S ed., pp. 20, 247). The salary of an *Antaḥ-pāla* was equal to that of a *Kumāra*, *Paura-vyāva-hārika*, *Rāṣṭrapāla* and of a member of the *Mantri-pariṣat*.

3. *Bṛhad-Bāṇa* appears to mean the great Bāṇas or the greater house of the Bāṇas. Cf. Perumbāṇappāḍi in Tamil.

same inscription in which the Kadamba family is called the great lineage of leaders of armies (*kadamba-senāni-bṛhadvaya*),¹ as well as by verse 22 in which Mayūraśarman is said to have been favoured and anointed *Senāpati* (general) by Ṣaḍānana and the Mothers (*ṣaḍānanaḥ yam = abhiṣikta-vān = anudhyāya senāpatiṁ mātṛbhiḥ saha*).² In this connection it is interesting to note that in almost all the Kadamba records the family has been described as *anudhyāta* (favoured) by Svāmi-Mahāsenā (Ṣaḍānana) and the Mothers. It must also be noticed in this connection that the Sirsi grant (*Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 264) of Ravivarman describes the king as *Kadamba-mahāsenāpati-pratima*.

A very late inscription found at Talgunda (*Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 178) says that Mayūraśarman (or Mayūrarman as there written) performed no less than eighteen horse-sacrifices. G. M. MORAES says, "It may safely be maintained that he really performed one or perhaps a few more which thus formed a historical foundation for the exaggerated version of the later records." The suggestion is however untenable in view of the fact that Mayūraśarman is never credited with the performance of any sacrifice not only in his own Chandravalli record but also in the inscriptions of his immediate successors. The Kadamba family is said to have been rendered pure by the bath of the Aśvamedha only after the time of Kṛṣṇavarman I who is the only Kadamba ruler known to have performed the horse-sacrifice.

The Chandravalli inscription of Māyūraśarman (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A. R., 1929, p. 50) records the construction of a tank by the king who belonged to the Kadamba family and conquered the Trekūṭa, Ābhira, Pallava, Pāriyātrika, Śakasthāna, Sayindaka, Puṇāṭa and Mokari. This record is engraved on a boulder at the entrance of the Bhairaveśvara temple at Chandravalli and is so obliterated that it is difficult to be definite regarding the reading of some of the names mentioned in connection with Mayūraśarman's conquests.

I. Trekūṭa appears to signify the Traikūṭakas who probably received their name from the Trikūṭa mountain in Aparānta, mentioned by Kālidāsa (*Raghu*. IV, verses 58-59). An inscription (*A. S. W. I.*, p. 124f) of the Vākāṭaka king Harisena (*circa* 500-520) refers to the kingdom of Tri-kūṭa. The copper-plate grants of the Traikūṭaka kings are all discovered in the neighbourhood of Surat and Kanheri (BHANDARKAR'S *List of Inscrip-*

1. The word *senāni* means "leader of an army," cf. *Gitā*, X, 24; *Kumāra-sambhava*, II, 51. It is also a name of Kārttikeya, the divine general (*Raghu*. II, 37). Mayūraśarman was possibly styled "General" like Puṣyamitra Śuṅga.

2. The passage has been taken by KIELHORN and others to mean that Mayūraśarman was anointed by Ṣaḍānana after he meditated on Senāpati with the Mothers. This interpretation is certainly untenable. The subject in the sentence is Ṣaḍānana; but he cannot be said to meditate on Senāpati (Ṣaḍānana himself?). The verb *anudhyāya* (after favouring) is the same as in *anudhyāta* (favoured) in passages like *mahāsenā-mātṛgaṇ-ānudhyāta* (favoured by Mahāsenā and the Mothers) occurring in almost all the Kadamba records (*JAHS*, X, p. 229).

tions, Nos. 1199, 1200, 1202, etc.). The Kanheri grant of the year 245 of the Traikūṭaka era (A.D. 493-94) refers to a monastery at Kṛṣṇagiri (Kanheri) itself. The Pardi inscription of Dahrasena is dated in year 207 (A.D. 455-56). The date of the Surat inscription of Vyāghrasena is the Traikūṭaka year 232 (A.D. 479-80). The evidence of the Traikūṭaka inscriptions thus shows that the family ruled in southern Gujarat and the Koṅkaṇ about the second half of the fifth century. It is possible that the Traikūṭakas ruled in the same place also about the time of Mayūraśarman. The era used in the Traikūṭaka inscriptions is said to be the same as the Kalacuri or Cedi era which begins from A.D. 248-49 (RAPSON's *Catalogue of Coins*, pp. clx-xlxi).

Traikūṭaka coins have been discovered not only in southern Gujarat and the Koṅkaṇ, but also in the Marāṭhā country on the other side of the Ghats. The fact that the Traikūṭaka coin-types are very closely imitated from the Western Kṣatrapa coins shows that they were intended for circulation in districts where the Western Kṣatrapa coins had become familiar to the people. "Local conservatism in regard to coin-types is a marked characteristic of Indian numismatics." (RAPSON, *loc. cit.*). It is therefore clear that the country of the Traikūṭakas was originally a part of the dominions of the Śaka kings of Ujjain. According to the Ajanta inscription (A.S.W. I., IV, p. 138ff.) the Trikūṭa country was conquered by Vākāṭaka king Harisena who appears to have ruled about the beginning of the sixth century A.D.

II. The earliest mention of the Ābhīras seems to be that in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, I, 252 (*Ind. Ant.*, XLVII, p. 36). There they are associated with the Śūdras. According to a verse of the *Mahābhārata*, these two tribes lived near the place where the Sarasvatī lost itself in the sands (cf. IX, 37, 1 : *Śūdr-ābhīrām prati dveṣād=yatra naṣṭā sarasvatī*). Elsewhere however the same authority places the Ābhīras in the Aparānta (II, 51). The country of the Ābhīras has been mentioned as Abiria in the *Periplus* and as Abēria in the Geography of Ptolemy. According to the Greek geographer (*Geog.*, VII, i. § 55), the land about the mouth of the Indus was generally called Indo-Scythia which consisted of three countries, viz., Patalēnē (Indus delta), Abēria (Ābhīra country) and Surastrēnē (Kathiawar).

The *Purāṇas* (e.g., *Vāyu*, 99 v. 359) mention the Ābhīras who ruled after the Andhras (Sātavāhanas). An Ābhīra chief named Rudrabhūti is known to have served as general of a Śaka king of Ujjain. The Gunda inscription of Śaka 103 (A.D. 181), belonging to the reign of Rudrasimha I, records the digging of a tank by the Ābhīra general Rudrabhūti. It is also known that for a time the Śaka Satraps of Western India were shadowed by an Ābhīra king named Māḍharipuṭra Īśvarasena, son of Śivadatta. The Nasik inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 88) of this king records the investment of 1500 *kārṣāpaṇas* in the trade-guilds of Govardhana (Nasik) for the purpose of providing medicines to the monks dwelling in the monastery on the Triraśmi

mountain.¹ Coins of a Mahākṣatrapa named Īśvaradatta have been found in Kathiawar. These are silver coins of the same style and type as the coins of the Śaka Kṣatrapas. Īśvaradatta dates his coins in the regnal year and not in the Śaka era like the Western Kṣatrapas. According to BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI, Īśvaradatta was probably an Ābhīra connected with the dynasty of Īśvarasena of the Nasik inscription, and it was Īśvaradatta who founded the Traikūṭaka era of A.D. 248-49. RAPSON however has no doubt that Īśvaradatta reigned between A.D. 236 and 239,² that is to say, about ten years before the establishment of Traikūṭaka era. It is not possible to determine whether the Ābhīras and the Traikūṭakas belonged to the same dynasty or race. It may however be said that the two groups of kings ruled over substantially the same territory and had a similar formation of names, which facts possibly suggest some sort of relation that may have existed between the Ābhīras and the Traikūṭakas (RAPSON, *loc. cit.*).

III. We have already noticed Mayūraśarman's quarrel with the Pallavas of Kāñcī. About the beginning of the fourth century, the Pallavas appear to have held sway not only over the Andhrāpatha and Sātāhanirāṭṭha (Bellary district) in the north and the north-west, but possibly also over the Kuntalā country in the west (*Early Pallavas*, pp. 35-36).

IV. Pāriyātrika seems to signify the people dwelling on the Pāriyātra mountain, which has been identified with the Aravelly Range and the Western Vindhyas (RAYCHAUDHURI, *Indian Antiquities*, p. 128ff.).

V. Śakasthāna means the country of the Śakas. It has been mentioned by the author of the *Periplus* (§ 38) as Scythia which was situated in the valley of the Lower Indus and was under the rule of Parthian chiefs, engaged in unceasing internecine strife. As has already been noticed the Indian Śaka country is described in the Geography (VII, i. § 55) of Ptolemy as Indo-Scythia which included Patalênê, Abêria and Surastrênê. At the time of Mayūraśarman, i.e. about the middle of the fourth century A.D., Śakasthāna seems to have signified the kingdom of the Śaka Satraps of Ujjain. The line of the Śakas of Ujjain was founded by Caṣṭana (a contemporary of the Greek geographer Ptolemy) in the first half of the second century. The Śakas continued their rule in that locality upto the beginning of the fifth century when Candragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty of Magadha conquered Mālwā from the Śaka king Rudrasimha III.

VI. Sayindaka has been suggested to be the same as the country of the Sendraka. It is generally identified with the Nāgarakhaṇḍa country which

1. The Nasik district "may have passed immediately into the power of these Ābhīras, either during the reign or after the reign of Śrī-Yajña, or it may have first been held by the Cuṭu family of Sātakarnis, the 'other Andhras' or 'Andhra-bhṛtyas' ('servants of the Andhras') of the *Purāṇas*, who undoubtedly were in possession of the neighbouring maritime province of Aparānta" (RAPSON, *op. cit.*, p. cxxxiv).

2. BHANDARKAR places the rule of Mahākṣatrapa Īśvaradatta in 188-190 A.D.

possibly formed a part of the present Shimoga district of Mysore. The Sendrakaviṣaya is known to have been included in the dominions of the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarman II. The Bennur grant (*Ep. Carn.*, V, p. 594) of Kṛṣṇavarman II records the gift of a village called Palmaḍi which was in the Sendraka-ṣaya. A Sendraka chief named Bhānuśakti seems to have been a feudatory of the Kadamba king Harivarman (see the Halsi grant of the eighth year of Harivarman's reign; *Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 31). After the fall of the Kadambas, the Sendrakas transferred their allegiance to the Calukyas of Bādāmi, who succeeded the Kadambas in the suzerainty over Kuntala. A record of Pulakēśin I (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 211ff.) who was the first great Emperor of the Calukya dynasty, mentions the Sendraka *rājā* Rundranīla-Goṇḍa, his son Sivāra and grandson Sāmiyāra who ruled the Kuḥuṇḍi ṣaya with its head-quarters at Alktaka-nagarī.¹ The Chiplun grant (*Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 50ff.) says that the Sendraka prince Śrī-vallabha Senānanda-rāja was the maternal uncle of Pulakeśin II. An inscription (*J. B. B.R.A.S.*, XVI, pp. 228-29) of the tenth year of Vikramāditya I mentions the Sendraka chief Devaśakti who appears to have been his feudatory. According to the evidence of the Belagami record (*Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 145; *Ep. Carn.*, VIII, Sk. 154) the Sendraka Mahārāja Pogilli, a feudatory of Calukya Vinayāditya I, ruled over the Nāgarakhanda division of the Banavāsi province.

VII. Punāṭa has been taken to be the same as modern Punnāḍu in the southern part of Mysore. Ptolemy seems to have mentioned it (*Geog.*, VII, i. § 86) as Pounnata where beryls were found. According to the Kudlur grant, the Punnāḍ (= Punnāṭa) country is known to have formed a part of the dominions of the Gaṅga king Durvinīta. It may be noticed that Ptolemy's Pounnata was a city. The capital of Punnāḍu however was at Kīrtipura, identified with Kittūr in Southern Mysore. For Punnāṭa, see SALETORE in *Ind. Cult.*, III, p. 302ff. His chronology is however not acceptable.

VIII. Mokari has been taken to signify the Maukharis of Eastern and Northern India. Inscriptions of the Maukhari kings have been discovered in the Jaunpur and Bara-Banki districts of U. P. and in the Gaya district of Bihar (BHANDARKAR, *op. cit.*, Nos. 10, 1601-1605). The Haraha inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 115) of Maukhari Iśāna-varman is dated in Vikrama 611 (A.D. 544). About the sixth century a line of the Maukharis is known to have established themselves in the Kanauj region. Maukhari Grahavarman of this line married the sister of the illustrious Harṣavardhana (A.D. 606-647) of the Puṣyabhūti family of Thāneswar. Maukhari princes appear to have ruled over small principalities in Eastern India as early as the fourth century A.D. The Chandravalli record however appears to refer

1. Records like the Bagumbra grant (*Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 266-268) of Nikumbhallaśakti show that the Sendrakas were granted *jāgirs* in Southern Gujarat after the country was conquered by the Calukyas.

to the Maukharis of Rajputana (cf. Baḍvā records of Kṛta 295 = A.D. 238 ; *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 42ff.).

It is interesting in this connection to note that the published reading of the Chandravalli record does not speak of the Bāṇas who are, according to the evidence of the Talgunda record of Śāntivarman, known to have been harassed by Mayūraśarman. The Bāṇas were a very ancient ruling family in the Chittoor and North Arcot districts. On the evidence of the Penunkonda Plates it may be suggested that about the middle of the fifth century A.D., the Pallava kings Siṃhavarman and Skandavarman installed the Ganga feudatories Āyyavarman and his son Mādhava-Siṃhavarman for the purpose of crushing the Bāṇas who had possibly become unruly (SEWELL, *op. cit.*, p. 331). According to HULTZSCH (*S. Ind. Ins.*, III, p. 89), the capital of the Bāṇa dynasty appears to have been Tiruvallam as one of its names was Vāṇapuram and as it belonged to the district of Perumbāṇappādi (country of the great Bāṇa). Tiruvallam is 40 miles west by north of Conjeevaram. The early history of the Bāṇas is wrapped up in obscurity. The earliest rulers of the family, whose time is known, are Vikramāditya-Bali-Indra who was a vassal of Calukya Vijayāditya (A.D. 696-733), and Vikramāditya (the same as Bali Indra?) who governed the country "West of the Telugu Road" as a vassal of Pallava Nandivarman II (A.D. 717-779).

According to Dr. M. H. KRISHNA (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A. R., 1929, p. 56) the Chandravalli inscription is to be assigned to *circa* 258 A.D. He suggests that the rise of Mayūra is to be placed between A.D. 250 and 260. All his arguments are however based on an untenable view regarding the date of Pallava Śivaskandavarman whom he places about the end of the first half of the third century A.D. It appears that Dr. KRISHNA too is inclined to place Mayūraśarman a little later than Śivaskandavarman. Pallava Śivaskandavarman, as I have elsewhere shown (e.g., *Early Pallavas*, p. 15ff.) ruled in the first quarter of the fourth century. Mayūraśarman, the Prakrit language of whose Chandravalli record is a little nearer Sanskrit than that of the grants of Śivaskandavarman, should, in my opinion, be placed not earlier than the first quarter of the fourth century A.D. (*ibid.*, p. 36). See also my paper in *J.I.H.*, XIV, p. 344ff.

The Malavalli inscription (*Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 264) possibly also belongs to king Mayūraśarman. Here however the issuer of the grant is simply said to have been *kadambānām rājā* (king of the Kadambas) and *Vaijayanṭi-dhamma-mahārāj-ādhirāja* (Dharma-Mahārājādhirāja¹ of Vijayantī or

1. Titles like *Mahārājādhirāja* were derived from *Rājātirāja*, etc., of the Scytho-Kuṣāṇas. They were first used in Northern India by the Guptas who were the political successors of the Kuṣāṇas in the sovereignty of Āryāvarta. In Southern India, the title *Dharma-Mahārājādhirāja* first appears in the Hirahadagalli grant of Pallava Śivaskandavarman. No other early Pallava king is known to have used the title. Śivaskandavarman himself has been called *Yuva-mahārāja* in the Mayidavolu grant. The early Gaṅga kings call them-

Banavāsī) ; but the name of the king is not mentioned. Nevertheless, as the Prakrit language of the record is decidedly later than that of the grants of Śivaskandavarman, the issuer of the Malavalli grant must have been either Mayūraśarman himself or his immediate successor.

The grant was executed in the fourth year of the king's reign, on the second lunar day of the first fortnight of autumn, under the first asterism Rohiṇī. The grant was in the form of a Bahma-dijja (Brahma-deya) which was meant for the enjoyment (*deva-bhoga*) of Malapaḍideva. It consisted of a number of villages which are said to have been previously granted by king Mānavyagotra Hāritiputra Śivaskandavarman, lord of Vaijayanti.¹ The Brahmadeya was granted for a second time, with all the *parihāras* including *abhaṭa-praveśa*, to a Brāhmaṇa named Kauśikīputra Nāgadatta of the Koṇṇinya gotra, who is said to have been an ornament of the Konda-māra-kula. The necessity of granting for a second time is said to have been the fact that the ownership of the estate was abandoned. The villages granted were Sāmapaṭṭi, Koṅginagara, Mariyāsā, Karpendulā, Para-Muccuṇḍī, Kunda-Muccuṇḍī, Kappennalā, Kunda-Tapuka, Veḷaki, Vegura, Koṇa-Tapuka, Ekkaṭṭhāhāra and Sahalā. The king's oral order seems to have been written down by Viśvakarman and engraved on the stone-column by Nāgadatta who is possibly not the same person as the donee.

The grant begins with an adoration to Malapaḍideva and ends with the *maṅgala* : *jayaṭi lokanātha* [h] *nandaṃtu go-brāhmaṇā* [h] ; *siddhir* = *astu*, *śrīr* = *astu*. This Sanskrit *maṅgala* at the end of a Prakrit grant reminds us of a similar *maṅgala* at the end of the Hirahadagalli Prakrit grant of Śivaskandavarman. Many of the grants of Mayūraśarman's successors also end with similar *maṅgalas*.

selves *Dharma-Mahādhira*. Since no early Kadamba king is known to have been called *Dharma-Mahārājādhira*, may it be supposed that this title of the Kadamba king (independent after his overlord's death?) of the Malavalli record was an imitation of the title of Pallava Śivaskandavarman who, as we have suggested, was possibly suzerain of the Kuntala region in the first quarter of the fourth century? May it be further suggested that the name of Mānavyagotra Hāritiputra Vaijayanti-pati Śivaskandavarman who seems to have been the immediate predecessor of Mayūraśarman was after that of Pallava Śivaskandavarman, just like the name of the Gaṅga king Mādhava-Siṃhavarman was imitated from that of his father's overlord king Siṃhavarman (c. A.D. 436-458) of Kāñcī?

1. It has been suggested (e.g. in LÜDERS'S List, No. 1196 ; *Journ. Ind., Hist.*, XIII, p. 361) that Śivaskandavarman was the name of the Kadamba king who issued the Malavalli grant. The composition of the record however clearly shows that the theory is untenable ; cf. *vaijayanti-dhamma-mahārājādhira* *patikata-sañjñāyi-caccāparo kadambānaṃ rājā sivakhadavavvaṇā mānavyasagottena hāritiputtēna vaijayantipatinā pūvudatt-eti*, etc. It must be noticed that the word [*kadambānaṃ*] *rājā* with all the epithets preceding it is in the first case-ending, while *sivakhadavavvaṇā* and all its epithets following it are in the third case-ending. Moreover, the epithet *vaijayanti-dhamma-mahārājādhira* applied to *kadambānaṃ rājā* and *vaijayanti-patinā* applied to *sivakhadavavvaṇā* show beyond doubt that these two identical epithets refer to two different kings.

The above inscription is engraved on a pillar in front of the Kalleśvara temple at Malavalli in the Shikarpur taluka as a continuation of an inscription dated in the first year of Mānavyagotra Hāritīputra Viṇhukaḍḍa Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi, king of Vijayanti (Banavāsi). This grant also begins with an adoration to the god Maḷapaḷideva for whose enjoyment a *Devabhoga* was granted in the king's first regnal year on the first lunar day of the second fortnight of summer. The *Devabhoga* was in the form of a Bamhadijja (Brahmadeya) of the *grāmahāra* of Sahalāṭavī which was granted to Takiñcīputra Koṇḍamāna who has been called Hāritīputra and is said to have belonged to the Kauṇḍinya gotra, with all the *parihāras* such as *abhaṭapraveśa* and others.

It must be noticed that the Malavalli record of the Kadamba king also mentions Sahalā (Sahalāṭavī of the present grant) and there the donee is one who belonged to the family of this Koṇḍamāna (*koṇḍamāna-kula-tilaka*). Since the linguistic and palæographical standards of the two Malavalli records agree in placing them very near each other in time, I think it possible that the *Koṇḍamāna-kula-tilaka* Kauśikīputra Nāgadatta of the Kauṇḍinya gotra (donee of the Kadamba grant) was the son of Takiñcīputra-Hāritīputra Koṇḍamāna of the Kauṇḍinya gotra (donee of the Cuṭu Śātakarṇi grant).¹ We should however notice the facts that in the Kadamba record the twelve villages including Sahalā are said to have been previously granted by a Vijayanti-pati named Śivaskandavarman and that the ownership of the estate is said to have been abandoned. It may be that Sahalā was granted by Viṇhukaḍḍa Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi while the eleven other villages were granted by Śivaskandavarman, his immediate successor. Or was the *grāmahāra* consisting of twelve villages? The cause of abandoning the ownership of the estate by the heir of Koṇḍamāna seems to have been the political troubles caused by the rise of Mayūraśarmaṇ. The cause appears to be the same as with Śivaśarmaṇ who received the village of Polamuru from Mādhavavarman I Viṣṇukunḍin and with his son Rudraśarmaṇ who fled to Asanapura during the Calukya invasions and received back his father's *argrahāra* from Jayasiṃha I Eastern Calukya when the latter was established in the Guddavādi viṣaya (see my *Suc. E. Dec.*, pp. 93-95).

The order of king Viṇhukaḍḍa Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi for the execution of the Malavalli grant is said to have been given to a *Rajjuka* whose name was possibly Mahābhava. *Rajjuka* (from *rajju*) has been taken to be the same as a class of officials described by Megasthenes (M'CRINDLE, *Anc. Ind.*, pp. 53-54). These officials are said to have measured the land, collected taxes, superintended rivers and the occupations connected with land, had the power of rewarding and punishing, inspected sluices, constructed roads and carried out other works of public utility. Some of these have been described as the functions of the *Rajjuka* or *Rajju-gāhaka-amarca* in

1. See e.g. *Naiṣadhiya*, V, verse 124, in which Nala, son of Virasena has been described as *virasena-kula-dīpa*.

the *Kurudhamma-jātaka*. From the inscriptions of Aśoka we know that the *Rājūkas* were appointed over many hundred thousands of men and were placed in direct charge of the *jānapada jana*; they therefore seem to have been the highest district officers (see BHANDARKAR, *Aśoka*, 2nd ed., pp. 59-60). The *Rajjukas* were possibly employed in this region when Kuntala formed a part of the Maurya Empire. The existence of such an official in South-Western Deccan in the first half of the fourth century shows that the official machinery of the Maurya age was still functioning in Southern India (see RAYCHAUDHURI, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 2nd ed., p. 321).¹

1. This paper is essentially the same as that at pp. 238-51 of my *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, Vol. I (in the press).

AN ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPT OF THE BHAGAVATA-PURĀṆA COPIED IN A.D. 1648

By

P. K. GODE

The late Rao Bahadur D. B. PARASNIS published in 1909 a note¹ on a MS of the *Bhāgavata purāṇa* prepared with profuse illustrations for Raja Pratapsimha of Jaipur (A.D. 1779-1803). Pratapsimha was a great lover of art. He had under his patronage numerous artists with whose help he got prepared a MS of the *Bhāgavata purāṇa*,² containing beautiful coloured illustrations to illustrate certain episodes of this purāṇa. These illustrations give us an idea of Indian art at Jaipur in the 18th century. This MS was prepared at great expense and the work of preparing it was spread over many years.

Nana Fadnavis, the celebrated minister of the Peshwa got information about this illustrated MS of the *Bhāgavata*. He at once wrote to Apajiram Dabholkar, the Dewan of the Sindhia to make inquiries about this MS and send it to him. Apajiram wrote to Nana Fadnavis as follows :—

“Respectfully I have to state as follows :—

Received your letter of (1 ccha Jamādīlāval).³ In one of the supplements to your letters you have directed me to forward to you an illustrated MS of *Śrī Bhāgavata*, which you learn on reliable authority, has been pre-prepared by Raja of Jaipur. You have also asked me to request Pāṭilbāvā⁴ to make a demand for this MS (*pothī*) during the course of his negotiations with the Raja of Jaipur (Jaipurkar). Or if this course is not possible you may request Rāyāji Patil, who is engaged in some diplomacy with the Raja of Jaipur to do this private work of ours. I have already spoken about the matter to Rāyāji Patil and he has promised to carry out my wishes without fail, circumstances permitting. At present, however, the chances of pro-

1. *Vide Itihāsa-saṃgraha*, Vol. I, Part 5—*Āitiḥāsik Ṭīpanēṇ*, p. 37.

2. This Pratapasimha Copy of the *Bhāgavata*, with illustrations reminds me of the illustrations prepared by Shrimant Bala Sahib Pant Pratinidhi, Raja of Aundh for the critical edition of another purāṇa, viz., the *Mahābhārata* that is being published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, under the editorship of Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR.

3. As the year is not recorded the exact date of this letter cannot be determined.

4. Pāṭilbāvā = Mahadji Sindia (A.D. 1759 to 12th January 1794) (*Vide* p. 228 of *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* by H. G. KEENE, London, 1894).

curing this MS are not favourable and hence the work will be effected as intimacy (with Jaipurkar) develops.”¹

PARASNIS states that no further letters on this subject can be traced but information is available that Pāṭilbāvā (Mahadji Sindia) succeeded in procuring this unique MS for Nana Fadnavis. He also states that this MS is still in existence.²

The above information about an illustrated MS of the *Bhāgavata* prepared at Jaipur between A.D. 1779 and 1803 reminded me of another illustrated MS³ of the *Bhāgavata* available in the Government MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, prepared about 130 years earlier than the MS of the same work referred to by PARASNIS. It would appear that both these MSS were prepared in Rajputana, one at Jaipur and the other at Udayapur, both are profusely illustrated in colour and both illustrate the same purāṇa, viz., the *Bhāgavata*, though the difference of time between the B. O. R. I. copy and the Pratapsimha copy is more than 130 years. I have no evidence to prove that the Pratapsimha copy was modelled on the earlier copy in the Government MSS Library dated A.D. 1648. As the B. O. R. Institute copy is now 290 years old lovers of Indian painting will find it very useful to study the characteristics of the Rajputana style of painting prevalent in the middle of the 17th century. I shall therefore describe this MS in brief in order to give the students of Indian art some idea about the number of illustrations contained in this MS and the particulars about the date of this copy as recorded by the scribe.

The date of the MS is recorded in the colophon⁴ of Skandha XII as *Saivat 1705 month of Bhādrapada, Suklapakṣa, tithi 2, Guruvāra* which is

1. Cf., *Peshwa Daftar Selection*, No. 14 (Letter No. 38 of 13th October 1735) Pilaji Jadhav, a Maratha Sardar sent to Peshwa Bajirao a MS of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (excepting three chapters which were missing).

2. PARASNIS does not state in whose possession the MS exists.

3. This is MS No. 61 of 1907-1915. It contains 334 folios, comprising *Skandhas* VIII, IX, XI and XII of the *Bhāgavata*. *Skandha* VIII contains 16 quarter-size 2 half-size, and 35 full-size illustrations. *Skandha* IX contains 1 quarter-size, 3 half-size and 28 full-size illustrations. *Skandha* XI contains 13 quarter-size, 2 half-size and 12 full-size illustrations. *Skandha* XII contains 1 quarter-size, 3 half-size and 13 full-size illustrations. The total number of illustrations is 129 (= 31 quarter-size + 10 half-size + 88 full-size). The paper of the MS is getting brittle but on the whole the MS is well preserved. The size of each folio is 15½ inches × 8½ inches.

4. This colophon reads as follows:— “ इति श्री भागवतभावार्थदीपिकायां श्रीधरस्वामिविरचितायां द्वादशस्कन्धे त्रयोदशोऽध्यायः ॥ १३ ॥ अनिलसलिलतैलश्लिष्टबंधान्यहस्ताऽनववसननिवासदंतरायाददोष्यं । इह लिखितमशुद्धं शुद्धमेवं न दूष्यं । निजकृतमपराधं क्षंतुमर्हति संतः ॥ १ ॥ संभूष्यं मदपत्यवत्परकराद्रक्षं वसुक्षेत्रवत् । संशोष्यं व्रणितांगवत्प्रतिदिनं वीक्ष्यं च सन्मित्रवत् । वद्धयं वध्यवदश्लथं न हि च विस्मर्यं हरेर्नामवर्कं । त्रैवं सीदति पुस्तकं तव कदायेतद्गुरूणां वचः ॥ २ ॥ श्रीमन्पुष्पिकर्कसमयातीतसंवत् १७०५ वर्षे । भाद्रवा सुदि २ गुरौ लिख्यते पुस्तकं ॥ श्री उदयपुरनगरे ॥ ”

equivalent to *Thursday, 10th August 1648*. The copy was written at *Udayapura*. At the bottom of the full-size illustration on folio 5 of *Skandha VIII* we find the endorsement : “॥ लीषत चीतारो साहबदी ” which possibly contains the name of the painter. The name of the scribe is *Jasavanta* who is styled as “*Bhaṭāraka*” in the colophon¹ of *Skandha VIII* on folio 84. He copied this MS and *Udayāpura* which is identical with *Udayapura* mentioned in the colophon of *Skandha XII*. The Government MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute possesses MSS² of the *Bhāgavata* copied in years earlier than A.D. 1648, the date of the *Udayapur* copy referred to above but none of these MSS is illustrated. There is, however, one illustrated Persian MS in the Government MSS Library, which is a prose summary³ in Persian of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* divided into *adhyāyas* and *skandhas* as the original Sanskrit work.

Coming now to the several coloured illustrations of the B. O. R. Institute MS of the *Bhāgavata* of A.D. 1648 I have to state that they are all

1. This colophon reads as follows :—

“ श्रीधरस्वामिविरचितायां श्रीभागवते
महापुराणे अष्टमस्कंधे चतुर्विंशोऽध्यायः संपूर्णमस्ति ॥ २४ ॥ ॥ भटारक जसवंत लिखितं लेखक
पाठक्योक्त्यायमस्तु ॥ कृष्णे भक्तिरस्तुः ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥ आचंद्रार्क विधेयं पुस्तिका ॥ भग्नपुष्टिकटि-
प्रीवा ॥ स्तब्धदृष्टीरधोमुखं । कष्टेन लिखितं शास्त्रं । यत्नेन परिपालयेत् ॥ श्रीउदयापुरमध्ये लिखितं ॥ ”

2. Some of these MSS are noted below with their dates :

No. 435 F of Viśrāma I—Sāṃvat 1612 = A.D. 1556.

No. 435 A of Viśrāma I—Sāṃvat 1616 = A.D. 1560.

No. 216 of 1895-1902 Sāṃvat 1616 = A.D. 1560.

No. 435 G of Viśrāma I—Sāṃvat 1622 = A.D. 1566.

No. 435 D of Viśrāma I—Sāṃvat 1664 = A.D. 1608.

No. 435 E of Viśrāma I—Sāṃvat 1678 = A.D. 1622.

No. 110 of 1884-87—Sāṃvat 1692 = A.D. 1636.

The colophon of MS No. 435 F of Viś. I reads as follows :—

“ संवत् १६१२ वर्षे माघशुदि पंचम्यां गुरौ लिखितोऽयं दशमस्कंधः ॥ ”

3. MS No. 819^a of 1875—76. This MS. contains 245 folios and is bound in leather. The date of the copy as recorded in the colophon is *Sāṃvat 1909* (month of *Phālguna*) = A.D. 1853. The MS is well written and contains some fine illustrations :—God Gaṇapati and goddess *Sarasvatī* riding a peacock (folio 1), Raja Parikṣit listening to the recitation of the *Purāṇa* (folio 16); the *Varāha* incarnation (folio 29); the *Nṛsiṃha* incarnation (folio 63); the *Amṛta manthana* (churning of the ocean) (folio 70); the *Vāmana* incarnation (folio 78); the *Matsya* incarnation (folio 81); killing of *Pūtānā* by Kṛṣṇa (folio 102); revelation of the cosmos to Yaśodā by Kṛṣṇa (folio 103); Kṛṣṇa taking away the garments of Gopīs (folio 115); Kṛṣṇa lifting up the *Govardhana* mountain (fol. 118); Kṛṣṇa's *Rāsa-kṛidā* (folio 126); Kṛṣṇa destroying the demons *Cāṇūra*, *Kaṇsa* and others (folio 147); Kṛṣṇa destroying the demon *Bāṇāsura* (folio 187); meeting of Kṛṣṇa and his friends *Sudāmā* (folio 212); Uddhava receiving Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa imparting spiritual instruction to Uddhava (folio 239).

The copyist is Pandit Totārām, whose patron's name appears to be Lala Mihirchand Chopra as stated in the colophon. (I am thankful to Mr. G. H. KHARE, Curator, Bharat Itihāsa Samśodhak Maṇḍal, Poona, for reading out the pertinent portion of this Persian MS to enable me to describe the MS in the above manner).

in good condition and appear to have been executed with great care. It is, however, a matter for the students¹ of Indian art to study these illustrations carefully, and assess their full artistic value. Before I conclude this note on the *Bhāgavata* MS I may invite the attention of scholars to one good illustration depicting the immolation of Kṛṣṇa's wives on the funeral pyre after his demise which is painted on folio 129 of Skandha XI.²

As the history of Indian painting has been latterly engaging the attention of Indian³ and foreign⁴ scholars the MS of the *Bhāgavata* described

1. My friend Mr. M. R. MAJUMDAR of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, the author of the *Jain Chitra Kalpadruma* (Baroda, 1936), will be studying these illustrations in the near future. He has already made a close study of the different styles of Indian paintings such as the Mughal style, the Rājasthānī or the early Rajput style, the Gujarati style, etc. He writes to me in a private communication dated 23rd May 1938: "I have so far traced out two illustrated MSS of *Bhāgavata* Daśama Skandha, one being the Gujarati verse-rendering by the poet Bhālaṇa (early 16th century) with 17th century miniatures, and the other being the dated MS at Jodhpur, with about 200 miniatures with notes in old Gujarati prose. The date is Saṁvat 1667 (=A.D. 1611), the painter's name being Govinda. My paper in Gujarati on these two sets will appear next month in *Nava Cetan* (June 1938, pp. 213-220) a monthly published from Calcutta. The Jodhpur MS was announced by me at VII Oriental Conference held at Baroda in 1933 (*Proceedings*, p. 833)". *Vide.*, also his article on "Some Illustrated MSS of the Gujarat School of Painting," in these *Proceedings* (pp. 827-835). The colophon of the Jodhpur MS reads:— "संवत् १६६७ वर्षे । कार्तिकासितपक्षीयचतुर्दश्यां रवेर्दिने । लिखितः सुरजीवेन दशमसहटीकया ॥ मधुसूदनव्यासेन लेखितोऽयं सुबुद्धिना । नारदस्यसुतेनैव गोविंदाख्येन चित्रितः ॥ "

2. *Vide* verses 19-20 of Chapter 31 of Skandha XI (*Bhāgavata* Jagadishvar Press, Bombay, *Saka* 1815 (= 1893 A.D.).

3. *Vide* M. R. MAJUMDAR's article "The illustrated MSS of *Ratirahasya* of the Gujarat School of Painting" (*Bom. Uni. Jour.*, Vol. V, Part VI, May 1937, pp. 134-144). According to Mr. MAJUMDAR the "Gujarat School of MSS—Illustrations flourished from 12th to the 17th century after which it was more or less modified by Mughal and Rajput influences". Mr. MAJUMDAR refers to the following studies on Indian painting:— (1) N. C. Mehta: "Indian Painting in the 15th century, an illustrated MS" [*Rupam*, No. 22-23 (April-July 1925)]; "Studies in Indian Painting", Ch. II, *Secular Painting in Gujrat, XV century* (1926); "Gujarati Painting in the 15th century: A Further Essay on Vasant Vilās" (1931, London). (2) O. C. Gongoly: "A newly discovered illustrated Indian MS" (*Andhra His. Res. Soc. Jour.*, Vol. IV, 1929); "A newly discovered illustrated Indian MS" (*Indian Arts and Letters*, Vol. IV, No. 2, New Series, 1930); "A newly discovered illustrated Indian MS (*Mālavīya Comm.*, Vol. 1932), (3) Hirananda Sastri: "Indian Pictorial Art as developed in Book-illustrations" (*Gaikwad Archaeo. Series*, No. 1, 1936).

4. Prof. W. Norman Brown: "Early Vaishnava Miniatures, *Eastern Art*, Philadelphia, pp. 167-206 (1936); "Story of *Kālakā*", Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1933; "A Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of Miniature Paintings of the Jain Kalpa Sūtra, Smithsonian. Inst., 1934; "Early Western Indian Miniature Painting at around 1400 A.D." (*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, 1937); "A manuscript of the Sthānāṅga Sūtra illustrated in the early Western Indian style" (*New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 1, 1938, pp. 127-129).

in this note may have some value both artistic and historical as it is a dated MS, rich in large and small well-preserved coloured illustrations. At any rate it is a source for the history of Indian painting deserving a careful study and reproduction of at least some of its coloured illustrations, representative of the school of painting to which it belongs.

SOME SIDELIGHTS ON CĀNAKYA THE GREAT CHANCELLOR

By

H. C. SETH

Elsewhere we have suggested that Candragupta Maurya originally belonged to the Gandhara region and that the starting point of the big empire created by him was the north-west of India¹ and we have also suggested the following reconstruction of the events succeeding Alexander's invasion of India. Candragupta headed a revolt west of the Indus against Alexander himself about the time when the latter was at the bank of the Beas. This revolt was the real cause of Alexander's sudden retirement and flight through Sindh and the Makran desert, where most of his army was destroyed.² Candragupta's power was first consolidated in or about 325 B.C. in his own home provinces in the north-west of India, and it also extended to Central Asia and part of Persia.³

The conclusion of ours that Candragupta's position was first consolidated in the north-western India is borne out by the accounts of him given both by some of the early European historians and the Indian literary traditions. Justin and Plutarch inform us that Candragupta was in the north-western parts of India at the time of Alexander's invasion, and, had some considerable dealings with him, as according to Justin, Alexander ordered his beheadal. It thus seems that the north-west of India and the Punjab were the scenes of the early activities of Candragupta. The drama *Mudrārākṣasa* bears out this conclusion. According to it the forces with the help of which Candragupta conquered Magadha were all drawn from the north-west of India and beyond.⁴ We have also suggested that Parvataka,

1. "Did Chandragupta Maurya belong to North-western India?" *Annals of the Bh. Or. Institute*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. II, and "Candragupta and Sasigupta", *Ind. His. Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, No. 2.

We have discussed these views in a greater detail in a paper "Gandhara Origin of the Maurya Dynasty and the Identification of Candragupta and Sasigupta", read before the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference.

2. We have put forward this view in a paper "Was Alexander routed in India?" *Indian Reivew*, June 1937.

3. In a paper "Central Asiatic Provinces of the Mauryan Empire," *IHQ*, Vol. XIII, Pt. III, we have discussed that the Mauryan Empire included a considerable part of Eastern Persia and of modern Russian and Chinese Turkistan.

4. अस्ति तावच्छक्रेयवनकिरातकाम्बोजपारसीकबाल्लीकप्रभृतिभिश्चाणक्यमतिपरिगृहीतैश्चद्रुमस्य-
र्वेतेश्वरबलैरुदधिभिरिव प्रलयकालचलितसलिलगम्भीरैः समन्तादुपरुद्धं कुसुमपुरम् ॥ (Act III).

We have discussed the identity of all these people in the paper referred to in the above footnote, and have shown that they all belonged to north-western India and beyond.

Candragupta's ally in the overthrow of Nanda of Magadha, was none else than the great Porus of the Greek historians.¹

The overthrow of Nanda King of Magadha was undertaken by Candragupta after he had uprooted the Greek power west of the Indus. It is absurd to say, as Vincent SMITH² and some others do, that several years afterwards Candragupta came from Magadha to destroy the Greek forces left behind by Alexander in the Punjab and the north-west, when really none worth the name were left there within a few months of his retirement. As a matter of fact even before Alexander had left the confines of India, almost all the Greek satraps he had appointed, Nicanor, west of the Indus, Philips of royal family, satrap of the Punjab, and Apollophanes, satrap of Gedrosia, were killed. The only person who stayed for sometime in India was a petty official Eudamus, who perhaps took service under the mighty Porus, or may be under Candragupta himself, in the latter case the force under Eudamus may be the Yavanas which according to *Mudrārākṣasa* formed part of Candragupta's army which invaded Magadha. Eudamus is not even as much as mentioned in the partitions that were made of Alexander's conquests after his death, first in Babylon in 323 B.C. and then at Triparadeisos in 321 B.C.

The following passages from the drama *Mudrārākṣasa* also suggest that with the help of Cāṇakya, Candragupta even prior to the conquest of Magadha had conquered some other parts of the country.

(1) राजा :—(आसनादुत्थाय चाणक्यस्य पादौ गृहीत्वा) । आर्य चन्द्रगुप्तः प्रणमति ।

चाणक्य :—(पाणौ गृहीत्वा) । उत्तिष्ठोत्तिष्ठ वत्स ।

आ शैलेन्द्राच्छिलान्तःस्खलितसुरधुनीशीकरासारशीताद्

आ तीरात्रैकरागस्फुरितमणिरुचो दक्षिणस्यार्णवस्य ।

आगत्यागत्य भीतिप्रणतनृपशतैः शश्वदेव क्रियन्तां

चूडारत्नांशुगर्भास्तव चरणयुगस्याङ्गुलीरन्ध्रभागाः ॥

राजा :—आर्य्यप्रसादात् अनुभूयत एव सर्वम् तदुपनिगच्छः

(Act III).

(2) चाणक्य :—

अम्भोर्धीनां तमालप्रभवकिसलयश्यामवेलावनानाम् ।

आ पारेभ्यश्चतुर्णां चटुलतिमिकुलक्षोभितान्तर्जलानाम् ।

मालेवाम्लानपुष्पा नतनृपतिशतैरुह्यते या शिरोभिः

सा मय्येव स्खलन्ती प्रथयति विनयालंकृतं ते प्रभुत्वम् ॥

(Act. III.)

1. We have given detailed reasons for this view in our paper "Identification of Porus and Parvataka", read before the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference.

2. It appears probable that before he undertook the expulsion of the foreign garrisons he had already overthrown his unpopular relation, "the Nanda King of Magadha". *Early History of India*. (3rd Ed.) P. 118.

Magadha was the biggest kingdom in India at the time of Alexander's invasion. But its overthrow by Candragupta was facilitated because of the extreme unpopularity of the reigning monarch, which is mentioned alike in the Greek and the Indian traditions.

This reconstruction of the events of the period throws new light on Cāṇakya's character and achievements. We learn from the Buddhist sources that Cāṇakya also belonged to the north-west of India. According to *Mahāvamsa Tīkā* he was a Brahmin of Takṣaśilā. It is likely that as a young prince Candragupta received his early education at the feet of Cāṇakya in the great University of Takṣaśilā. The drama *Mudrārākṣasa* everywhere shows very cordial relations between Cāṇakya and Candragupta, and also a deep appreciation by them of each other's merits, which could only be the result of a long and intimate contact between the two.¹

As belonging to north-western India Cāṇakya witnessed the dangers of a divided country at the time of Alexander's invasion. He must have seen that only a well organised and closely knit imperial India could successfully withstand a foreign invasion like that of Alexander. It has been correctly surmised by the authors of the Cambridge Ancient History that "it seems to have been among the Brahmins of the Punjab that the reaction started which placed Candragupta on the throne of a united India."² In view of the facts that Cāṇakya belonged to Takṣaśilā and that the Indian literary traditions so closely associate him with Candragupta, the central figure in this revolt, in establishing the vast Mauryan Empire, it seems that Cāṇakya was the instigator and the leader of the revolt against the Greeks. The vision of a strong, united and unconquerable India, which he then formed, was successfully realised within a few years.³

1. The following passage from the drama clearly indicates that Cāṇakya was his preceptor, and it also shows how cordial were the relations between the two.

चन्द्रगुप्त : —आर्याज्ञयैव मम लङ्कितगौरवस्य

बुद्धिः प्रवेष्टुमवनेर्विवरं प्रवृत्ता ।

ये सत्यमेव न गुरुं प्रतिमानर्यान्ति

तेषां कथं नु हृदयं न भिनन्ति लज्जा ॥

(Act III.)

2. *The Cambridge Ancient History* Vol. VI, p. 413.

3. Compare the following remarks of Vincent SMITH. "The conception of an Indian Empire extending from sea to sea and embracing almost the whole of India and Afghanistan, was formed and carried into effect by Candragupta and his minister in the brief space of twenty-four years. History can show few greater political achievements. Not only was the empire formed, but it was so thoroughly organised that the sovereign's commands emanating from Pataliputra were obeyed without demur on the banks of the Indus and the shores of the Arabian Sea. The immense heritage thus created by the genius of the first emperor of India was transmitted intact to his son and grandson." *Asoka*, p. 104.

Cāṇakya was thus associated with Candragupta right from the beginning in establishing a vast empire, over practically the whole of India and far beyond in Central Asia the starting point of which was north-western India. His help in the conquest and the annexation of the kingdom of Magadha to the empire of Candragupta was perhaps the last episode in his political career. After this, as the following passage addressed to Rākṣasa in the drama *Mudrārākṣasa* indicates, he retired from active politics, which may explain the absence of reference to him in the fragments of Megasthenes, which have been reported by the early European historians.

चाणक्यः — तपोवनं यामि विहाय भार्यम्
 त्वां चाधिकारेष्वधिकृत्य मुख्यम् ।
 त्वयि स्थिते वाक्पतिवत्सुबुद्धौ
 भुनक्तु गामिन्द्र इवैष चन्द्रः ॥ (Act II.)
 (HILLEBRANDT'S edition)

If the drama represents correct court traditions then Cāṇakya's winning over of Rākṣasa, the popular minister of Nandas, was a master stroke of diplomacy. It quashed completely whatever opposition there might have been in the east to the newly founded empire of the Maurya. The drama *Mudrārākṣasa* not only throws light on how Candragupta's position was secured in Magadha, but how even the ineffectual opposition raised by Rākṣasa and Malayaketu with the help of Kashmir, Sindh, and some other western powers was nipped in the bud, and with the fall of Magadha the supremacy of Candragupta was fully established over a great part of India. It was only after he had seen the Great Candragupta seated firmly on the throne of a united India, that Cāṇakya, one of the most resolute, self-denying and incorruptible souls produced by India, passed out of the political horizon, but, perhaps, only to devote the resources of his mighty intellect to the bigger social and religious problems that faced the vast empire which his genius had helped Candragupta to create.

It is a pity that by taking the view that Cāṇakya was involved only in a family quarrel between Candragupta and the Nanda kings, and that the driving motive of Cāṇakya for the great political upheavals and carnage of blood, which he undertook, was just an insult by the Nanda king or according to some stories by the king's maid-servant,¹ we have made him look very mean and revengeful. The following passage from *Mudrārākṣasa* correctly tells us that Cāṇakya undertook the overthrow of Nanda king, because he disregarded the kingly duties.

नन्दैर्विमुक्तमनपेक्षितराजवृत्तैः
 अध्यासितं च वृषलेन वृषेण राज्ञाम् ।
 सिंहासनं सदृशपार्थिवसत्कृतं च
 प्रीतिं गमन्निगुणयन्ति गुणा ममैते ॥ (Act III.)

1. Hemacandra's *Sthavirāvalīcarita*.

The Pauranic traditions also attest to the hatred in which the Nanda king was held. The extreme unpopularity of the king of Magadha reigning at the time of Alexander's invasion is also recorded by the Greek historians. According to them he "was a man of worthless character, the son of a barber, and that he had obtained the throne by the murder of his predecessor whose chief queen he had corrupted."¹ JAYASWAL was, perhaps, right in concluding that "the powers in Gandhara when faced with Alexander's invasion looked towards the imperial power of Magadha."² But no help was obtained from that quarter and Cāṇakya found that for the safety and the imperial unity of India Nandas like so many other monarchs and the republics³ had to go.

Cāṇakya's was the administrative genius which firmly established over almost the whole of India and far beyond the mighty and very efficiently organised empire of Candragupta.⁴ If we remember that it was only the great political fabric which was raised with the help of his genius, which made it possible for India in the time of Aśoka to send to the world for the first time the message of peace, love, and universal brotherhood, that we can rightly regard Viṣṇugupta Cāṇakya as a maker of one of the greatest ages not only in the history of India but in the history of the world.

1. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 469.

2. *Hindu Polity*, Vol. I, p. 175.

3. This explains the intolerance shown towards the republic in the *Arthaśāstra*, (Book XI). They could not withstand an invasion like that of Alexander.

4. Compare the following remark of Vincent SMITH "Akbar's machine of government never attained the standard of efficiency reached by the Mauryas eighteen or nineteen centuries before his time." (*Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 396).

AUSTRIC SUB-STRATUM IN THE ASSAMESE LANGUAGE*

By

B. KAKATI

§ 1. The province of Assam and its language are very insufficiently known abroad. Yet by its earlier name of Kāmarūpa, it is better known to Hindu India as a land of magic and witchcraft with its famous Tantric shrine of Kāmākhyā with which it is frequently associated together (Kāmarūpa-Kāmākhyā).

§ 2. The province was differently called in different historical periods. Its most ancient name was Prāg-jyotiṣapur. By this name it is referred to in the two great epics—the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* and the principal Purāṇas. In classical Sanskrit literature both Prāg-jyotiṣa and Kāmarūpa occur as alternative names of the country. Kālidāsa refers to it by both the designations (*Raghu* : Canto IV. 83.). In epigraphic records the name Kāmarūpa was first mentioned in the Allahabad inscriptions of Samudra Gupta in the fifth century. (FLEET : *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* : vol. iii. p. 8).

§ 3. The modern designation Assam was connected with the Shān invaders of the Brahmaputra Valley. Since 1228 the easternmost portion of the Valley came under the domination of a section of the great Thāi (Tāi) or Shān race which spreads eastwards from the border of Assam over nearly the whole of further India and far into the interior of China. It seems curious that while the Shān invaders called themselves Tāi, they came to be referred to as Āsām, Āsam, Asam, Ācām in contemporary Assamese literature. In modern Assamese they are referred to as Āhom, which is a modern phonetic development of earlier Āsam.

§ 4. No satisfactory explanation has been offered by historians about the origin of the term Āsām as applied to the Shāns. It seems likely that Āsām is connected with Tāi √Chām, 'to be defeated', with the Aryan-Assamese privative prefix ā-, the whole formation Āsām meaning "undefeated" 'victorious', thus being a hybrid equivalent of the word Thāi, (Tāi), meaning "free".

§ 5. The word Assamese is an English one built on the same principle as 'Canarese' 'Cingalese' etc. It is built on the English word Assam by which the tract consisting of the Brahmaputra Valley is known. But the people call their country Asam and their language Asamiyā (*L. S. I.* Vol. 1. p. 393).

* Adapted from the present writer's unpublished manuscript "Assamese, its formation and development."

§ 6. Assamese is the easternmost modern Indo-Aryan language spoken in the Assam Valley districts with Lakhimpur in the extreme east and Goalpara in the extreme west. It meets Bengali in the west and is surrounded on all sides by Non-Aryan speeches of which the principal are the Tibeto-Burman and the Khasi (of the Mon-Khmer family).

§ 7. Though a full-fledged modern Indo-Aryan language both in respects of grammatical structure and a large percentage of vocables, the surrounding Non-Aryan languages have made inroads into the speech in several directions. It is not, however, with speeches of the Tibeto-Burman family which are spoken all through Assam by different mountain tribes but with the distant speeches of the Pagan races of the Malay Peninsula and with Muṇḍāri, Santali and Khasi (nearer home), that Assamese Vocabulary shews a considerable percentage of correspondences. These similarities seem to constitute an essential Sub-stratum of the Assamese language. Famous place-names regarded as of Sanskrit origin, various words for the sex-organs which are hardly registered, as being indecent, in current dictionaries but always uttered as slangs, terms of relationship according to various grades of life, the names of various descriptions of animals, all seem to shew Austric contact. Certain idiomatic structures also seem to betray Austric influences. But in the present paper word-correspondences only will be noted.

These correspondences are grouped below into (A). Place-names ; (B) Names of common animals ; (C) Terms of relationship ; (D) Slangs indicating sex-organs ; (E) Miscellaneous.

A

PLACE-NAMES.

§ 8. *Kāmākhyā* or *Kāmākṣī*. The name of a goddess so called and worshipped in a Śākta shrine situated in a hill named Nilācala near Gauhati. The hill itself is now called *Kāmākhyā*. According to Pauranic legends the organ of generation of Satī fell when here her dead body was carried over from place to place by Śiva.

Cf. the following Austric formations in this connection :—

kamoi, demon (Old Khmer) ; *Kamoit*, devil (Cham) ;

Kamet, corpse (Khasi) ; *Kamburu*, *Kamru*, name of a lesser divinity worshipped by the Santals ; *Komui*, grave (Tareng) ; *Komuoch*, corpse (Stieng) ; *Khmoach*, corpse, ghost (Khmer) ; *Ke-moyd* ; *ke-moit*, ghost (Sem). *Ke-mut*, *ke-muyt*, grave (Bes. Sep).

If mere correspondence in sound and meaning be of any value for etymology, *Kāmākhyā* or *Kāmākṣī* may be a Sanskritisation of such non-Aryan formations as *komuoch*, *kumoch*. In that case all the Austric formations would lead on to the place having been connected with *some one's dead body*. The Pauranic legends make it the burial place of a part of Satī's dead body.

§ 9. *Kāmarūpa*. The mediæval name for the province of Assam. According to Pauranic legends, Kāmadeva, the god of love, regained his form (*rūpa*) in this locality after having been burnt to ashes by Śiva.

Hiuen Ts'ang called it *Ka-mo-lu-p'o* (*Kāmarūpa*). WATTERS notes also a place mentioned in T'ang-Shu called *ko-me-lu* (*Kamru*) (WATTERS : Vol. ii, p. 186). Alberuni calls this place *Kāmru* (SACHAU : Vol. i, p. 201). Mogul historians always referred to this place as *Kamru* or *Kamru-d*. (RAVERTY : *Tabaquat-i-Nasiri*, p. 564). Perhaps popularly the country was known as *Kamru* or *Kamru-t(d)*. Cf. Santali, *Kamru*, *Kambu* (§ 8 ; -t being a suffix of place-names (§ 11)).

Kāmarūpa having been a place famous for Tantric Practices, *Kamru-t* would suggest some sort of connection with a land of necromancy. The Pauranic legend speaks of the revival of a dead person here ; *Kāmarūpa* may be a Sanskritisation of *Kamru-t*.

Other place-names with *Kām-* are *Kāma-tā* in Coch-Bihar : *Comilla* in north Bengal both having Tantric Shrines.

§ 10. *Lohita* (also popularly *Luit*). It is the principal river in Assam also called the Brahmaputra. In an Āhom (Tāi) chronicle written in the Āhom (Tāi) language and published with parallel English translation by the Government of Assam (1910), the river Brahmaputrā has been frequently referred to as *Ti-lao*. This was perhaps the popular name of the river when the Tāis first entered the place. *Ti-lao* is not a Tāi word, the river being referred to as *nam-dao-phi* in that language.

Austic equivalents for water are :

taya, *tiu*, *tu*, *tueh* (W_{30}) : *lao*, clean water (W_{35}). The word indicating water is placed before or after other words : Cf. *ti menu*, a big river ; *tiu me*, a small stream : *kuod teu*, a tributary stream.

Lohita or *Luit* would seem to be a Sanskritisation of some such formation as *lao-tu*. Other river names in Assam and North Bengal are *Kara-toyā* (Hiuen Ts'ang's *Ka-lo-tu*) ; *Tistā*, in North Bengal : *Ti-hu* ; *Ti-pām* ; *Tiyak* in Assam.

§ 11. *Place-names in -t*. Austic equivalents for earth, place are *Ta*, *te*, *teh*, *tek*, *tik*, etc. (E 12). Santali, *ato*, *at*

Cf. the following place names : *Kāma-tā*, *Cāma-tā* ; *baka-tā*, etc., in Assam ; *bhāba-tā* ; *Saka-ti*, names of villages in the Bogra district, North Bengal.

(B)

ANIMALS

- § 12. *dhekiyā-patiyā*, the royal tiger ; cf. *diagign* ; *pato* (T. 129 E 130-6). *nāhar-phuṭuki*, leopard, cf. *menahar* (T. 136). *lātā-phuṭuki*, leopard cf. *lataik* (T. 129).

- gāhari*, pig, cf. *gaur*, *gau*, *gahu*. P. (74 a).
hāpā, *hepā*, wild cat, cf. *hapa*, *hampet* B. 74 (193).
kerkeṭuwā, squirrel, cf. *ker*; *kekah*; *taba* M. 145, 146.
kukur-neciṭyā, wolf, cf. *nyah*; *chinnih*. T. 129, 129 (d).
kuwāng, wild dog, cf. *kohang*. T. 133.
Rāng-kukur, wild dog, cf. *Raakn*, *Raag*. T. 132.
jahā-māl, a kind of wild cat, cf. *juho*, tiger. T. 129 (b).
jilu, a thread-like earthworm, cf. *jelo*. leech.
tiyā, parrot, Bengali *kākātuwā*, cf. *tiong*, *tiokn*. M. 105.
ui, white ant, cf. *yui*, F. 199.
hām, *kāyem*, a kind of water-fowl, cf. *ayam*, fowl (F. 258). *Kā* is
 an article placed before singular nouns in Khasi.
Kāwai, a kind of fish, cf. *kaa*, fish. (F. 138).

(C)

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

- § 13. *Ātā*, grand-father; cf. *ata*, *atca*, ancestor, grand-father. G. 86.
ābu, grand-mother; cf. *abu*, *abuh*, father. F. 40.
bāpā, *bopāi*, father; cf. *bapa*; *bapai*, fathers. F. 44 (a).
āi, mother. cf. *ai*, father. F. 45.
kākā, *kakāi*, elder brother, cf. *kaka*, elder brother. B. 426.
bāi, elder sister: also a term of address to an elderly lady. cf. *bhai*,
ibhai, elder sister; *ba*, *bii*, mother. B. 413.
āmai, mother's equal: cf. *amai*, mother, aunt. M. 194.
bau, mother (Slang): cf. *bo*, *bu*, *beau*, mother. M. 194.
tāwai, fathers' equal. cf. *ta*, *tata*, grandfather.

(D)

- § 14. WORDS DENOTING ORGANS OF SEX AND HARDLY RECORDED IN DICTIONARIES, AS BEING OBSCENE.

cet, penis. cf. *set*. *seit*. mons veneris. N. 18.
gid, anus, cf. *kit*, *kid*, anus. A. 118.
keti, clitoris. cf. *keto*, exterior skin. S. 2366.
kelā, penis, cf. *klao*, *klau*, penis, P. 52.
pel, testicle, cf. *pelokn*, *peluk*, egg. E. 37.
buc, female organ (Santali; *buya*, *cucu*).
pokar, anus, vagina, cf. *puki*, vagina. p. 222.

- § 15. Words having reference to different bodily functions and limbs.

✓*ā-kar*, open the mouth widely: cf. *ang*, gape. M. 199.
bāi-√di, thrust something long and round into a cavity: cf. *ya*
bai dig, bore through. D. 127.
bēt. mouth. cf. *beto*, face. F. 228.
bheṭ—*cakuwā*, dim-sighted, cf. *buta* blind.

Certain idiomatic peculiarities of Assamese pointing towards conclusion in the same direction may be touched upon in some future paper.

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WERE HERMAEUS AND KUJULA KADPHISES JOINT RULERS ?

By

M. GOVIND PAI

A certain group of copper coins with the name Kujula inscribed in Kharoṣṭhī and Kozola (Kujula) Kadaphes in Greek, falls into two classes : (1) those which bear the name of the Greek king Hermaeus and the Kushāṇa Kujula, and (2) those which bear the name of Kujula alone—

(1) obv. *Basileōs stēros su Ermaiou.*

(Bust of king right. Omicrons squared).

rev. *Kujula Kasasa Kushana yavugasa dhramathidasa* (Heracles standing)¹ A.

(2) obv. *χoran su zaouu Kozola Kadaphes* (Head of king to right resembling that of the Roman emperor Augustus in his last years)

rev. *Khusanasa yausa Kuyula Kaphsasa sacha-dhrama-thitasa* (King seated to right on a chair)² B.

or

rev. *Khusanasa yausa Kuyula Kaphsasa sacha-dhrama-thitasa* (King seated to right on a chair)³ C.

The former set which contains the bust of the Greek king Hermaios or Hermaeus, seems to bear witness to a certain connection between Hermaeus and Kujula who would thus seem to have ruled for sometime conjointly. From this apparent association of the Greek and the Kushāṇa, Prof. RAPSON once considered⁴ that these coins showed clearly the process by which the Kabul valley passed from Hermaeus, the last ruling member of the line of Eucratides, to his conqueror, the Kushāṇa Kujula Kadphises, while Prof. Sten KONOW likewise once inferred⁵ that when Kujula invaded *An-si* i.e. according to him the Parthian realm in and near Kabul, Hermaeus entered into an alliance with him, through which he tried to strengthen his position and make himself independent of the Parthian suzerain, who had oppressed him, but as the Kushāṇa ruler did not long leave him free to enjoy his independence, he had to share the government with him and was soon entirely replaced by Kujula.

1. RAPSON : *Indian Coins (RIC)* Pl. II. 7 ; *Cambridge History of India*. I (= *CHI*) p. 589. Pl. VII 28 ; BROWN : *Coins of India* (= *BCI*) Pl. IV. 1.

2. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, Part I (= *Corpus*) Int. p. lxiii.

3. *BCI*, Pl. IV. 2 ; *RIC*, Pl. II. 9.

4. RAPSON : *Ancient India*, pp. 133, 146.

5. *Corpus*, p. lxiv.

But later on however, Prof. RAPSON took a different view,¹ which Prof. Sten KONOW has now accepted,² that while the last Yavana (Greek) king Hermaeus may have been reigning for sometime before and after *circa* 40 B.C., as would seem to be indicated by the square *omicron* □ in his later Greek coin legends, a coinage bearing his name and his types was issued by his conquerors, who according to him, were Pahlavas and Kushāṇas, until a much later date, in the same way and for the same reasons that the East India Company continued for many years to strike rupees bearing the name of the Mughal emperor Shāh 'Alam, and the Kushāṇa king Kujula's imitations are of a still later date when more than 70 years after the death of its last Greek king Hermaeus, the Kabul valley passed from the Pahlavas to the Kushāṇas.

But then side by side with the square *omicron*, the round form also occurs on some of the coins of Gondopharnes,³ for whom we have the undoubted date 29-30 A.C. of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription,⁴ exactly as on the coin D (*infra*) containing the name Hermaeus on both the sides. Besides the occurrence of the square *omicron* cannot be an infallible chronological test as has been acknowledged by Prof. RAPSON himself.⁵ Though there is evidence of the coins of the Sakas as well as the Pahlavas having been struck with the characteristic types of their fore-runners the Yavana kings, it can hardly be maintained with absolute certainty that the reverse type of the coins of the Pahlava king Spalirises,⁶ the brother and successor of Vonones and the father and predecessor of Azes I,⁷ is borrowed from those of Hermaeus,⁸ as asserted by Prof. RAPSON, as if it cannot have been imitated from the earlier Yavana coins, such as those of Heliocles or Amyntas,⁹ unless the Hermaeus of coin D was different from the Hermaeus of coin A, and the former was an earlier ruler. Nor could the parallel suggested by Prof. RAPSON that the East India Company continued for many years to strike rupees bearing the name of Shāh 'Alam, avail in any way to strengthen his case inasmuch as in the period under survey there is hardly any instance of the wholesale legends with names and portraits of much earlier kings of entirely different nationalities having been restruck or retained on the coins of much

1. *CHI* pp. 561-62.

2. *Journal of Indian History* (= *JIH*) XII, p. 29.

3. *CHI* pp. 590, 592, Pl. VII. 32, 34.

4. *Corpus* p. 62. This article forms a part of the longer work on the Chronology of the Sakas, Pahlavas, Kushāṇas &c (yet to be published) in which the year of this inscription is shown to be 29-30 A.C.

5. *CHI* p. 572 f.n. 1.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 562, 591, Pl. VII. 37, 38.

7. According to RAPSON (*CHI*, p. 574) Azes II (and not Azes I) would seem to have been the son and successor of Spalirises, but in our chronology of the Sakas etc. we have shown that it was Azes I who was the son and successor of Spalirises, and that Azes II was the son and successor of Azilises who was the son and successor of Azes I.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 591.

later kings of other races and other dynasties, and that too on the side of honour, the obverse. Besides while in the case of the East India Company it was to its own advantage as the virtual ruler of the dominions of the then king Shāh 'Alam to strike its coins with his name and continue the process for many years, it is hardly possible to imagine of what earthly use it could have been to the Kushāṇa king Kujala, who as is further evident from the type of his coins B and C, went in for the more or less contemporary Roman denarii of emperor Augustus¹ (ob. 14 A.C.), to have retained or restructed the entire Greek legend of a Yavana king, who as Prof. RAPSON believes, had been dead more than 70 years before his time.

Now there is a syllable *su* or *sy* (ΣΥ) which on the obverse of the first set of coins A, stands between *stēros* and *Eramaïou*, and which different scholars have tried to explain differently. Prof. RAPSON² once thought that the legend *stēros su* might be rendering of *sterasya*, Skt. *sthavirasya* = cf the elder, while *χoran su*, on coins B and C, might stand for Kushanasya ; but now he seems to be convinced³ that it is the corrupt form of the Greek word *sōtēros*, genitive singular of *sōtēr* = saviour (Skt. *trātāra*), as is not improbable when and where the Greek language was no longer properly understood by the die-engravers. M. SENART⁴ draws attention to the fact that the word *tratarasa* (g.s.) which usually occurs on the reverse of the (silver) coins bearing also the name Hermaeus—

obv. *Basileōs sōtēros Ermaïou*

(Bust of king right. Omicrons round)

rev. *Maharajasa tratarasa Hermayasa*

(Zeus enthroned)² D.

is absent when the obverse shows the corrupt Greek legend *stēros su*, and as this coincidence precludes, he thinks, the idea of *stēros su* being simply a corruption of *sōtēros*, and as also Kujula's coins are the oldest Indian coins where we find an ethnic designation, Kushāṇa, he thinks it possible that *su* has a similar meaning and stands for *Syrou* (gen. sg. of *Syros* = a Syrian), of the Syrian, supposing that Syria had for those far-off Greeks come to stand as the last representative of the independent Greek power. But then it is far cry from the Afghanistan or the further east of Hermaeus to the Syria of the Seleucids ; and since they had once severed connection with Syria in c. 250 B.C. when Diodotus of Bactria became independent of his suzerain, the Seleucid king of Syria,⁶ neither the Bactrian Greeks nor their successors in India were ever likely to look back to Syria as their original home, or call themselves Syrians, or even to look upon Syria as the last

1. Vincent SMITH : *Early History of India*. Pl. opp. p. 76, nos. 2 & 3.

2. *Corpus* p. lxvii.

3. *CHI* pp. 561-62.

4. *Corpus*, p. lxiii.

5. *CHI* p. 591, Pl. VII. 37.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 434-35.

representative of the independent Greek power, especially when since 65 B.C. it had once for all become a Roman province.¹

Prof. THOMAS² suggests the possibility of seeing in the *su* of *stēros su* a genitive suffix corresponding to the Tocharian *tse*; Prof. KIRSTE sees in it the abbreviation of the Greek word *symbolon*; ³ and Baron Staël HOLSTEIN takes it to be the genitive of a word corresponding to Persian *shah*, comparing the forms *Sapōrēs*, *Shāphpūr* (the name of some of the kings of the Sasanid dynasty), where *sh* is rendered as *s*, and *satrapu Zeiōnusou*,⁴ where *u* (i.e. the final 'u' of 'satrapu') stands for the genitive suffix. Prof. STEN KONOW however remarks that though the explanation of *su* as an abbreviation of *symbolon* is the only one which does not lead to the assumption of a clumsy or mistaken orthography, the position of the syllable, which might be intelligible in the seal-legend⁵ *su Theüdamasa* where we have Kharoshthī letters, is hardly so in *Basileōs stēros su Ermaïou*, or *χ^οαν su zaouu Kozola Kadaphes*, and that as on some of these coins Hermaeus is associated with Kujula Kadphises, as he then believed, he was inclined to think that the addition of the syllable *su* bore witness to an alliance between them, in which case *su* must evidently be a Kushāna title connected with the word *shau* used by Kanishka and his successors⁶ and also by Iranian rulers in Chinese Turkestan, so that when Kujula, who once retained the bust of Hermaeus during their joint government, replaced it later on, he would also seem to have introduced the syllable *su* in his legends.

But none of these explanations however is satisfactory. The word which appears incorrectly spelt as *stēros* on coin A, is no doubt *sōtēros* (g.s.) in its proper orthography, and if as M. SENART has remarked, its equivalent *tratarasa* (g.s.), saviour, is absent on the reverse, it is either because the reverse shows not the same name as stands on the obverse, Hermaeus, who bore that title, but quite a different name, that of Kujula Kadphises, who on the other hand was known as *dhrama-thida* (= *dhrama-sthita*, righteous), and not as *tratarā*, or because the Hermaeus of coin D is different from the Hermaeus of the coin A. There are other instances too of mistaken or mutilated orthography in the coin-legends of that period, e.g. *Basileōisileōn*

1. RAWLINSON : *Parthia* (story of the Nations' Series), p. 102.

2. *Corpus*, p. lxiii.

3. The primary meaning of the Greek word *symbolon* (= symbol) is a sign or mark to infer a thing by, and while in the singular it also means a ticket or a cheque, it signifies in the plural two pieces of a coin etc. which two contracting parties broke between them and preserved, as well as a covenant or treaty between two states for mutual protection of commerce; but how any of these senses could fit in with the context in the coin-legend, we are not told.

4. This extract is obviously from the Greek legend on the coin of Zeonises, which however Prof. RAPSON reads (*RIC*, Pl. II. 3)--*Manniglou viou satrapou Zeiōnisou*. If he is right, the penultimate word would seem to be in its correct grammatical form, *satrapou* (g.s.)

5. *Corpus* p. 6, Pl. I—3.

6. *BCI*, Pl. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

for *Basileōs Basileōn* 'of King of Kings,' *Undophrr* for *Undopherrou* (g.s.), 'of Gondopharnes', *megali* for *megalou* (g.s.), 'of great', on a coin of Gondopharnes¹, &c.

The next syllable *su* or *sy* is quite an independent syllable and no part nor affix of the previous word *stēros*, and it is evidently an abbreviation of a word which is obviously in apposition with the three parallel genitive singulars, *Basileōs*, *stēros*, i.e. *sōlēros*, and *Ermaiou*, meaning respectively 'of king', 'of saviour' and 'of Hermaeus'. And that word is nothing if not the genitive singular of some Greek compound-word having *syn*, or its other forms *syl*, *sym* or *sy*,² for its prefix, such as the nouns *syn-thronos* = joint-ruler, *sym-basileus* = joint-king, or *sy-zugos* = joined together, conjoint, united, associated, etc., or the present participles of the verbs³ such as *syn-anassō* = to rule as king with another, *syn-archō* = to rule conjointly with, *sym-basileuō* = to rule conjointly with etc. Of these several words, *sy-zugos* seems to be the likeliest, because the actual syllable in the legend is neither *syn*, nor *sym*, nor *syl*, but is simply *sy*, and also because the idea of kingship having once been definitely expressed by the word *Basileōs* (g.s.) with which the legend (coin A) begins, it would not be found any more necessary to express it again by means of such words as *syn-thronos*, *sym-basileus* etc., which convey the same idea. Besides it is the word *sy-zugos* itself which also appears on coins B & C, as we shall presently see.

*Sy*⁴ then stands for *sy-zugou*, the genitive singular of *sy-zugos*, and if this explanation is right, it is self-evident that Hermaeus and Kujula Kadphises were actually joint rulers for sometime, and Hermaeus who occupies the obverse with the Greek legend in their joint coins, was apparently the senior of the two.

A similar *sy* occurs on the coins of the second set, B and C, where it stands between *χoran* and *zaouu*. The middle letter of *χoran* which appears like an *τ*, is in fact not an *τ*: it is a peculiar letter which is hardly met with in the ordinary Greek alphabet, but is of frequent occurrence in the Greek coin-legends of Kujula as well as of Kanishka and his successors, where from its appearance in the name

1. *CHI*, p. 590, Pl. VII. 32.

2. In forming compound words the final *n* of the Greek prefix *syn* becomes *l* before words beginning with *l* (Greek: *syl-labē* = syllable), and it becomes *m* before those beginning with *b*, *m*, *p* (*sym-bolon* = symbol; *sym-metria* = symmetry; *sym-patheia* = sympathy), while it is dropped before words with an initial *z* (*sy-zygia* = syzygy).

3. There are examples of the use of the present participle *basileuontos* (g.s.) instead of the noun *basileus* in the coin-legends of Antiochus II and Agathocles (*CHI* pp. 450, 451 & 465) as well as in those of Abdagases (*Corpus*, p. xlv).

4. As the Greek letter *upsilon* in the prefix *syn* is usually rendered by *y* in English (e.g. syllable, symmetry, symbol, sympathy, syndic, synod, system &c), we shall spell the syllable in question with a *y* as *sy*, rather than with a *u* as *su*.

Kanishka as also in the title 'shaonano shao' of himself and his successors,¹ it has been rightly made out as *sh*. The word *χoran* is thus properly transliterated and pronounced as *χoshan*, and stands for their ethnic designation *Khushāṇa* or *Kushāṇa*. The next word *zaoou* is no doubt the genitive singular of *zaos*. Prof. Sten KONOW explains² *zaos* as the Graecized form of the native *yavuga*, found in the Kharoshthī legends of both the sets, and *yavuga* again he explains as the same word which the Chinese render as *hi-hou* (ruler), and he further believes³ that the position of a *yavuga* or *jaüva* (i.e., *zaos*, *yaüa* &c.) was inferior to that of a *kshatrapa*, satrap. No doubt Kujula was himself a *hi-hou* before he had reduced the other *hi-hous* and made himself the sole king of the Yüe-chi, as recorded in the Chinese annals⁴ *Hon-Han-shu*. But when once he had attained that higher position, he had therewith also transcended his former inferior status as *hi-hou*, so that he would hardly any longer style himself a *hi-hou* or *yavuga*, if of course these titles were identical. When yet later on he had seized Kabul and conquered the Pushkalāvati kingdom of the Pahlavas, he of course grew much greater and it is inconceivable that he would still call himself a *hi-hou*, as if it were a dynastic or ethnic designation.

As aptly remarked by Prof. RAPSON,⁵ the deterioration of art and the debasement of the coinage, which these coins present, is best explained as the result of a complete change in the character of the civilisation of the region of their issue, where it is clear that the Greek language was no longer properly understood. As a matter of fact it was still employed there as before, though without the former regard for preciseness whether in etymology or orthography. Greek words as a matter of course would now appear in a non-Greek guise in the Kharoshthī legends, and as might further be expected, these again would be mechanically rendered back in the Greek legends in strange pseudo-Greek forms, as is inevitable when the proper words in their proper forms were no longer known. Neither *yavuga* nor *zaos* could then be a *Kushāṇa* word. They evidently represent two different corrupt forms of perhaps the same Greek word, which was first distorted as *yavuga* and then re-Graecized as *zaos*, through sheer ignorance no doubt of its original form. It is thus necessary to think of some Greek word which would easily become *yavuga* as it appears in the Kharoshthī legend, and then would be rendered back in Greek as *zaos* as it stands in the Greek legend.

Perhaps the likeliest word that also sensibly fits in with the context, is the Greek *zeugos*, which when compounded with the preposition *syn* becomes *sy-zugos*, and both of them alike mean joined together, conjoint, united,

1. *BCI* Pl. IV. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9; *RIC* Pl. 12.
2. *Corpus* pp. 1-li; *JIH*, XII p. 30.
3. *Corpus* p. 27.
4. *Ibid.*, p. lxii; *JIH*, XII, 13-14, 27.
5. *CHI* p. 561.

associated. The *z*-sound which is conspicuous by absence in Kharoṣṭhī was often rendered in it by *ya*, as we know from several coin-legends, e.g., of Azes I and II,¹ Gr. Azes = Kh. *Aya*, of Azilises,² = Kh. *Ayilisha*, and of Kujula himself,³ Gr. Kozolo or Kozoula = Kh. *Kuyula*; and the Greek *upsilon*, i.e., *u* or *y*, becomes consonantic *vu* in Kharoṣṭhī, i.e., Gr. *Eukratidou* (g.s.) = Kh. *Evukratitasa* (g.s.),⁴ of Eucratides. Accordingly the Greek nominative singular *ze-u-gos* readily renders itself in Kharoṣṭhī as *ya-vu-ga*, which again with the vocalisation of its final *ga* and then of the medial *vu*, as is usual in Prakṛts, becomes *ya-ü-a*; and in *zaos* the nom-sing. of *zaouu*, we have simply the latter form *ya-ü-a* re-Graecized as *za-o-os*.

As regards the syllable *sy* occurring between *χoran* and *zaouu* on the coins B and C of the second set, it is evidently the prefix *sy-(n)* of the subsequent word *zaouu*, so that together they form the compound word *sy-zaouu*, which is only a corrupt form of *sy-zugou*, gen. sg. of the Greek compound word *sy-zugos*, and *sy-zugos*, as we have just said, is quite synonymous with the simpler *zeugos*. It thus appears that the inference is not unreasonable that the word indicated by the syllable *sy* on the obverse coin A is also *sy-zugos*.

It would thus appear that while the connection between Hermaeus and Kujula is duly expressed by the initial syllable *sy* of the Greek word *sy-zugos* on the obverse of their joint coin A, where the name of the Greek ruler occurs, the same has been expressed by an equivalent word *yavuga*, i.e. *zeugos* on its reverse which contains the name of the other joint ruler the Kushāṇa Kujula; and in the case of the other coins B and C issued by Kujula alone, while of course they were yet joint rulers, the same connection is expressed by the compound word *sy-zaos*, i.e., *sy-zugos* on the obverse and by *yaüa*, which is only a variant of *yavuga*, i.e. *zeugos*, on the reverse. There can thus be hardly any more doubt that Hermaeus and Kujula Kadphises were actually joint rulers for sometime.

After the expulsion of the Sakas from Bactria, they are known to have gone southwards and made themselves masters of Ki-pin, i.e., Kāpisa⁵ which was then evidently in Greek occupation, as might well be inferred from the city of Kāpiśi type of the coins of some of the earlier Greek rulers, on perhaps the earliest of which the reverse legend reads *Kaviṣiya nagara devatā*.⁶ Thereupon when the Sakas moved south-west to *Sakastāna*, i.e., Drangiana or Seistan,⁵ the Greeks must have re-occupied Ki-pin, and during the rule of the Saka king Mauas (Maues) as well as the subsequent rule of the Pahlavas of

1. *BCI.*, Pl. III, 5, 7; *CHI.*, pp. 590-91, Pls. VII. 30, VIII. 45.

2. *BCI.*, Pl. III, 9.

3. *RIC.*, Pl. III. p. 8, 9; *CHI.*, p. 589, Pl. VII. 28.

4. *CHI.*, p. 588, Pl. VI. 13.

5. *Corpus*, p. liv; *CHI.*, pp. 566-67; *JIH.*, XIV., pp. 321, 325-27. This territory known as Ki-pin in the Chinese annals, has been identified with Kāfiristān by Prof. RAPSON.

6. *CHI.*, pp. 591-92.

the family of Vonones (of East Iran), in India, the Greeks were in possession of Ki-pin and perhaps also the upper valley of Kabul where neither the coins of Mauas nor those of the Pahlavas from Vonones down to Azes II have been obtained. The case however was different when Gondopharnes succeeded Azes II. The Pahlava kingdom then extended from beyond Seistan in the west to beyond the Taxila region in the east, and as the Kabul valley was thus evidently included in it, the Greek rulers during his reign would seem to have been left with only Ki-pin, or may have even lost their independence. Naturally therefore when Kujula seized Kao-fu,¹ i.e., the Kabul country, from the Pahlavas, Hermaeus would forthwith make an alliance with him, and both of them together must have put an end to the Pahlava rule in India. And this is amply borne out by the figure of *Nikē*, the Greek goddess of victory, as well as the significant word *yauḡa*, e.g., *zeugos*, meaning joint-ruler in the reverse legend, *Maharajasa Rajatirajasa Khushanasa yavugasa* (g.s.) on a Sirkap coin,² the obverse of which shows the bust of a king believed to resemble Wima Kadphises, whereas in fact it is that of his father Kujula, as is once for all decided by the specific word *yavuga*, which could by no means appear on the coins of Wima as he never ruled conjointly with another. Thereupon Hermaeus and Kujula carried on the government of the conquered dominions as joint rulers, Hermaeus ruling in the west with his capital perhaps in Ki-pin itself and Kujula in the north and east with his capital in his home-province of Badakshan rather than in India, as may well be inferred from the fact that while the name of Hermaeus does not appear in either of the contemporary Indian records, the Panjtar inscription³ and the Taxila Silver Scroll,⁴ Kujula is referred to in them by his rationality as *Maharaya Gushanā* in the former and *Maharaja Rajatiraja devaputra Khushanā* in the latter, and not mentioned by his personal name; and though to judge from the words *yavuga*, i.e. *zugos*, and *su-zaos*, i.e. *su-zugos*, in their coin-inscriptions, they would seem to have been of equal status as joint kings, the appearance of the name Hermaeus invariably on the obverse and that Kujula on the reverse of their joint coins suffices to decide that Hermaeus was the senior of the two.

In the Chinese annals⁵ Kujula is said to have conquered and entirely possessed the kingdom of Ki-pin after he had seized the territory of Kao-fu, i.e., the Kabul country, and triumphed over and possessed the kingdom of Pu-ta,⁶ i.e. the Pushkalāvati kingdom. In other words it means that sometime

1. *Corpus*, p. lxii; *JIH.*, XII, pp. 13-14.

2. *Corpus*, p. lxiv.

3. *Corpus*, p. 70. Our date for the Panjtar inscription is 48 A.C.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 77. Our date for the Taxila Silver Scroll is 63 A.C.

5. *JIH.*, XII, pp. 13-14; *Corpus*, p. liv.

6. The Chinese name *Pu-ta* was pronounced *Puk-dat* or *Puk-lat* in the 6th century A.C. (*Corpus*, p. lxiv, fn. 1; *JIH.*, XII, p. 31). These latter forms evidently seem to represent the Greek name *Peukelaotis* or *Peukelaitis* (*CHI.*, p. 558) of the city of *Pushkalāvati*, which was the chief city of the kingdom of that name

after he had made himself master of the Indian dominions of the Pahlavas, Kujula conquered Ki-pin. And therewith he must have overthrown his colleague Hermaeus and become the sole king of all the countries which he himself as well as both of them together had conquered. Though we cannot be exact as to how long Hermaeus and Kujula were joint rulers, it seems probable that Kujula may have extinguished his ally between the year 48 A.C. of the Panjtar inscription and 63 A.C. of the Taxila Silver Scroll, i.e., in about 50-55 A.C.

Hermaeus was thus overthrown in 50-55 A.C., and with him passed away the last Greek ruler in the East. The rule of the Bactrian Greeks, which began with the establishment of the two rival houses of Euthydemus (c. 200 B.C.) and Eucraides (c. 170 B.C.),¹ would thus seem to have lingered on till about 50-55 A.C., and not ended, as is usually supposed, in the first century B.C.

The coins which bear the name of Hermaeus, the joint ruler of Kujula Kadphises, are all of copper. Accordingly he could not well be the Hermaeus of the silver coin D (*supra*). The coins of these joint rulers Hermaeus and Kujula are coarse in workmanship and degraded in style and fabric, and besides their epigraphy is faulty and omicrons squared.² In a word they betray a numismatic condition when art had deteriorated and coinage was debased. These are very far removed from the other fine silver coins bearing also the name of Hermaeus,³ which on the other hand are of superior quality and are sound in epigraphy, as in the case of the coin D. These besides contain no squared letters, and some of them further represent on their obverse the jugate busts of the king and the queen, Hermaeus and Calliope,⁴ so that they will have necessarily to be assigned to a period before the deterioration of art and the debasement of the coinage had set in, and any of the squared letters had been introduced in the Greek coin-legends, i.e., sometime before 74-73 B.C. when the squared letters first appeared on the victory coin of Vonones of East Iran.⁵ Accordingly Hermaeus the consort of Calliope and Hermaeus the colleague of Kujula could hardly ever be identical, as supposed by Prof. RAPSON⁶: they were removed from each other by more than a century. For

to the west of the Indus; and as it was the capital of the Pahlava kings (or one of their capitals, the other being Takshaśilā, i.e., Taxila), *Pu-ta* evidently stands for the entire Indian dominions of the Pahlavas.

1. *CHI.*, p. 541; XIV, pp. 317-19.

2. *CHI.*, pp. 561, 589, Pl. VII. 28; *RIC.*, Pl. II. 7, 8, 9.

3. *CHI.*, pp. 560-61, 591, Pls. VII. 37, XXX, h.

4. *CHI.*, p. 560.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 592, Pl. VII. 50, where however as also in *Corpus* (p. xliii), this Vonones is said to be king Vonones I (8-11 or 12 A.C.) of Parthia (*CHI.*, p. 578; *Corpus* p. xxxix); but in our Chronology of the Sakas &c., we have shown that he was not the king of Parthia, but was the first independent king of East Iran, who began to rule in 74 B.C. when also he issued this Victory coin, showing the figure of *Nikē* i.e. Victory, on its reverse.

6. *CHI.*, pp. 560-62.

the Hermaeus, whose coin-type (coin D supra) is said to have been imitated by Spalirises, could by no means be the colleague of Kujula, who ruled till about 50-55 A.C., but must have flourished fairly long before Spalirises, who having succeeded his brother Vonones, who founded the autonomous monarchy of East Iran in 74 B.C., and having preceded his son Azes I, who is known to have ruled about the middle of the first century B.C., must have himself flourished in the second quarter of that century.

THE "KOLIKON" IN MOHENJO DARO

By

THE REV. H. HERAS, S.J.

In an article published in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, I have shown how one of the titles of the Pāṇḍya kings is found in some of the inscriptions discovered in the Indus Valley.¹ In this paper I shall disclose another title also found in some of those inscriptions, a title which was used by another ancient South Indian Dynasty, the Cōlas.

The ancient capital of the Cōlas was Uraiyr, which is now a suburb of Trichinopoly; but Uraiyr is not the ancient name of this city. It was called Kōḷi and this name is explained in ancient tradition by relating the fact that in that place a Kōḷi "a cock", defeated an elephant.² The historical fact behind this tradition seems to be that the tribe of the Kōḷis defeated the tribe of the Elephants. That these wars between tribe and tribe were in ancient times remembered by reference to their *totems*, the very seals of Mohenjo Daro manifestly declare. When the tribe of the Minas was defeated, their *totem*, the unicorn is supposed to be killed and its skin is represented spread to the four corners of the universe.³ Similarly another seal of Chanhu Daro shows a *koḷi*, a hen, being trampled by a monster half bull and half lion, evidently meaning that the united tribes of the bull and the lion defeated the tribe of the Kōḷis.⁴

Now in the fight between a Kōḷi and an Elephant, the latter is represented as a *totem* in several seals of Mohenjo Daro,⁵ but we do not know what tribe had this animal as a *totem*. As regards the Kōḷi tribe, these are expressly mentioned in some of the inscriptions of Mohenjo Daro.⁶ One runs as follows :

1. Cf. *JOR*, X, pp. 281-288.

2. *Tamil Lexicon* of the Madras University, II, p. 1200.

3. MARSHALL, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization*, I, pl. XIII, No. 25. Cf. HERAS, The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People according to the Inscriptions, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, V, p. 6; HERAS, Mohenjo Daro, the People and the Land, *Indian Culture*, III, pp. 708-714.

4. *Illustrated London News*, Nov. 21st, 1936, p. 908; Cf. HERAS, Chanhu Daro and its Inscriptions, *St. Xavier's College Magazine*, XXIX, p. 106.

5. MARSHALL, *op. cit.*, III, Nos. 365, 366, 367, 369, 370, 371, etc.

6. Kōḷi, "fowl" is not spelt like the name Koli applied to these people. In the course of centuries and influence by European ears which do not easily appreciate such subtle differences in pronunciation, Kōḷi very likely has been converted into Koli. Moreover, the Mohenjo Daro script does not pay attention to the quality of the vowels nor to the different sounds of the consonants.



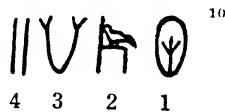
which reads : *kōḷi nāl maram*, "many trees of the Kōḷis".

In several parts of northern and western India there are tribes of Kōḷis, who are very likely remnants of that ancient tribe.² But they also seem to have been settled in Southern India. The ancient Tamil name for Cōḷa-maṇḍala or Coromandel is Kōḷikkaraḷ. Now this word is evidently a corrupted form of Kōḷikkaraḷ; in the Dravidian languages of North India, the *ḷ* often changes into *ḍ*. Similarly, in one of his inscriptions Aśoka mentions the *Coḍas* for the *Cōḷas*.³ Moreover, it is a fact that the ancient name of Uraiyur was Kōḷi, as said above, and that the capital of the Kōḷis was established there after these people defeated another tribe whose *totem* was the elephant. Now it is well known that the ancient Dravidian initial *k*- often has become *s*-. Thus *kei*, "to make" has become *sei*; *kāvu*, "to die" has become *sāvu*, etc.⁴ Koli similarly became Soli as it is found in Marco Polo, meaning the Tanjore country,⁵ and was used till modern times in Ceylon.⁶ In the Harāhā inscription of the Maukhari King Iśānavarman, they are probably meant by the name Śulikas,⁷ as they are also called Śolikas and Cōlikas in other epigraphs.⁸ But the title did not suffer any change and the Cōḷa king continued to be called *kōḷikōṇ*. In fact a passage in the *Puranānūru* seems to combine the old and new designations of the Cōḷa kings :

Kōḷiyōṇē kōp-peruṇ cōḷan"



which means : "the great Cōḷan, the king is, he of the Kōḷi".


Now two early Cōḷa kings are apparently mentioned in the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions, and these references are of extraordinary interest, for the character of both kings is briefly but masterly described. One runs thus :






1. MARSHALL, *op. cit.*, M. D. No. 207.
2. See note (3) above.
3. HULTZSCH, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, 13th R. E., Shahbazgarhi, p. 70.
4. Cf. TUTTLE, Dravidian Notes, *JAOS.*, LVII, pp. 305-306.
5. Marco Polo, Bk. III, Ch. 20.
6. TENNENT, *Ceylon*, I, p. 395. (I owe this information to my friend Rev. S. GNANA PRAKASAR, Jaffna).
7. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 120, s. 13. Cf. HERAS, Who were the Sulikas? *JAHS.*, I, pp. 130-131.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 105; E. C., V, Ak. 102a; XII, Mi. 95, 96, 102; X, Col. 76.
9. *Puranānūru*, 212 (I am also indebted to Fr. GNANA PRAKASAR for this reference).
10. MARSHALL, *op. cit.*, Pl. CXVI, No. 22.

The signs of this inscription read as follows :

Sign No. 1. By comparing it with the Proto Chinese  which means "prisoner", it is evident that the original pictograph from which both signs proceed was  , that showed a man in great distress, with hands lifted up, surrounded by a wall. Therefore, our sign will read *sere*, "prisoner", "captive".

Sign No. 2 is a compound sign. The two elements are  *kōli*

and  , which is also depicted thus :  . It is a chair ; but since chairs were only used by kings in those early days, it stands for *kōn* "king" (also in Sumer this sign reads *en*, lord, noble, king). Therefore, both signs combined will read *kōlikōn*, "the king of Kōli" or the Kōli king.

Sign No. 3. The original sign was  which reads *ten*, "coconut plantation". Our sign is a little changed and its phonetic value becomes *tan*, "to reduce".

Sign No. 4. The numeral "two", *ir*.

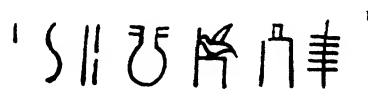
Signs Nos. 3 and 4 combine and read *tanir*, "cold water" (The modern word is *tanīr*). The reduplication of the consonants was not in use those days.

Therefore the inscription reads :

Sere kōlikōn tanir

which means : "The captive Kōlikon (is) cold water".

Before explaining this sentence we should proceed to study the second inscription. Here it is :


 7 6 5 4 3 2 1


Sign No. 1 is a pictograph of the vertebral column (so it is in Egypt too). Therefore it means "back" and reads *ven*.

Sign No. 2. The pictograph of "a house", *ir*, i.e. the place where one is or lives.


Now these two signs combine reading *venir*, "hot water" (now *venṇir*). (Cf. what we have said about the reduplication of consonants).

Sign No. 3. The same as No. 2 in the preceding inscription, with the difference that here the *kōḷi* is flying. Hence it will read *parakōḷikōn*, "the flying *kōḷikōn*", i.e., "the glorious *Kōḷikōn*".

Sign No. 4. Another shape of the most common sign in Mohenjo Daro,

 , which is the suffix of genitive *adu*, "of".

Sign No. 5. Numeral "three" also written sometimes this way :

 *mūn*.

Sign No. 6. The pictograph representing the course of a "river", *ār*.

Sign No. 7. The substantive verb "to be", *ir*

Signs Nos. 6 and 7 also combine reading *ārir*, the plural form, "rivers".

Therefore the whole inscription reads thus :

Venir parakōḷikōn adu mūn ārir

which means : "three rivers of the glorious hot-watered *Kōḷikōn*".

It was indeed interesting to notice that in these two cases two different sorts of water are mentioned in connection with two Cōḷa kings in two different circumstances. "Cold water" is spoken of in connection with a king who is said to be in prison ; while when a glorious king is referred to then hot water is introduced as an epithet qualifying the king. That was a puzzle to me which could not be solved.

Accordingly I proposed the question to my friend Fr. GNANA PRAKASAR, who kindly replied to my query by stating that the Tamils of Jaffna speak of a phlegmatic cowardly person as "cold water", and of a choleric or high-spirited person as "hot water". Apparently such colloquial phrases seem to be very old. Accordingly the meaning of these inscriptions would be the following :

1. "The captive *Kōḷikōn* is a coward".
2. "The three rivers of the high-spirited glorious *Kōḷikōn*".

Evidently both inscriptions cannot speak of the same king, for one is said to be glorious and high-spirited, while the other is described as actually being in prison and being a coward. Two characters diametrically opposed and two fates contrary to each other. It is a great pity that the proper names of these two kings are not communicated to us.

One final observation about the three rivers that apparently flowed through the kingdom of the high-spirited glorious Cōḷa. One of these three rivers was beyond doubt the *Kāvēri*. It is the Cōḷa river *par excellence*.

It passed along their capital Kōḷi ; their second capital Kāvēripatnam was built on its bank ; their last capital Tanjore was not very far from it. The other two rivers called Vellār were of importance for they marked the northern and southern boundaries of the primitive Cōḷa kingdom ; the Northern Vellār reaches the sea near Porto Novo, while the southern Vellār's mouth is at Manmelgudi. Though the boundaries of the Cōḷa kingdom were always very elastic on account of their wars with neighbouring monarchs, yet it is a fact that these three rivers are mentioned as the Cōḷa rivers in a *veṇba* ascribed by some to Auvaiyar.¹

In any case it is extraordinary that the traditions about the ancient existence of the Cōḷa Dynasty in South India should also be unexpectedly confirmed by these two Proto-Indian inscriptions found in Northern India.

1. SASTRI, *The Cōḷas*, I, p. 22, note.

AN INDIAN PRINCE IN A GREEK PROSE ROMANCE

By

K. K. HANDIQUI

An Indian prince is one of the minor characters of the Greek prose romance *Ephesiaka* or the *Ephesian History* of Xenophon of Ephesus. Prof. DALMEYDA says in the Introduction to his edition of the work (Paris, 1926) that it has been assigned to various dates ranging from the second to the fourth century A.D. and even the fifth. But the general tendency is to ascribe the work to a comparatively early date among the prose romances of later Greek literature. CROISET in his *Histoire de la Littérature Grecque* Vol. 5, p. 793 says that Xenophon appears to belong to the third century, while WRIGHT in his *History of Later Greek Literature*, p. 295 assumes him to be earlier than Longus and Heliodorus who are generally placed in the third century.

We read in the romance (3.11) that an Indian prince named Psammiss is on a visit to Alexandria for the purpose of sight seeing and commercial transactions (*kata thean tês poleôs kai kata chreian emporias*). The heroine Anthia in course of her adventures is sold as a slave to Psammiss who looks like a wealthy merchant rather than a ruling prince. We see Psammiss on his way back to India, accompanied by Anthia, at the head of a prosperous caravan consisting of horses, camels and donkeys, with an abundant store of gold, silver, and costly raiments. But after crossing the frontiers of Ethiopia Psammiss is attacked and killed by a band of robbers (4.3). Reference is also made in the novel (4.1) to the city of Koptos near the frontiers of Ethiopia, and it is stated that large numbers of merchants pass through this place, some to Ethiopia and others to India (*epi Indikêen*). It may be assumed that when the work was composed commercial relations between Egypt and India were a common feature of the times.

Another detail not very important may be mentioned. Anthia in order to protect herself from the advances of Psammiss plays on his superstition by telling him that her father at her birth consecrated her to Isis till the day of her marriage, and that dire vengeance would be the lot of anyone doing violence to what belonged to the goddess. The Indian believes the story, pays homage to the goddess (*kai tên theon prosekunei*) and keeps aloof from the girl. The practice of consecrating maidens to Isis reminds one of the Indian custom of *devadāsī*.

A NEW VERSION OF THE AGADADATTA STORY

By

L. ALSDORF

Among the precious treasures of Indian folk tales which the religious zeal and literary interest of Jaina monks and preachers have preserved to us, one of the finest ratnas is no doubt the interesting and attractive story of Agadadatta. It has till now been known from two very different versions which are both contained in JACOBI's "Erzählungen in Mahārāṣṭri."¹ One (No. X a) is a short and very concise prose setting taken from Śāntisūri's Uttarādhyayana commentary ; it covers barely two printed pages and gives only the first part of the story. The other (No. X) is found in the famous *Uttarādhyayana-ṭīkā* of Devendra ; it consists of 328 gāthās and might well be called a little Prakrit epic.

A new version in Prakrit prose has come to light but recently in the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* of Saṅghadāsa.² In this bulky Prakrit work which contains the Jaina remodelling of Guṇādhyā's *Bṛhatkathā*, an Agadadattacarita³ is inserted in the so-called *Dhammillahiṇḍī* which, as I shall show elsewhere, is a later addition to the original *Vasudevahiṇḍī* but even as such cannot be later than the 6th century A.D.

As the new version can be shown to be the oldest and most original of the three and is therefore apt to throw some light on the two other versions as well as on the growth and development of the Agadadatta tale—never investigated hitherto—, a description and comparative analysis of it may not be deemed superfluous. I shall first make clear the relation between the new version of Saṅghadāsa (henceforth called Sd) and that of Śāntisūri (Śs) and then compare Sd with the version preserved by Devendra (Dev.).

The relation between Śs and Sd is best defined by saying that of a common original Śs reproduces the first portion only in a very condensed and abridged form while Sd is a complete but perhaps slightly amplified copy. Nearly the whole text of Śs is contained in that of Sd either verbatim or with insignificant changes, most of these being merely due to the fact that in Sd Agadadatta himself relates his own adventures while Śs tells of him in the

1. Leipzig, 1886.

2. Both these versions have been translated into English by J. J. MEYER in his "Hindu Tales" (London 1909) and into Italian by A. BALLINI (*Agadadatta*, Firenze (1903). A German translation of No. Xa is found in J. HERTEL's "Indische Märchen" (Jena, 1921), of No. X in J. J. MEYER's "Kāvya-saṃgraha."

3. Edited by Munis CATURAVIJAYA and PUṆYAVIJAYA, Bhāvnagar 1930-31 (*Ātmānand Jain Granth Ratnamālā* 80-81).

4. Pages 35 (bottom) to 49 of the printed edition.

third person. In order to illustrate this more clearly, I give a synoptical text of two corresponding passages of the two versions.

Sd (*Vasudevahinḍi*, p. 39, 27 ff.):

tato haṃ haṭṭha-

Śs (JACOBI, *Erzählungen* p. 67, 15 ff.):

tato haṭṭha-tuṭṭha-

māṇaso raṇṇo calaṇesu paṇamiṇṇa niggao rāyakulāo. cintiyaṃ ca mayā
māṇaso niggao rāyakulāo. cintiyaṃ c' aṇeṇa

sattha-niddiṭṭhehiṃ uvāhehiṃ : “pāeṇa duṭṭha-purisa-takkarā pāṇāgāra-
jahā :

“duṭṭha-purisa-takkarā pāṇāgārā-

jūya-sālāsu kullariyāvaṇa-paṇḍaga-parivvāyagāvasaha-ratt ‘ambara-
ṭṭhāṇesu

vaṭṭha-koṭṭhaya-dāsi-ghara-ārām’ujjāna-sabhā-pavāsu sunna-deula-
vihāresu saṃsiyā acchanti. tattha ya corā ummatta-parivvāyaga-
nāṇāviha-liṅga-vesa-paricchaṇṇa bambhaṇa-vesa-dhāriṇo viviha-sippa-
nāṇāviha-liṅga-vesa-paricchannā

kusalā ya vigaya-visarūvayāe (?)¹ ya bhamanti. tato ahaṃ eyāim

bhamanti. ao ahaṃ eyāim

ṭhāṇāim appaṇā cārapurisehi ya maggāvemi cārāvemi.” cārāveṇa ya
ṭhāṇāim appaṇā cārapurisehi ya maggāvemi.” maggāvūcūṇa

uvāya-kusalo niggao nihāiṇṇa ekkao ceva ahaṃ ekkassa nava-

niggao nayaṇāo, maddhāiṇṇa ekkao ekkassa

hariya-pallava-bahu-sāha-siya’a-cchāyassa sahayāra-pāyavassa heṭṭhā

sīyala-cchāyassa sahayāra-pāyavassa hiṭṭhā

niviṭṭho dubbala-maila-vattho coraggahaṇovāyaṃ cintayanto acchāmi.

niviṭṭho duvvala-maila-vattho coraggahaṇovāyaṃ cintayanto acchati.

navari ya dhāu-ratta-vattha-parihio ega-sāḍiyā-uttarāsāṇgo saṅkha-
navari ya

khaṇḍiya-baddha-parikaro tidaṇḍa-kuṇḍiōlaiya-vāma-hattha-khandha-
padeso gaṇettiyā-vāvada-dāhiṇa-karo nava raiya-kesa-maṇsu-kammo

kimpi muṇamuṇāyanto taṃ ceva sahayāra-pāyava-cchāyaṃ uvagao parivvā-
kimpi suṇusuṇāyanto taṃ ceva sahayāra-pāyava-cchāyaṃ uvagao parivvā-
yao. vivitta-bhūmibhāge tidaṇḍayam avalambeṇa amba-pallava-sāhaṃ
yao. amba-pallava-sāhaṃ

bhaṇḍiṇṇa uvaviṭṭho. pecchāmi ya ṇaṃ padiha-rūḍha-nāsaṃ ukkuḍuya-
bhaṇḍiṇṇa uvaviṭṭho. diṭṭho ya teṇa

sirā-vedhiya-calaṇaṃ ubbaddha-piṇḍiyā-dīha-jaṅghaṃ. āsaṅkiyaṃ ca me

uvvaddha-piṇḍio -dīha-jaṅgho. daṭṭhūṇa ya

hiyaṃ taṃ daṭṭhūṇa : “takkara-jaṇa-pāva-kamma-sūyagāim [ca] se imāim
āsamkio hiyaṇa :

“pāva-kamma-sūyagāim

jārisayāim liṅgāim disanti, nūṇaṃ esa coro pāvakāri” tti. bhaṇai ya

liṅgāim nūṇaṃ esa coro”

tti. bhaṇḍio ya

mamaṃ : “vaccha, ko si tumaṃ adhii-bala-samatto ? kimni-

so parivvāyagena : “vaccha, kao tumaṃ,

kimni-

mittam vā hiṇḍasi? katto vāsi kahim vā vaccasi?" tti. tato mayā
mittam vā hiṇḍasi? " *tao teṇa*

bhaṇio : "bhayavaṇi, Ujjeṇio 'ham parikhīṇa-vihavo hiṇḍāmi" tti, tato
bhaṇiyam : "bhagavaṇi, Ujjeṇio ahaṇi pakkhīṇa-vibhavo hiṇḍāmi."

teṇa para-citta-hāriṇā bhaṇio 'haṇi : "putta, mā bihehi, ahaṇi te viu-
teṇa bhaṇiyam : "putto, ahaṇi te viu-

laṇi attha-sāraṇi dalayāmi." mayā bhaṇio : "aṇugihīo mi piu-nivvisehehiṇi
laṇi attha-sāraṇi dalayāmi." Agaladatto bhaṇai : "aṇuggahito mhi

tubbhehiṇi" ti. jā ya evaṇi aṇṇamaṇṇaṇi saṁlavāmo, tāva ya loya-
tubbhehiṇi. *evam ca*

sakkhī adarisaṇaṇi gao diṇayaro, aikkantā ya saṁjhā.

addamsaṇaṇi gao diṇayaro, atikkantā saṁjhā.

The considerable amount of space devoted to this synoptical text seems justified by the clearness with which it demonstrates the manner in which Śāntisūri has dealt with the old text of the tale which he had before him. That it is he who abridges and not Sd who expands is on the whole quite obvious. The end of the passage quoted above is particularly instructive in this respect. Here Śs's " *evam ca addamsaṇaṇi gao diṇayaro* " "and thus the sun became invisible" is certainly a little awkward : instead of "thus" we rather expect something like "at that moment" or "in the meanwhile" (say " *etth'antare* "). But everything becomes quite clear when we compare Sd and find that *evam* is but the rest of the sentence " *jāva ya evaṇi aṇṇamaṇṇaṇi saṁlavāmo* " "and while we thus conversed with one another." At a later passage (p. 68, 12), Śs reads " *diṭṭhā ya sā tao bhavaṇāo bhavaṇavāsīṇi viva pecchaṇṇijjā,* " for which Sd has : " *niggayā ya tao bhavaṇāo. . . .* " Here the redactor of the abstract has worked so carelessly that he has left standing the ablative *tao bhavaṇāo* without the verb (*niggayā*) on which it depends, thus causing a special footnote in J. J. MEYER's translation (p. 233 n. 3).

We may add here that the new version furnishes several evidently better readings for the text of Śs.

The robber's sister invites Agadadatta to rest on her couch ; he accepts but entertains grave suspicions. Here Śs (p. 68, 16 f.) continues : " *tato so ṇa niddālassaṇi uvagao,* " "Thereupon he did not yield to the lassitude of sleep." But Sd (p. 41, 18) reads : " *tato ahaṇi tattha niddā-lakkhaṇi uvagao,* " "then on it (sc. the couch) I assumed the pretence of sleep," "I pretended to sleep," which is much more natural and better suited to the context.

At the very beginning of the tale, JACOBI reads (66. 24) : " *so ya annayū cchikkhaṇaṇi royamāṇo māyaraṇi pucchati. tie nibandhe kahiyaṇi jahā.* " The corresponding passage in Sd (36, 8 ff.) runs : " *taṇi ca tahā dukkhiyaṇi sarīreṇa parihāyamāṇi* (sic!) *abhikkhaṇaṇi abhikkhaṇaṇi ca rovamāṇi pāsītā pucchāmi* : 'ammo, kīsa rovasi?' tti. *tato mamaṇi nibandhe kae samāṇe kahiyaṇi āradhā jahā* " Here Sd's *rovamāṇi* confirms the conjecture *royamāṇi* made by BALLINI and J. J. MEYER ; the *spelling* °ñi- instead of °ṇi- at the same time furnishes the graphical explanation for the

corruption into °no. In the *Vasudevahinḍi*, feminine accusatives in °ī (and °im) are not infrequently met with. They may be simple mistakes, but it is also possible that we have here to do with forms of the popular language which might be classed as semi-Apabhraṃśa : accusative in-ī and-ū are common in the language of the *Paṭimacariya* (cf. JACOBI, *Bhavisatta Kaha* p. 60).—Apart from the reading *royamānim*, the passage quoted is another excellent illustration of the true nature of Śs : there can be no doubt that the question “*ammo, kisa rovasi?*” has been left out in Śs where a hint, however short, to the contents of Aḡaḡadatta’s question is decidedly missing ; and similarly the laconical “*nibandhe*” is doubtless abridged from Sd’s “*nibandhe kae samāṇe*.”

In answer to her sons’ question, Jasamaī explains the reason of her grief and says in Śs (66,26) : “.....*tumaṃ ca akaya-vijjaṃ daṭṭhuṃ ato atīva ḡajjhāmi*,” “seeing that you have not acquired the sciences I am therefore exceedingly grieved (lit. being burned).” Here *ato* is pleonastic and superfluous. It has been corrupted by the mere omission of a dot from Sd’s “*aṇṇto atīva ḡajjhāmi*,” “I am being terribly burned inside” which is moreover confirmed by a preceding sentence wanting in Śs : “*māyā me sukka-koṭṭara-rukkho iva vaṇa-daveṇa soy’agḡiṇā anto anto ḡajjhai*,” “my mother was being burned inside by the fire of sorrow like a dry hollow tree by a forest-conflagration.”

Śs p. 67, 18 (cf. synoptical text) *niddhāiūṇa* is a needless repetition of the preceding *niggao*. Sd’s *nihāiūṇa* “having looked about” is much better and is confirmed by Dev. 100 : “*joyaṇto disicakkam*.”

Śs. p. 67, 35, the passage “*lāva ya āgao parivvāyao jakkha-deulāo saiellae dālidda-purise ghetūṇa*” is translated by J. J. MEYER : “And forthwith the religious mendicant came from the temple of a Yakṣa, bringing poor men of his own.” JACOBI derives *saiellaya* from *sva*, and MEYER gives the following explanation : “*svakiya + illa + ka > sāia + ellaya > saiellaya*.”¹ Even if this derivation were acceptable, the meaning assigned to the word would not suit the context. The robber does not employ “men of his own” (whom he would certainly not kill afterwards) but he uses some poor strangers for carrying his loads ; these of course he must kill afterwards in order to guard his secret.² For *saiellae*, Sd reads *satthillae*, i.e. *sāṭhikāṇ* “caravan people, saices, kulis.”³

1. The “Pāia-sadda-mahaṇṇavo” of Hargovind Dās T. SHETH also says : सइ-एल्लय देखो स = स्व

2. This is said more clearly in the beginning of the Maṇḡiya story, the relation of which to our story will be discussed below. In the Maṇḡiya story, it is Mūladeva himself whom the robber engages with the words : “*ehi, maṇūsam karemi*.” J. J. MEYER translates this : “Come I will make you a man.” This is of course quite meaningless. *maṇūsa* has here the same sense as *puruṣa* “servant,” and the above sentence must therefore be translated : “come, I will make you (engage you as, employ you as) my servant.”

3. *satthillaya* occurs also Dev. 202 and in the corresponding passage of Sd. (p. 42, 28 and 43, 15).

This would give a good sense, but I believe that for this once the reading of Sd is a later conjecture made because *saiellae* was not understood. There can hardly be any doubt that *saiellaya* is = Skt. *śayita*; *saia* = *supta* is found in Hemacandra's *Deśināmamālā* (VII 28), and the addition of *ellaya* to past participles without a change of their meaning is nothing abnormal as is shown e.g. by *diṇṇellaya* = *datta*.¹ The passage in question, therefore, means that the robber brought from the temple men who had been sleeping there, cf. J. J. MEYER's note to Dev. 116 (p. 253 n. 3): "Wayfarers and beggars frequently had to sleep in temples."

The place which the Agāḍadatta story occupies within the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* makes it certain that it was not originally composed as a portion of that work. This presupposes an original independent Agāḍadattacarita which in all probability has been the actual source of Sd, Śs, and Dev.² Of this hypothetical original, Sd is no doubt a very faithful representative. It stands to reason that it was not incorporated in the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* without some minor changes—one of these consisting in the tale being put into Agāḍadatta's mouth. In particular, it is not impossible and perhaps even probable—though neither this nor the contrary can be definitely proved—that Sd is here and there a little puffed up. But on the whole and for all practical purposes we may regard Sd as the original itself. Śāntisūri, on the other hand, not only greatly abridges what he takes over, but the new version now reveals the fact that his story is only a fragment: he restricts himself to the robber tale omitting by far the greater portion of the story which, as we shall see below, is common to Dev. and Sd.

The comparison of Śs and Sd is of more general interest as well. JACOBI in his introduction to his "Erzählungen" (p. XIX) distinguishes three different styles of Prakrit tales: "a simply reporting one of epitomizing briefness, a somewhat broader yet still stiff one and finally an adroit and fluent one." The comparison of Śs and Sd shows that the "epitomizing briefness" which in some Prakrit tales is carried to such an extreme as to make the text almost unintelligible, may not be due to primitiveness or lack of skill but merely to the abridgment of an original in natural and even very circumstantial style. There is indeed no reason to suppose that the beginnings of Prakrit fiction literature were marked by a primitive shortness and abruptness. Not only the *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, which I regard as the oldest non-canonical Jain prose work, proves the contrary: the narrative portions of the canon itself may perhaps be called primitive in a certain respect, but they are certainly any-

1. Cf. *Pāia-sadda-mahaṇṇavo*.—*diṇṇellaya* occurs also in the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* but unfortunately I have failed to note it so that I cannot give the reference.

2. It is, however, interesting to see that e.g. where (synoptical text) the list of places frequented by badmashes is cut short and the description of the parivrājaka (*dhāu-ratta*. . . . *maṇsu-kammo*) is left out in Śs, a list and description corresponding as exactly as can be expected in a metrical rendering is found in Dev. 91 f. and 101 f. This, of course, might merely prove that Dev. goes directly back to Sd, but I do not think this very probable, cf. below.

thing but concise and abrupt. On the contrary, their verbosity and tiresome prolixity is perhaps unparalleled. It is very unfortunate that we know the older *kathānaka* literature almost exclusively from its reflection in the canonical commentaries. The authors of these commentaries according to their varying literary and poetical taste and ambitions took a very different interest in the stories which according to tradition had to form part of the explanation of the text they commented upon : some of them reproduced the tales rather fully, while others *vistara-bhayāt* gave mere skeletons on which the flesh had to be put afterwards by the preacher in his *dharma-deśanā* ; it was thought sufficient to supply him the catchwords.

Śāntisūri's treatment of the Aṅgaḍadatta tale is but in keeping with his general attitude towards the stock of tales incorporated in the *Uttarajjhayana* tradition. J. CHARPENTIER, in the introduction of his edition of the *Uttarajjhayanām* (p. 55 f.), thinks it "a most extraordinary fact" that "while Devendra gives us for the most part very long and exhaustive stories, of which the best specimens were selected for inclusion in JACOBI's well-known *Māhārāṣṭri Tales* the identical story occupies in Śāntisūri's work some two or three lines, or at most and only in a very few instances extends to a single page or somewhat more." I fail to see what there is to be wondered at. CHARPENTIER himself has pointed out that Śāntisūri concentrates his interest on the explanation of the text, enumeration and discussion of *pāṭhāntaras* etc., where he is much more comprehensive than Devendra, so that it is but natural that he is less interested in and utterly neglects the tales. Devendra, on the other hand, must have had a special fancy for tales, so that it is he to whom we owe some of the most beautiful specimens of Prakrit narrative literature—the finest of all from the literary point of view being no doubt the Aṅgaḍadatta poem.

Concerning the probable sources from which Devendra has taken his fuller versions of the stories, J. CHARPENTIER has put forth views—mostly based on those of LEUMANN—which I think wrong and misleading. I take this opportunity to discuss them in a few words.

CHARPENTIER says l. c. p. 55 f. : "LEUMANN [WZKM V, p. 113 f.] thinks the reason for this most extraordinary fact is that Devendra in these passages absorbed into his work materials from various other sources, and especially from the fourth part of the *dṛṣṭivāda*, which seems to have been of a legendary and biographical content ; consequently, Śāntisūri would here represent the true *Uttarādhyaṇa*-tradition, while Devendra has mixed it up with a variety of materials belonging to other parts of the canon. This point of view is probably the correct one. For Devendra himself (*Ausg. Erz.* p. 55, 9-10)—in a passage already pointed out by LEUMANN—tells us that : *etāni ca caritāni yathā pūrvaprabandheṣu dṛṣṭāni tathā likhitāni*. Although it is not quite easy to find out the correct meaning of the word *pūrvaprabandhāḥ*, I assume that LEUMANN must be right in the main in suggesting that this expression denotes some part or other of the *dṛṣṭivāda*. For the *pūrvapra-*

bandhāḥ can scarcely mean anything but 'commentaries on the pūrva's' and, consequently, we may suggest that Devendra has here made use of some old compositions containing tales and legends, meant to illustrate some tenets of the oldest part of the canon."

I must confess that I do not believe in the legendary and biographical contents of the fourth part of the *Dṛṣṭivāda* but regard the Jaina tradition on this point as unfounded. I agree with SCHUBRING (*Lehre der Jainas*, § 38) who has made it at least very probable that the real contents of the *Dṛṣṭivāda* consisted of an exposition and refutation of heretical doctrines, and that this was the reason of its loss: it was thought undesirable to preserve these old discussions because their study could lead to a revival of heretical views and actions. The four parts of the *Dṛṣṭivāda*, viz. *parikamma*, *suttāim*, *puvvagaya*, and *aṇuoga*, contained the "introductions," the "teachings" and the "*pūrva-pakṣas*" (this, and not "old texts" being the real meaning of "*puvva*"!) which were refuted by the "investigation" (*aṇuoga*). This well-nigh excludes the possibility of legendary and biographical contents of the *Aṇuoga*; and I think the reason why such contents were ascribed to it later is not difficult to find. It is certain that, though the traditional subdivision of the *Dṛṣṭivāda* is probably genuine, the detailed tables of contents given in the *Nandī* and in the 4th Aṅga are entirely fantastic because at the time when they were composed the text was already lost and its contents were no longer known. Now when the real contents of the *Dṛṣṭivāda* had been forgotten, this text became a convenient place where everything could be located which it was thought desirable to invest with canonical authority. And since a continuous and systematical account of the Jain mythology and hagiology, the "History of the 63 Great Men," was not found in the existing canon, it was attributed to the last part of the *Dṛṣṭivāda*. The *Vasudevahiṇḍī*, too, solemnly professes to be derived from the *prathamānuyoga* portion of the *Dṛṣṭivāda*, but it need hardly be pointed out that the Jain version of the *Bṛhatkathā* is not likely to have formed part of one of the oldest works of the Jain canon.

Even if the opinions expressed above concerning the true nature of the pūrvas were not accepted, it would be difficult to understand how such a perfectly simple and clear expression as Devendra's "*pūrvaprabandheṣu*" could be so strangely misunderstood. The number of words denoting some kind or other of Jain commentary or gloss is great enough, but *prabandha* does not belong to them. It should be noted that for the impossible interpretation "commentaries on the pūrva's" CHARPENTIER alone is responsible: LEUMANN much more cautiously merely spoke of "some part or other" of the *Dṛṣṭivāda*. I think there can be no doubt that Devendra's "*pūrvaprabandhāḥ*" are simply "old literary compositions," i.e. specimens of an old independent kathānaka literature which is for the most part lost to us. The Agāḍadatta poem is introduced by Devendra as "*vṛddhavādaḥ*"—a synonym which clearly shows the true meaning of *pūrvaprabandha*. This latter expression might well be applied not only to the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*, but also to compositions like e.g. the *Kālakācāryakathānaka*.

After this digression we return to Aṣṭadatta. WINTERNITZ (*History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 488) calls Dev. "far more beautiful and undoubtedly older" than Śs. To the first of these judgments every reader of the two versions will readily subscribe : the perfect ease and natural elegance of its style and composition make Dev. worthy of the highest praise, and J. J. MEYER is quite justified in regarding it as the best of all the selections included in JACOBI's book. As to WINTERNITZ's second judgment : "undoubtedly older," it is not difficult to show that the contrary must be true. The very perfection of the style—here JACOBI (*Erzählungen* p. XIX) is certainly right—assigns it to a later period of Prakrit literature. Further, the old tales are invariably written in prose, interspersed with a stanza or group of stanzas here and there ; to compose a tale entirely in gāhās is the fashion of later times. An excellent illustration of this is furnished by the *Kumārapālāpratibodha* of Devendra's contemporary Somaprabha. Here¹ a comparison e.g. of the Mūladeva story with the version of it preserved by Devendra shows that the prose portions are taken over nearly unchanged from the old tale reproduced by Devendra, while the gāhā portions are of Somaprabha's own composition. No less than fifteen out of the 58 tales of the *Kumārapālāpratibodha* are written entirely in gāhās.² If, therefore, Devendra introduces our poem as a "*vr̥ddhavādah*," we must take this expression relatively ; if Dev. is old, this merely means that Śs/Sd is considerably older still. This is definitely proved by a comparison of the contents.

The very beginning of the two versions differs : according to Śs/Sd, Aṣṭadatta is the son of a charioteer, and he goes abroad in order to learn from a friend of his father what the latter's premature death prevents him from learning at home. In Dev., Aṣṭadatta is a prince and his father banishes him because of his bad conduct. Here the choice is not difficult : the fairy tale will rather make a prince of an ordinary man than an ordinary man of a prince. Moreover, it is easy to see that in this particular case the original and individual beginning of the Aṣṭadatta story has been displaced by a motif taken from the beginning of the Mūladeva story³ : Mūladeva, too, is banished by his father on account of his incurable passion for gambling. But while, apart from this single vice, Mūladeva is in every respect a splendid fellow endowed with every accomplishment, Dev. shows the typical secondary exaggeration : Aṣṭadatta is possessed of every vice imaginable so that it is rather

1. Cf. my "*Kumārapālāpratibodha*" (Hamburg 1928) p. 5.

2. It may be remembered here that in the canon, too, the gāhā marks the latest stratum of the metrical portions. It need, therefore, hardly be remarked that gāhā tales such as the Aṣṭadatta poem or the tales of the *Kumārapālāpratibodha* have nothing whatever to do with the rare specimens of ancient ballads preserved in the *Uttarajjhayanāim* and written in the old metres, viz. śloka, triṣṭubh, vaitāliya, etc.

3. This is by no means astonishing : we shall soon have occasion to notice other instances of the continuous mutual influence which the old Prakrit tales exercised on one another.

inconceivable later on how this abominable creature has so suddenly been transformed into a very decent young man and model lover and hero. Here the secondary nature of Dev. is quite unmistakable.

After the description of Agaḍadatta's friendly reception by his guru and the studies he takes up under his guidance, there follows in Sd as in Dev. a portion left out in Śs, viz. the story of Agaḍadatta's falling in love with the daughter of his teacher's neighbour. Sd p. 37, 1-38, 9 fairly well agrees with Dev. 23-50, but the girl is called Somadattā¹ instead of Madanamañjarī. Which of the two names is the old one we have no means of ascertaining, nor does it matter very much. More interesting is the fact that Sd omits the statement that Somadattā is married (Dev. 34 : *ih'eva vivāhiyā nayare*). Here for once Dev. has preserved an original trait which has disappeared in Sd : Somadattā's being married explains why Agaḍadatta can only abduct her and never tries to woo her. On the other hand, that a married woman should elope with her paramour was too shocking to be retained particularly in a Jain tale.

The next episode of our story is entirely different in the two versions. In Śs we read² : "when he had mastered the sciences he went one day with the permission of his teacher to the court of the king in order to show his proficiency. And there he exhibited everything just as he had been taught, how to hold the sword and the shield, and other acquirements. The hearts of all the people were ravished. The king said : "This is nothing wonderful," and he was not surprised at all. And he said : "What, what shall I give you ?" He answered respectfully : "Lord, if you do not give me your approbation, what is the use of another gift ?"

Sd alone adds the following story which is to explain why the king was not surprised and thought Ag.'s performance nothing remarkable :

In his previous birth, the king—Sd calls him Jitaśatru³—was Ānanda, son of Subuddhi, the minister of king Hariṣeṇa of Kauśāmbī ; his mother's name Simhālī. His bad karman caused him to become a leper. One day there arrived at king Hariṣeṇa's court an ambassador from the king of Greece. He chanced to see the leprous son of the minister and asked the latter whether in his country there were no medicines or no doctors. The minister replied that both existed but his son's illness was incurable, whereupon the ambassador recommended a bath in the blood of a young horse.⁴ In order to cure his son,

1. The MSS. call her "*kvacit Somadattā kvacit Sāmadattā*" : the editors unfortunately have adopted the obviously wrong form Sāmadattā.

2. I quote J. J. MEYER's translation (p. 230). But for some minor omissions, the text of Śs agrees almost verbatim with that of Sd.

3. Neither Śs nor Dev. mention the name of the king of Kauśāmbī : in Śs as well as in Sd, Jitaśatru is the name of the king of Ujjayinī.

4. In P. L. VAIDYA'S just published edition of Puṣpadanta's *Ādipurāṇa* (Manik-chand Digambara Jaina Granthmālā No. 37) I happened to come across the following passage in the summary of the contents of the 20th pariccheda (p. 642) : "One day Aravinda suffered from a terrible burning sensation in his body, and, when he

Subuddhi killed a horse from the royal stable. On hearing this, the king ordered the whole family to be killed. Ānanda alone escaped through a ditch or underground passage (? *khāi*) and fled to a hermitage (? *paṇṇiyavāḍa*) where he was kindly received by the "*paṇṇavāḍasāmi*." One day Jaina monks visited the hut on their begging tour and preached the dharma; Ānanda took the śikṣāvratas and the anuvratas. This caused him to be reborn as king Jitaśatru, and when, at the sight of some sādhus, he obtained jātismaraṇa, he realized that he had won his royal splendour through the "*śikṣā*" given him by the begging munis. This *śikṣā*, therefore, is infinitely superior to Aḡaḍadatta's worldly *śikṣā*, as is stated in the two introductory stanzas pronounced by the king :

"*kim sikkhiṇa tujjham ? majjham sikkham tu avahiṇo suṇasu !*
iha cēva aham nayarē Sīṃhali-suya-Nandanō āsi.
siriṇo, dūyāṇatṭi, āsa-vivattī ya kulaghara-viṇāso,
niggamaṇam khāyāḍe, jā duppadigheppaṇā¹ bohi."

"What is your learning good for? But listen attentively to my learning! In this very town I was Nandana,² the son of Sīṃhali. Leprosy,³ the ambassador's advice, the death of the horse and the destruction of the noble family, escape through the ditch till : 'difficult to obtain is enlightenment.'"

Before we discuss this story and Aḡaḍadatta's visit to the king as described in Śs/Sd, we shall first see what Dev. has to offer us instead. Aḡaḍadatta, we are told there (51-79), once rode through the city when suddenly a great panic was caused by a *mast* elephant who had broken the post to which he had been tied. While the terror-stricken people fled in great haste, Ag. courageously met the onrush of the elephant, succeeded, after a prolonged struggle, in rendering him submissive to his will and mounted his back. This scene was witnessed by the king who at once enquired who the young man was. Having learned Ag.'s story from his guru, he forthwith sent for him, received him with great honour and was exceedingly pleased with his modest behaviour.

The only point of agreement between the two versions of this episode is the final result : Ag. is in the presence of the king at the moment when the

found that it did not alleviate by any remedy, asked his son Kuruvinda to prepare a pool of blood of animals, bathing in which, he said, would stop his sufferings. Kuruvinda obeyed his father's command, but prepared a pool of artificial blood (liquid lac). When Aravinda entered it, he tasted the liquid and found that his son had deceived him. He then ran after his son to kill him, but stumbled on the way and was killed by his own sword." Re. the belief in the blood bath as a cure for leprosy cf. TAWNEY-PENZER, *The Ocean of Story*, vol. I, p. 98 note.

1. The printed text has *duppadatappaṇā* for which one MS. reads °*dagheppaṇā*. *duppadigheppaṇa* might be derived from *padigheppai pratighyate*, but I confess that this is far from satisfactory.

2. Afterwards in the tale itself he is called Ānanda.

3. This must be the meaning of the mysterious *siriya* (a euphemistic expression?). In the tale, Ānanda gets the "*kuṭṭha-roga*."

citizens arrive and complain of their being robbed by the thief, and it would seem that to bring about this result is the only object of the episode which thus appears as a kind of introduction to the robber story. Now as to the way in which Ag. is brought into the king's presence, no doubt is possible that the version of Dev. is a secondary innovation. In Śs/Sd, Ag., having failed to win the king's approbation, takes the opportunity to convince him of his abilities by offering to catch the thief. This individual turn of the story is replaced in Dev. by a stock motif : the taming of a *maṣṭ* elephant running through the streets and killing all who come in his reach by the hero who is afterwards summoned by the king is told in the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* as well as in the *Dhammillahiṇḍi*,¹ and we shall see below that the curious way in which the elephant is subdued here perhaps points to Dev.'s actually going back to the *Dhammillahiṇḍi*.

The reason for the innovation in Dev. probably was that Ag's. failure was found unsatisfactory, particularly as the king's behaviour must seem strange and unreasonable. It was this latter deficiency—if we will really call it thus—which Sd tried to heal by the insertion of the story of Subhūti and Ānanda. That this story is a later interpolation is obvious : the explanation it offers for the king's behaviour gives the tale a religious turn and breathes a truly monkish spirit most decidedly absent from and utterly foreign to the original Agaḍadatta story. On the other hand, the *saṃgahaṇi-gāhā* put into the king's mouth² clearly shows that the inserted story is old and not specially invented for its present purpose. Its contents point in the same direction : when we go through it we cannot help feeling that such as we read it in Sd it has been made to serve a purpose it was not originally meant for, that the original purport of a curious and interesting old story has been somehow distorted so that it is not possible now to say what the original story was like. As, however, this story is undoubtedly old, it is by no means impossible that it was not inserted by Sd but was already found in the source of Śs and left out by Śāntisūri : if the author of Dev. had before him an Agaḍadattacarita with the Ānanda-Subhūti tale, he certainly had even better reasons for his innovation.

Nobody who reads the next episode describing Agaḍadatta's adventure with the robber can fail to notice the many points of agreement between it and the story of Maṇḍiya.³ In both stories, a burglar becomes such a public nuisance that the citizens complain to the king. He has a sister living in an underground dwelling outside the city where he hides the stolen goods. He uses others for carrying home his booty and treacherously kills them after-

1. Cf. *Vasudevahiṇḍi* p. 221 and p. 70 (*Dhammillahiṇḍi*).

2. This stanza is an exact counterpart of the six *saṃgahaṇi-gāhās* in which the whole argument of the *Samarāiccakahā* is contained and which are quoted by Haribhadra as his source at the beginning of his work, cf. JACOB's edition, p. XX f. and p. 6.

3. "Erzählungen" p. 65 f.; "Hindu Tales" p. 223 ff. It is strange that nobody seems to have paid any attention to the obvious identity of the two stories.

wards. He engages as his helper the very man who has come in order to catch him. This is certainly more than enough to prove the original identity of the two stories. The only question that remains is : which is the model and which the copy ? Fortunately, a definite answer can be given.

On his way home, Aḡaḡadatta encounters a second adventure with a robber in the garb of an ascetic.¹ The robber succeeds in murdering Ag.'s travelling companions by poisoned food of which the cautious and suspicious Ag. has not partaken. Seeing that Ag. remains alive, the ascetic tries to kill him, according to Dev. by a sudden shower of arrows—we wonder where he has so suddenly got them from—, according to Sd—and this is much more natural—by a sword which exactly like the Kauṣāmbī burglar he draws out of his tridaṇḡa. Ag. wards him off and fatally wounds him according to Dev. by an arrow, according to Sd by his sword with which he cuts off both his legs. What follows in Dev. is an almost exact counterpart of the end of the first robber story : The robber, who calls himself Duryodhana, gives Ag. his sword and sends him to where behind a temple (cf. the mysterious *saṁtija-ghara* of Ss.²) his wife lives in an underground dwelling in which he has also hidden all his treasures. Ag., fulfilling the robber's last request, cremates him and goes to the place he has been told. He "makes a noise as he had been enjoined", the young woman comes out of the *bhūmighra* and bids him enter. But "while the prince, seeing her beauty, gazes on her with rapture," Madana-mañjari suddenly becomes jealous, and the faithful Aḡaḡadatta at once leaves "that wood" and proceeds on his way.

The corresponding passage of Sd (p. 44, 7-12) runs as follows : *tao so bhaṇai : "putta, ahaṁ Dhanapuṇḡjao nāma coro, na keṇai chaliya-puvvo. sāhu ! tunmaṁ si supurisso ekko māue jāo" tti. puṇo ya me saṁlavai : "vaccha, eyassa pavvayasa puracchimille kolambe donham nāṇaṁ majjha-desā-bhāe atthi mahaimahāliyā patthara-silā. tattha bhūmigharaṁ tattha mayā suppa-bhūyaṁ dhaṇaṁ vidhattaṁ. vacca, geṇhasu ! mama ya agga-sakkāraṁ karehi" tti bhaṇittā kāla-gao. tao ahaṁ dāruē sāharittā jhāmemi, jhāmettā hatthe pāe ya pakkhālettā rahavaraṁ joettā paṭṭhio, cintiyaṁ ca mayā : "kiṁ me dhaṇeṇaṁ ?"*

"And then he said : "Son, I am a robber called Dhanapuṇḡjaka ; nobody has outwitted me before. Bravo ! You are the only hero (ever) born by a mother !" And again he spoke to me : "Child, on the eastern slope⁴ of

1. Dev. 208-238. Sd. p. 43, 1-44, 12.

2. No new light is thrown on it by Sd where the MSS. read *saṁtija°* and *°jja°*.

3. This, of course, is the only possible translation of "*vajjēri taṁ vanaṁ sahasā*." The other interpretations tentatively offered by J. J. MEYER in a footnote (p. 274 n. 2), viz. BALLINI's *vaṇa* = *vraṇa* and his own derivation of *vana* "desire, lust" from the root *van* are utterly impossible in this context.

4. *kolamba* (v. 1., *kālamba*) is an unknown word. *puracchimillakolambe* corresponds to *vāma-pāsammi* Dev. 228

this mountain, between two rivers, there is an enormous rock and in it an underground chamber. There I have collected exceedingly great wealth. Go and take it. And perform my cremation." Having spoken thus he died. Thereupon I collected wood and burned him. Having burned him and washed my hands and feet I harnessed (the horses to) my chariot and proceeded. And I thought : " What is wealth to me ?"

Though this is fundamentally the same story as in Dev., all those characteristic details are wanting in it which in Dev. make it so strikingly similar to the first robber story : there is no temple and no young woman in the *bhūmigṛha*, the robber does not give Ag. his sword, and Ag. does not visit the *bhūmigṛha* at all because he does not care for the robber's wealth ! It is obvious that we have here the original version which in Dev. has been "improved upon" and amplified by the introduction of details from the story of Ag.'s first adventure with a robber to which this second adventure has been assimilated as far as possible. The rather strange end of the episode in Dev. where Ag. visits the treasure hole but leaves it at once without even entering it because of the jealousy of Madanamañjarī is clearly a compromise between the end of the first robber story and the end of our episode as related in Sd where Ag. does not visit the *bhūmigṛha* at all.

If, now, leaving aside this unoriginal version of Dev., we compare with one another (a) the Maṇḍiya story, (b) the story of Ag. and the robber at Kauśāmbī, and (c) the story of Ag. and Dhanapuñjaka as related in Sd, it is easy to see that (b) is nothing but the result of an attempt to combine (a) and (c). This assumption not only accounts for all the differences between (a) and (b) but also explains some weak points in the composition of (b).

(a) and (c) have one single point of contact, and that point cannot prove anything as to an original connection between them : for that a robber hides his spoil in a *bhūmigṛha* is such a perfectly natural thing that no conclusions must be drawn from this coincidence. Apart from this single point, the two stories are completely different in every detail : in (a), a city burglar disguised as an invalid tailor breaks into the houses at night ; for each burglary, he entices an accomplice, uses him as carrier of the stolen property, brings him thus to his *bhūmigṛha* and has him murdered there by his sister ; the hero (Mūladeva) escapes this fate because the sister takes compassion on him. In (c), a jungle robber disguised as a wandering ascetic¹ poisons the caravans passing through the neighbourhood ; the hero (Agaḍadatta) not only frustrates his plan but mortally wounds him ; before he breathes his last, he—in what we might call a chivalrous spirit—reveals his identity, acknowledges his defeat, praises his conqueror and offers him the wealth he has piled up ; the hero, however, as a true kṣatriya, cares for fame, not for wealth and proceeds on his way after he has chivalrously paid the last honours to his adversary by cremating him according to his request.

1. Dev. calls him a *mahāvratika* ; Sd uses here as in (b) the word *parivrājaka*.

In (b), we have the city burglar as in (a), but he is disguised as parivṛājaka as in (c). He entices the hero as his accomplice as in (a), but is killed by him as in (c). The hero, therefore, visits the *bhūmigraha* and is admitted by the sister as in (a), but instead of being accompanied there by the living he is sent there by the dying robber—who bequeathes him his treasures—as in (c).

We have seen that in (c) the robber first kills Ag.'s unsuspecting companions while Ag. himself has been more cautious and therefore not only escapes him but kills him in self-defence. By transferring all this minutely into (a), the author of (b) has created an impossible situation. The necessary companions he obtains by adding to the robber's one original accomplice and carrier a number of mere carriers fetched by the robber from the yakṣa temple. This, though obviously unoriginal, yet is at least possible. But it is simply absurd that the robber kills his carriers before they have reached their destination: utterly absurd is the very way in which here the clever leader of a gang of thieves goes to sleep with his men leaving the stolen property lying about in the park instead of bringing it to its hiding place as quickly as possible. The author seems never to have asked himself what the parivṛājaka, if he had not been killed, would have done with his heavy bales after he had killed all those who were to carry them. No such absurdity is to be discovered in the two original stories (a) and (c), and it is only the combination of these disparate materials that has brought it about.

If, then, the author of (b) drew upon (c) as well as (a), it follows that he had before him an *Agadattacarita* to which he added his new story, i.e. (b) is not only secondary as compared with (a) but it is also a later addition to the original *Agadattacarita*. Once this is recognized, we cannot fail to notice how in Dev. as well as Sd the love story is cut in two by the robber tale. In order to make the insertion of the latter possible, *Agadatta* has to put off the girl—who is threatening to die from love—without any apparent reason (in fact we do not see why he does not start with her at once) and when the robber tale is ended a go-between has to come to remind him of his beloved and ask him once more to abduct her. Taken by itself, this might not prove very much, but in the light of the knowledge we have gained it strengthens our conviction that just the one part of the *Agadatta* story which has been reproduced by Śāntisūri—and which on account of this fact naturally has been taken to be its most important and characteristic portion¹—is a later interpolation.

It stands to reason that *Agadatta* is amply rewarded by the king, and Śs/Sd do not omit to mention this. In Dev., however, the king not only gives him a thousand villages, elephants, etc., but also gives him his daughter

1. WINTERNITZ in his *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II p. 488, classes the *Agadatta* story as "another robber tale." Our investigation has shown that this designation is quite wrong and misleading.

Kamalasenā in marriage. And just when Ag. has received Madanamañjarī's new urgent appeal to abduct her, two messengers of his father arrive, mounted on camels, in order to fetch him home. Their unexpected arrival helps him to obtain the king's consent to his departure. He sets out in full state but sends Kamalasenā and his whole "army" ahead and waits for Madanamañjarī who is fetched by her friend Saṃgamī and arrives in a litter; Ag. takes her on his chariot and fetches up with his "army."

All these details are later additions, exaggerations, and "embellishments." The version of Sd is as much simpler as it is more original. Ag. does not marry the king's daughter; when he has received Somadattā's message, he sends her word that he is now ready to depart. She comes, he fetches the chariot which she has given him(?)¹ and starts with her. Impelled by an indomitable pride and desirous of glory (*niyaga--bala-dappaṃ asahamāṇo jaṇassa kitti-vivaraṃ magganto*) he proclaims the following challenge: "*jo bhe, devā-nuppiyā, naviyāe māue duddhaṃ pāu-kāmo, so mama purao ṭhāu! esa ahaṃ Agaḍadatto Sāmaṃ ghattūṇa vaccāmi!*" "If one of you, gentlemen, is desirous of drinking a new mother's milk² let him oppose me! Here am I. Agaḍadatta, going, having abducted Somā!"

According to Dev., Ag.'s first adventure on his way home consists in the sudden attack by the Bhilla chief. We are a little surprised to learn that "the prince's army was scattered instantly to the four quarters of the compass," but that subsequently Agaḍadatta all alone puts to flight the whole host of Bhillas except the chief with whom he engages in single combat.

In Sd, this Bhilla adventure is the very last which Ag. encounters on his journey; he is travelling alone with Somadattā, and he fights at once with the Bhilla chief³ whose hosts flee when Ag. has killed him by the ruse described Dev. 189-193.⁴

1. The text is not quite clear here.

2. i.e. of being killed and reborn!

3. He is called Arjuna; Dev. gives no name. Before Ag. enters the jungle with the two merchants, the satthillayas warn him of the dangers threatening there, viz. according to Sd (42, 25) the elephant, the serpent, the tiger, and "*Ajjuṇao cora-seṇāvai.*" In Dev. (203/4), where the Bhilla adventure comes before this, the robber chief Arjuna has been replaced by the parivrājaka who, as we have seen, is called Dhanapuñjaka, i.e. "Heaper of Riches," in Sd while Dev. names him Duryodhana: the change of Dhanapuñjaka to Duryodhana is easy to understand if the bearer of this name has taken the place of an original Arjuna—as was the case in the above enumeration.

4. When Ag. realizes that he is unable to kill the Bhilla with his weapons alone, he quotes the Arthaśāstra: "*atthasatthe ya bhaṇiyam: riseseṇa māyāu sattheṇa ya hantavvo appaṇo rivaddhamāṇo sattu tti.*"—The dying chieftain pronounces the following gāhā:

*nāhaṃ bāṇeṇa haḍ, haḍ mi bāṇeṇa Mayarakeussa.
jo bhaṇḍaṇe payattō mahilāna muham palōemi.*"

"I have not been slain by (thy) arrow, slain I have been by the arrow of Cupid. I who engaged in battle have looked at the face of women." It is noteworthy that

When we compare these two versions, we cannot suppress the suspicion that the author of Dev. has placed the Bhilla adventure at the beginning merely because it afforded a convenient means to get rid again of Ag.'s retinue and of Kamalāsena for whom there was no room in the rest of the story. The way in which not only Ag.'s magnificent "army" vanishes in a moment but also Kamalāsena—who is his legal wife and of much nobler descent than Madanamañjarī—disappears for ever without even her name being mentioned is certainly very significant.

In Sd, then, there comes first the parivrājaka adventure which has been fully discussed above. Between it and the concluding Bhilla adventure are inserted the fights with the animals, viz. the elephant, the serpent, and the tiger.¹

Of these adventures—except the story of the parivrājaka—we read a third version only a few pages after the Aṣṭadatta tale in the *Dhammillahiṇḍi* (*Vasudevahiṇḍi* p. 54, 25—56, 4). Dhammilla, too, has to travel through a wild jungle alone with a young girl and her nurse; he encounters the serpent, the tiger, the elephant, a buffalo who has no counterpart in the Aṣṭadatta story, and the "coraseṇāvai" Arjunaka. The nature of the *Dhammillahiṇḍi* leaves no doubt that these adventures are borrowed from the Aṣṭadatta tale. The principal difference between these imitations and the originals in the Sd version of the Ag. carita is this: in Sd, Ag. chases away the elephant and the tiger and kills the serpent by different kinds of arrows, i.e. he fights them all with his bow,² whereas Dhammilla relies not on his arms, but on magic and on ruses: he uses spells, mantras, and "māyā" against the serpent, the tiger, and the Bhilla chief; he chases away the buffalo by imitating the roaring of a lion, and he subdues the elephant in the curious manner described in Dev. 59, i.e. by throwing down before him his upper garment.³ Now it is significant that the version of Dev. agrees rather with that of the *Dhammillahiṇḍi* than with the original Sd: Aṣṭadatta kills the tiger with his sword, but he paralyzes the snake and he subdues the elephant by throwing down his garment and then mounting him. Even if we will not conclude

this stanza has not been taken over by the author of Dev. where, however, the first half of 195 is an exact paraphrase of the first line of our stanza:

"*nāham tuha sara-pahao, pahao Kusumāuhassa bāṇeṇa!*

ahavā: kim ettha cojjaṃ? Mayañeṇaṃ ko vi na h. challo?"

1. In Dev., the order is: elephant, tiger, serpent; but obviously the order of these animal adventures is quite immaterial.

2. Is it too bold to assume that—originally at least—the choice of the right kind of arrow in each case is to illustrate Ag.'s knowledge of the Dhanurveda which he has acquired at Kauśāmbī?

3. *Vasudevahiṇḍi* p. 122, 16 ff. Vasudeva subdues a wild elephant. By his agility and quickness he fatigues the animal.

"*parissantam ca jāññina uttariyaṃ se parao khittam tammi nisanno.*

aham avi abhio mahā-gayassa dante pāyaṃ kāṇa āruḍḍho turiyaṃ."

"And when I saw that he was exhausted, I threw down my upper garment before him; he sat down on it. And I having without fear put my foot on the great elephant's tusk quickly mounted him."

from this that the author of Dev. was directly influenced by the *Dhammilla-hiṇḍi*, it is clear that this coincidence proves Dev. to be less original than Sd.

Ag's arrival at home is described in Sd in accordance with the beginning of Śs/Sd which, as we have seen above, is different from the beginning of Dev. I give it in full as another specimen of the style of Sd.

to 'ham nijjiya-sattū Ajjunayam hantūṇa Somadattam ca samāsaseuṇa patthio Ujjenim. patto ya kameṇam, pavittho ya māue gharam. niddhāiyā ya mama āgamaṇam soṇṇa putta-vacchalā me māyā. rovamāṇie ya rahāo onṇo avayāsio agghāio ya sise sū vi ya Somadattā oyāriyā rahāo. paḍiyā amma-pāesum. āṇandīya-hiyayāe ya avayāsiyā avihava-maṅgalehi ya ahinandiyā gharam c'aṇāe pavesiyā. sayana-mitta-bandhu vaggo ya piya-pucchao āgao jahā-vihavam sampūio. pesa-janeṇa ya turayā raho ya jahā-ḥhāṇam pavesiyā orumbhiyā ya. savva-davvā āuha-paharaṇḍovakaraṇāni ya gharam pavesiyāni. tao avara-divase majjiya-jimiya-pasāhio rāya-kulam rāyadarisaṇa-nimittam gao. tao padhāra-sāvio pavittho, diṭtho ya me rāyā paṇamio ya. kahiyaṇ ca se : " amuga-putto " tti. tao paritupphēṇa rāiṇā savvam me piu-santiyaṇ kam-mam anunnāyaṇ, duguṇo ya pūyā-sakkāro kao. tao aham laddha-rāya-sakkāro nyaga-gharam gao māu-sussūsaṇa-parāyaṇo Somadattāe samam kalam gamemi .

" After this victory, having slain Arjunaka and comforted Somadattā, I started for Ujjayinī, arrived there in due course and entered my mother's house. When she heard of my arrival, my mother came running out full of tenderness to her son. I descended from the chariot, and weeping she embraced me and kissed me on the head. I made Somadattā, too, descend from the chariot and she fell at my mother's feet who with joyful heart embraced her, greeted her with the good wish that she might never become a widow, and led her into the house. And to all my relations, friends, and acquaintances who came to enquire after my well-being I gave presents according to my means. The servants brought the horses and the chariot to their proper places and locked them in, and they brought all my belongings, arms, weapons, and utensils into the house. On the next day having bathed, eaten, and dressed, I went to the king's court in order to pay my respect to the king. Having been announced by the doorkeeper, I entered, went into the presence of the king, and bowed to him. And he was told : " This is the son of such and such." Thereupon the king was pleased to grant me all my father's functions, and he made double my wages and honour. Having thus obtained honour from the king I went to my house and lived together with Somadattā, intent upon devotion towards my mother."

This is the typical happy end of the fairy tale. Yet we have still a considerable portion of the story before us. It is told in rather exact agreement Dev. 262—end, Sd p. 46, 19—49, 19.¹ Some minor discrepancies of the two

1. The stanza Dev. 322 forms the end of Sd. It is no doubt to be regarded as a quotation of a popular maxim to which Dev. has added a number of others to the same effect.

versions are hardly worth discussing, but the tale itself calls for a few remarks. Nobody who reads it even perfunctorily can fail to notice that it is not only rather inconsistent with the preceding story but also pervaded by a totally different spirit. The tendency of this additional tale, viz. to illustrate the perfidy and absolute wickedness of women, is so manifest and so grossly exaggerated that its origin cannot for a moment be doubtful : it is the typical monk's tale and might be called the Jain contribution to the *Agadadattacarita*—the duty the latter had to pay for being admitted into Jain literary territory. That it should form an original part of the *Agadadattacarita* is inconceivable.¹

At the end of his translation, J. J. MEYER adds the following footnote (p. 288 n. 4) : " In conclusion I call attention to the fact that our tale seems to have some connection with the Serpent Genii of India. Pits, subterranean dwellings, and treasures in the earth play an important part, and some of the names are suggestive of the same mythological and folkloristic ideas. The hero's name, Agadadatta, " Gift of the Well " immediately reminds even the Non-Sanskritist of Basnak Dau and Tulisā ; and the name of Bhuyamgama, the sham ascetic and robber, who is killed by our Serpent Prince, means " the Snake." So our poem can claim kinship with tales and motifs that reach back for thousands of years Apulejus' story of Cupid and Psyche is a link of that chain."

Our analysis has deprived of their foundations most of these ingenuous conjectures. Agadadatta, whether his name points to an original connection with the *nāgas* or not, is certainly no " Serpent prince " but a young *kṣatriya* pure and simple, the son of a charioteer. The story of " Bhuyamgama, the sham ascetic and robber," has proved to be a later addition to the Agadadatta tale, moreover, the name Bhuyamgama is found only in Dev., neither Śs. nor Sd. mentioning the name of the Kauśāmbī burglar. Of the items enumerated by MEYER, there remain as belonging to the original story only the *bhūmighra* of the robber Dhanapuñjaka and, of course, the name Agadadatta - but this is hardly enough to serve as a base for MEYER's theory.

The original Agadadatta tale such as it presents itself after the elimination and rectification of all those portions and details in which we have recognised secondary accretions and alterations, is a typical fairy tale, but at the same time a true *kṣatriya* story breathing something of the ancient spirit of the epics : A young *kṣatriya* whom the premature death of his father prevents from attaining the position in life to which he feels himself entitled, goes abroad and makes there his fortune. Through an excellent teacher, a friend of his father, he acquires to perfection all knightly accomplishments.

1. The story of Mañgi and Vajramuṣṭi in the Digambara version of the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* materially agrees with the story of the perfidy of Agadadatta's wife, cf. my " *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* " (Hamburg 1936) p. 448, note 1 on 89, 10. As I have said there, it is hardly doubtful that the story of Mañgi is borrowed from the Agadadatta story. Theoretically the contrary is also possible, but I think it very unlikely.

and at the same time he wins the love of a beautiful maiden whom he boldly abducts openly challenging the whole city. All alone with her, he traverses the wild jungle, bravely defying its manifold dangers. The wonderful skill in the handling of arms which he has acquired enables him to fight his way through robbers and wild animals ; he brings his bride safely home where everything which he had wished for is now bestowed on him.

It is greatly to be regretted that for this attractive story which so undoubtedly has not grown on Jaina soil Brahmanical or Buddhist parallels do not seem to be forthcoming. They might, as they do in the cases of so many other Jain stories, further help us to elucidate its character and origin and perhaps also to fix its date within certain limits. Concerning this latter question, we can only say at present that the tale certainly does look very old, but as far as I see it does not contain anything that might give us a definite clue. At any rate, the new version has made it possible to free it from a number of later additions and alterations and to restore it to a form which, if it is not the original one, at least comes very much nearer to it and gives us a better idea of its true character. In conclusion, I may suggest that this new version of the Agadadatta story which is also quite remarkable from the literary as well as the folkloristic point of view, is certainly no less, and perhaps even more worthy of a complete translation than the two less original ones which have been translated into three European languages.

CITTAPA,† A FORGOTTEN SAMSKRIT POET OF BHOJA'S COURT

By

E. V. VIRA RAGHAVACHARYA

In literary and historical research, sometimes a stray reference, an allusion by the way, a short citation or even the mention of a name of a work, place or person may lead to undreamt-of investigations which, in the end, give us the key to some of the complicated problems in history and literature. Years ago, while I was eagerly perusing the published fascicle of the famous *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* of king Bhoja of Dhārā, I met with a 'śloka' with which the work was said to begin : 'अच्छिन्नमेखलमलम्ब्यदोषगुहम्' etc. I was under the impression that the verse was from the pen of Bhoja himself when in the *Modern Review* for June 1928,¹ I found an article on king Bhoja, from the late lamented Vidyamahodadhi Dr. K. P. JAYASWAL of Patna. On perusing the article, I was surprised to know that the verse in question was attributed to a certain poet Cittapa, in the *Sadukti-karṇāmyta*, the famous Samskrit anthology by Śrīdhara-dāsa, edited by the late Prof. Mahā-mahopādhyāya Sāhityā-cārya, RĀMĀVATĀRA ŚARMĀ of Patna. JAYASWAL has also pointed out therein that Cittapa was the Poet Laureate of Bhoja, according to a verse which he had found in the *Subhāṣita-Ratna-Bhāṇḍāgāra*, a Samskrit anthology of the modern period. These clues hastened me to work on the subject 'Cittapa' and his poetic fragments.

In Samskrit Literature, anthologies (सुभाषितग्रन्थः), works on Sāhitya and commentaries on Samskrit works are eye-openers as it were to a knowledge of Samskrit writers and works hitherto unknown to, or long forgotten by, the modern Sanskritist. It may be presumed and rightly too, that the Samskrit works and authors buried under oblivion are far greater than those that are extant or actually known. The late lamented M. M HARAPRASĀDA ŚĀSTRĪ said² that 8,000 Tibetan translations of Samskrit works are known from the ancient Tibetan literature while only 200 originals in Samskrit are now known, and that 1,300 Samskrit works are known through NANJIO's catalogue of the Chinese 'Tripitaka.'

A poet or a literary composition attains immortal fame, not through his or its merit alone but sometimes through extreme good fortune. The maxim

† Various spelt—Cittapa, Chittapa, Chittipa, Chinnama, Citrama, Chitrana and Kṣittapa.

1. *Sanskrit Revival and king Bhoja's Art Criticism of Lyrical Poetry*—(M. R. Vol. XLIII, No. 6, pp. 722-725).

2. *Presidential Address to the V Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Lahore (Dec, 1928).*

‘पुण्यैशो लभ्यते,’ seems to be true to the letter. Else, how can we account for the enormous popularity of works of lesser merit while master-pieces like the ‘Trivandrum plays’ attributed to Bhāsa (whoever be the author) and the *Kundamālā* of Dinnāga (Dhīranāga or Vīranāga) were deemed to have been irretrievably lost till very recently? The names of a great many Saṁskṛt poets are known through the old Saṁskṛt anthologies like the *Kavīndra-vacana-Samuccaya*, Śrīdhara-dāsa’s *Sadukti-karnāmṛta*, Śārngadhara’s *Pad-dhati* and Vallabhadeva’s *Subhāṣitāvali* which are treasuries of gems collected from Saṁskṛt works some of which are now known only by name. Though Bhoja’s *Śṛṅgāra-Prakāśa* is a work on grammar and poetics, its anthological aspect should not be overlooked. It is the most voluminous work in Saṁskṛt Poetics, and contains according to Prof. RĀMAKRISHṆA KAVI, 16,000 quotations in Saṁskṛt and Prākṛt, from works rare and hitherto unknown to the Oriental world, and most of which may be deemed to have been lost to us. Prof. RĀMĀVATĀRA ŚARMĀ wrote an article (in Hindi)¹ on the *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* in which he had pointed out that the verse under reference was attributed to Cittapa in the *Skm.* and that he had with him several verses of this poet.

Cittapa's Date :— (11th Century A.D.)

Mr. JAYASWAL’s opinion that Cittapa was a coeval of Bhoja and that he was not merely the poet-laureate of Bhoja’s Court but that he must have been also the right-hand man in all his literary endeavours seems to be highly probable. From the verse, ‘वल्मीकप्रभवण,’ etc. already referred to which is preserved in the *Sbhv.* many centuries old, we learn that Bhoja attained fame through Cittapa, Bilhaṇa and others.

(भोजश्चित्तपबिल्हणप्रभृतिभिः)

The famous Telugu poet Pina Virabhadra (1430-80 A.D.) also says in his Telugu ‘Prabandha,’ *Śṛṅgāra-Sākuntala* that the glory of the chief or king of Dhārā (i.e., Bhoja) is known from the literary compositions of Cittapa :

‘ चित्तपवचनराजिनिबन्धनं वुन दार—(धारा !)—महापुराण्यश्च महिम ’

—I. 17.

Like Bilhaṇa who had immortalised his patron Vikramāṅkadeva by means of his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, perhaps Cittapa too might have written a poem singing the glories of his patron, Bhoja or it might be that Cittapa was of great help to Bhoja in his literary pursuits. Otherwise, Bhoja would not have given the topmost place in his own work to a verse of his protégé. That Bilhaṇa was responsible even to some extent for Bhoja’s reputation does not appear to be true. We learn from the last canto of the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* (which is autobiographical) that Bilhaṇa, though a contemporary of Bhoja, did not visit his Court.

1. *Mādhuri*. Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 144ff. (August 1928), Lucknow.

‘ भोजः क्षमाभृत्स खलु न खलै स्तस्य साम्यं नरेन्द्रै-
 स्तत्प्रत्यक्षं किमिति भवता नागतं हा हतास्मि
 यस्य द्वारोद्भ्रमरशिखरकोडपारावताननां
 नादव्याजादिति सकरणं व्याजहारेव धारा. ’

—XVIII. 96.

The central idea in the verse ‘वल्मीकप्रभवेण रामनृपतिः’ does not seem to be quite convincing. A great poet, in spite of his merit, and a great patron of letters in spite of his eminence, are mutually responsible for their reputation. If Śrī Rāma has attained eternal fame thanks to his biographer, Vālmiki, it might, with equal force, be asserted that Vālmiki has gained immortality because he has sung the praises of such a great hero as Śrī Rāma, just as a piece of string, valueless in itself, which binds together some sweet-scented flowers, adorns the head even of a great person through its association with those flowers.

If Bhoja is said to have become well-known because of his protégé, Cittapa, this latter too might be said to have gained fame because he basked in the royal favour of such a poet-scholar as Bhoja. The fame of poets and their patrons is interdependent. Thus runs the ‘Subhāṣita’—

१. कविना च विभु विभुना च कविः, कविना विभुना च विभाति सभा
 मणिना वलयं वलयेन मणि, मणिना वलयेन विभाति करः

Bilhaṇa too says thus in his poem :

२. पृथ्वीपतेः सन्ति न यस्य पार्श्वे कवीश्वरास्तस्य कुतो यशांसि
 भूपाः कियन्तो न बभूवुरुर्व्या जानाति नामापि न कोऽपि तेषाम्
 ३. गिरां प्रवृत्तिर्मम नीरसापि मान्या भवित्री नृपतेश्वरैः
 के वा न शुष्कां मृदमग्नसिन्धुसम्बन्धिनीं मूर्धनि धारयन्ति.

—*Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, I. 26, 28.

Bhoja ruled for a considerably long period from (1010—1055 A.D. or) 1005—1054 A.D.¹ and hence his laureate, Cittapa, must have flourished in that period or roughly in the 11th century A.D. They were thus contemporaries of Bilhaṇa (1030—1100 A.D.), Dhanapāla (1000—1050) author of *Tilaka-maṅjarī*, and Dhanamjaya, author of *Daśarūpaka*.

King Rāja-rāja-narendra, the patron of Nannaya-Bhaṭṭa, and Nannaya-Bhaṭṭa, (about 1050 A.D.), the dictator of the literary world of those days, the earliest among the Telugu poets and the first of the triumvirate who translated the *Māhā-Bhārata* into Telugu flourished in the same period.

References to Cittapa in Telugu Literature :—

Chittapa was not quite unknown to Telugu literature. I could pick out

1. Vide S. K. DE : *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, pp. 146-7 ; and P. V. KANE : *History of Alankāra Literature*, p. XCVII.

five references to our poet from the 'Prabandhas' in Telugu : [Transliteration of Telugu quotations are given below.]

1. Śrīnātha (1360—1400 A.D.): *Bhīma-khaṇḍa*, I.

‘ प्रणतिनु... भट्टचित्तव (प ?)-कवि-दण्डिपण्डितुलकु
गीलुकोलुपुदु नोमलिपे गेलुदोयि. ’

2. Śrīnātha : *Śiva-rātri-māhātmya*, I.

‘ चित्रवारजृम्भणप्रख्यु चित्तपाख्यु ’

3. Pina Virabhadra (1430—1480 A.D.): *Śṛṅgāra-Śākuntala*, I. 17.

‘ चित्तपवचनराजिनिबन्धनेवुन
दार-(धारा ?)-महापुराध्यश्रु महिम. ’

4. Jakkana (1400—1425 A.D.): *Vikramārka-caritra*, I. 11.

‘ श्रीहर्षु चित्तपु शिवदासु शिवभट्ट
मामिच्छिनि सुबन्धु सार्धभौसु, नाम दलचि. ’

5. Somaya : *Arunācala-purāṇa* (MS)—As cited in the *Prabandha-ratnāvalī* (p. 146) an anthology in Telugu, ed. by Pandit V. PRABHĀKARA-ŚĀSTRĪ. (1918 Madras).

‘ हर्षु चित्तपु शातवाहनु सुबन्धु....
प्रथितर्गावर्णकवुलनु प्रणति सेसि. ’

6. Potayārya (1466 A.D.): *Prasaṅga-Ratnāvalī*, an anthology in Samskrit. (MS.—Vide : D.C.S. MSS.—Vol. XX, P. 8065—70, Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras).

‘ कालिदास-भवभूति-मयूरान्
बाण-हर्ष-जयदेव-सुबन्धून्
चित्तपाद-(दि ?)-कविवर्यसमूहान्
नव्यकाव्यरचनाय नमामि. ’

Probably the Telugu literary world of Śrīnātha's days might have known of Cittapa, or perhaps Śrīnātha, the *Kavi-sārvabhauma*, being a searching investigator into the literary treasures of the Samskrit language of the various parts of India, might have known the poetic compositions of Cittapa. It is not also unlikely that Pina Virabhadra, Jakkana, Somaya, and Potayārya might have taken the name of Cittapa from the '*kaviprasasti*' verses of the works of Śrīnātha, for Śrīnātha was perhaps the only Telugu poet who had mentioned so many Samskrit poets in his works.

The mention of Cittapa in the Introductory verses of the *Śiva-rātri-māhātmya* is of special importance to Telugu literature. Some eminent scholars, seeing the dissimilarity of style between this poem and the other acknowledged works of Śrīnātha came to the conclusion that it is not a work of Śrīnātha but only attributed to him. This allusion to Cittapa in S. R.

M. taken in conjunction with the reference to Cittapa in *Bhīma-khaṇḍa*, enables us to conclude that *S.R.M.* also might have been a work of Śrinātha. The immaturity of its style might be due to the fact that it was the product of the author's juvenile endeavours.

Conclusion :—

From the quotation in the *S. R. M.*

‘चित्रवाग्जृम्भणप्रख्यु चित्तपाव्यु,’

we can infer that Cittapa was an adept in what is known as ‘*Citra-kavitā*’. The verse ‘लुभ्यन्ते यदि’ was cited by Bhoja in the *S. K. A.* as an example of चित्रोक्ति. Probably our poet had written a poem (replete with चित्रकविता) which might have been lost to us. We are inclined to think that Bhoja might have cited anonymously in the *Sr. Pra.* many ‘ślokas’ of our poet. This point has yet to be investigated after the complete publication of that work. To satisfy the curiosity of litterateurs, we shall append below the verses of Cittapa so far as they could be gleaned from the anthologies and works on ‘*Sāhitya*’.

List of Abbreviations and Bibliographical Notes.

1. A.T.—*Alaṃkāra-tilaka* : By Vāgbhata (*Kāvya-mālā*, 43, 1915).
2. A.K.—*Alaṃkāra-kaustubha* : By Viśveśvara (K. M. 66, 1898).
3. A.S.—*Alaṃkāra-śekhara* : By Keśava Miśra (K. M. 50, 1926).
4. K.A.—*Kuvalayānanda* : By Appaya-dikṣita (N. S. P. ed. 1925).
5. K.V.S.—*Kavindra-vacana-samuccaya* : Ed. F. W. THOMAS, (*Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta, 1912).
6. K.P.—*Kāvya-prakāśa* : By Mammaṭa (Govt. Oriental Series, Mysore, 1922).
7. K.M.—*Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* : By Rājaśekhara (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, 3rd ed., 1934).
8. K.A.S.—*Kāvya-ālaṃkāra-sūtra* : By Vāmana (Poona Oriental Book Agency, 1927).
9. G.R.M.—*Gaṇa-ratna-mahodadhi* : (Ed. EGGELING. Ed. BHĪMASENA ŚARMĀ).
10. C.M.—*Citra-mīmāṃsā* : By Appaya-dikṣita (K. M. 38, 1907).
11. C.M.Kh.—*Citra-mīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana* : (K. M. 38, 1907).
12. D.Kh.P.—*Daśavatāra-khaṇḍa-praśasti* : (Bombay, 1860).
13. P.T.—**Padya-taraṅgiṇī* : By Vrajanātha.
14. P.R.—*Padya-racana* : By Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa (N. S. Press, 1912).
15. P.V.—**Padya-veṇī* : By Veṇīdatta.
16. Bh.P.—*Bhoja-prabandha* : By Ballāla (Nirṇayasāgar Press, 1928).
17. R.G.—*Rasa-gaṅgādhara* : By Jagannātha (K.M. 12, 1916).
18. R.J.—*Rasika-jivana* : By Gadādhara (printed in Nāgarī, no date).

19. S.P.—*Śārṅga-dhara-paddhati* (Ed. P. PETERSON, B. S. P. Series No. 37, Bombay, 1888).
20. S.R.M.—*Śiva-rātri-Māhātmya* (in Telugu): By Śrīnātha. (Telugu Academy ed.), 1918.
21. S.Pra.—*Śrṅgāra-prakāśa* (Ch. XXII—XXIV): By Bhoja. (Ed. Y. S. RĀMĀNUJAMUNI, Madras,) 1926.
22. Skm. (or) Sadukti.—*Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*: By Śrīdharadāsa. (Ed. M. M. RĀMĀVATĀRA ŚHARMĀ, and HAR DUTT ŚHARMĀ, Punjab Oriental Series, No. XV, 1933, Lahore).
23. S.A.A.—* *Sabhyālaṅkaraṇa-saṁyoga-śrṅgāra*: By Govindajit.
24. S.K.A.—*Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhābharāṇa*: By Bhoja, (K. M. 94; 2nd ed. 1934).
25. S.Sam.—* *Sāra-saṁgraha*: By Śaṁbhudāsa.
26. S.D.—*Sāhitya-darpaṇa*: By Viśvanātha Kavirāja (N. S. P. ed. 1922).
27. S.R.Bh.—*Subhāṣita-ratna-Bhāṇḍāgāra*: (Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay, 1905).
28. S.R.K.—* *Subhāṣita-ratna-kośa*: By Bhaṭṭa Śrīkrṣṇa.
29. S.R.A.—* *Subhāṣita-ratnākara*.
30. Su.Sam.—* *Subhāṣita-saṁcaya*.
31. S.H.A.—* *Subhāṣita-hārāvalī*: By Harikavi.
32. Sbhv.—*Subhāṣitāvalī*: By Vallabhadeva. (Ed. P. PETERSON, B. S. P. Series, 1886, Bombay).
33. S.M.—* *Sūkti-Muktāvalī*: By Jalhaṇa. (To be out in Gaekwad's Oriental Series).
34. S.Rl.—* *Sūkti-ratnāvalī*: By Vaidyanātha.

(N.B.—Books marked with an asterisk are not printed. For quotations from these, Dr. THOMAS' Introduction to *K.V.S.* is our authority).

1. 'शृङ्गारात्मकार्थनारीश्वरः'

अच्छिन्नमेखलमलब्धदोषगूढ—

मप्राप्तचुम्बनमवीक्षितवक्त्रकान्ति

कान्ताविमिश्रवपुषःकृतविप्रलम्भ—

सम्भोगसख्यमिव पातु वपुः स्म—[पु ?] रारेः

[Skm. 1. 28. ii śl. p. 22. ('क्षित्तपस्य') S. Pra. 1. 1 śl. (Anonymous)].

2. 'भुजः'

अत्युच्चाः परितः स्फुरन्ति गिरयः स्फारास्तथाम्मोधयः

तानेतानपि बिभ्रती किमपि न क्लान्तासि तुभ्यं नमः

आश्चर्येण मुहुर्मुहुः स्तुतिमिति प्रस्तौमि यावद्भुव-

स्तावद्विभ्रदिमां स्मृतस्तवभुजो वाचस्ततोमुद्रिताः.

[*Skm.* III. 8. ii. p. 191. ('छित्तपस्य'); *Sml.* (Bh.) 165. b. ('हनूमतः') *K. P. ad.* V. 2. (Anon); ' In JHALAKIKAR'S ed. of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* the verse is attributed, on the authority of the *Dṛṣṭikūṭa* commentary of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, to a poet named Pañcāksari who is said to have addressed it to king Bhoja '. (S. K. DE. Notes on Authors to his ed. of the *Padyavalī*, p. 239); *A. T.* p. 37 (Anon.); *A. S.* (Kāvya-mālā ed.) p. 190 (Anon.); *C. M.* p. 44 (Anon.); *C. M. Kh.* p. 19 (Anon.); *R. G.* p. 346 (Anon.); *S. Rl.* 45. b, 762 (Anon.)]

3. समुद्रान्योक्तिः.

अन्यः कः धारवाद्धं त्वमिव नियमितो वानरैर्वा नरैर्वा
विप्रेणकेन कोऽन्यस्त्वमिव करपुटीपात्रमात्रेण पीतः
जल्पं निच्छं (sic for लपन्तित्यं or त्यं) पृथूर्मिष्वनिभिरवतरत्फेनकूटाद्द्वहर्मैः
स्पर्धा धत्ते पयोधेरधिकमधिपुरं निर्मितो यस्तडागः .

[*Sml.* (P. 150 a) ' वि- (sic for छि) त्तपस्य. ']

4. ' संवादानुवादः '

अन्या माधिगता त्वया क युवती यस्याः स मानग्रही
याते लोचनगोचरं प्रियतमे संप्रत्यपक्रामति
अस्माकं पुनरुग्रपूरुषशतांशुषप्रगल्भात्मना-
मेतादृश्यनभिज्ञपूरुषपरिष्वङ्गे कुतः साध्वयम्.

[*Skm.* V. 24. iv. p. 294 (' क्षित्तपस्य ').]

5. ' अतिदानम्. '

अन्विष्यद्विरयं चिरात्कथमपि प्राप्येत यद्यर्थिभि-
नार्थं त्वं पुनरर्थिनः प्रतिदिनं यत्नात्समन्विष्यति
प्राप्तौ चिन्तितमात्रकं दददसौ चिन्तातिरिक्तप्रदं
त्वामालोक्य विदीर्यते यदि न तद् ग्राह्यं चिन्तामणिः

[*Skm.* III. 18. v. p. 199. (' छित्तपस्य ').]

6. ' उच्चावचचादुः '

अभ्युद्धता वसुमती दलितं रिपूरः
क्षिप्तकर्म कवलित्वा बलिराजलक्ष्मीः
एकत्र जन्मनि कृतं तदनेन यूना
जन्मत्रये यदकरोत् पुरुषः पुराणः .

[*Sml.* (B. 165 a) (' छित्तपस्य ') *Skm.* III. 54. i. p. 224. (' श्रीहनूमतः '); *Bh. P.* 216 śl. p. 48 (Attributed to Śakalya); *S. K. A. ad.* I. 76. p. 71 and V. 176. p. 716 (Anon.) Variants in *Bh. P.* : अभ्यु for अभ्युः दलितोऽरिवर्गः for दलित etc.; कोडीकृता for क्षिप्तकर्म; बलवता for कवलित्वा.]

7. 'अश्वः'

आकर्षन्निव गां धमन्निव खुरैः पश्चार्धमुज्झन्निव
स्वीकुर्वन्निव खं पिबन्निव दिशो वायून् समश्नन्निव
माङ्गारप्रकरा स्पृशन्निव महीं छायाममृष्यन्निव
चञ्चन्नामरवीज्यमानवदनः श्रीमान् हयो धावति.

[S. P. 5383 śl. ('श्रीमिहदत्तस्य '); Sbhv. 2419 śl. ('श्रीसिहदत्तस्य '); Skm. III. 25. i. p. 203 ('छित्तपस्य '); Variants in Skm.—वमन् for धमन्; खुरान् for खुरैः; The rest 3 lines.....दिशश्छायाममर्षन्निव सारङ्गप्रकरांस्पृशन्निव धरां वातं समश्नन्निव श्रीमन्नाथ मवाजिराट् तव कथं मादृगिरां गोचरः.]

8. 'नृगा'

आदाय मांसमखिलं स्तनवर्जं मङ्ग
मां मुञ्च वागुरिक याहि कुरु प्रमादम्
अद्यापि शप्पकवलग्रहणानभिज्ञा
मद्रुर्मचञ्चलदृशः शिशवो मदीयाः (छित्तपस्य)

[Skm. IV. 47. V. p. 259; Ś. P. 4015 ('कस्यापि '); Sbhv. 660 (Anon.); Sml. (B) (' ईश्वरदेववर्मणः '); P. R. XIII. 14. ('कस्यापि ') Su. Sam. (Anon.) This verse is found in the ' Kurangi-paṇcaka ' of unknown authorship (vide Bṛhat-stotra-ratnākara, vol. II. In Telugu Characters). The above paṇcaka is included in the Stotra-pāṭha or ' Prayer-book ' of the South Indian Vaisnavites. Variants in Sbhv. (a) अङ्गान् for अङ्ग. (c) घासकवलग्रसनानभिज्ञो for शप्पकवलग्रहणानभिज्ञा. (d) मन्मार्गवीक्षणपरस्तनयो मदीयः.]

9. 'शिवः'

कण्ठच्छायमिषेण कल्परजनीं मुत्तंसमन्दाकिनीं—
रूपेण प्रलयाद्धिर्मूर्ध्वनयनव्याजेन कल्पानलम्
भूषापन्नगकेलिपानकपटादेकोनपञ्चाशतं
वातानप्युपसंहरन्नवतु दः कल्पान्तशन्तौ शिवः.

[Skm. I. 5. ii. p. 5. ('चित्तपस्य')]

10. 'भैरवः'

कल्पान्ते शमितत्रिविक्रममहाकङ्कालदन्ती स्फुर—
च्छेषस्यूतगुर्मिहपाणिनखरप्रोतादिकोलाभिषः
विश्वैर्कार्णवतानितान्तमुदितौ तौ मत्स्यकूर्मावुभौ
कर्षन्धीवरतां गतोऽस्यतु महामोहं महाभैरवः

[Skm. I. 18 ii. p. 15 ('चित्तपस्य'); Ś. P. 95 ('छित्रमस्य'); Sml. (B and P) ('चित्तपस्य'); S. K. A. III. 104, śl p. 361 (Anon.); S. R. Bh. I. 54 śl. p. 5.]

11. 'कीर्तिः'

का त्वं कुन्तलमल्लुकीर्तिरहह कासि स्थिता न क्वचित्
सख्यस्तास्तव कुत्र कुत्र वद वाग्लक्ष्मीरुचः संप्रति
वाग्यता चतुराननस्य वदनं लक्ष्मीर्मुंरारेखः .
कान्तिर्मण्डलमैन्दवं मम पुनर्नाद्यापि विश्रामभूः .

[*Skm.* III. 50. i. p. 221. ('छित्तपस्य').]

12. 'नर्मदायाः समुद्रस्य च संवादः'

कालिन्दि ब्रूहि कुम्भोद्भवजलधिरहं नाम गृह्णासि कस्मात्
शत्रोर्मे नर्मदाहं त्वमपि वदसि मे नाम कस्मात् सपत्न्याः
मालिन्यं तर्हि कस्मादनुहरसि मिलत्कज्जलैर्मालवीनां
बाष्पाभोभिः किमासां समजनि कुपितः कुन्तलक्षोणिपालः.

—[*Skm.* III. 1. ii. p. 187. ('छित्तपस्य'); *A. K.* p. 274; (*Anon.*); *K. A.* p. 83 (*Anon.*); *S. Sam.* III. 101. (*Anon.*); *S. R. K.* 79 (*Anon.*); Attributed to *Murāri* in *R. J.* II. 5. p. 20. *Dr. F. W. THOMAS* says (*Intro. to K. V. S.* p. 38) ' From a poem relating to a Kuntaleśvara ' as the above ' का त्वं कुन्तलमल्लु . ' He adds (p. ix) ' The verse स्नाता तिष्ठति कुन्तलेश्वरमुना is perhaps by the same author ' i. e. *Cittapa.*]

13. 'किं ते निर्जिताः'

[*Dr. THOMAS* takes this as the ' pratika ' of a verse perhaps lost to us. Commenting on the verse ' कालिन्दि ' given above, *Viśveśvara* writes (*A. K.* p. 274) : " अत्र किमासां समजनीति मालवीनां रोदननिमित्ते पृष्टे तन्प्रियमरणरूपनिमित्तमनाग्याय कुपितः क्षोणिपालः इति तत्कारणमभिहितमिति कारणनिबन्धना. अत्रैव मालवान्प्रति प्रस्थितेन कुन्तलेश्वरेण ' किं ते निर्जिताः ' इति प्रश्ने तद्वधान्नर्भाविनर्मदाप्रश्नोत्तररूपकार्यमभिहितमिति अत्रैव कार्यनिबन्धनापि, पूर्वस्यां प्रश्नः शब्दः, उत्तरस्यांतु आर्थ इति विशेष इत्याहुः ".]

14. 'रूपम्'

किं वातेन विलङ्घिता न न महाभूतादिता किं न न
भ्रान्ता किं न न संनिपातलहरीप्रच्छादिता किं न न
तत्किं रोदिति मुह्यति श्वसिति किं स्मेरं च धने मुखम्
दृष्टः किं कथयाम्यकारणरिपुः श्री भोजदेवोऽनया.

[*K. V. S.* 462. p. 144 ('छित्तपस्य') *Skm.* III. 6. iv. p. 190 ('छित्तपस्य').]

15. चित्तपकवेः कविता.

किं वीणाकणितेन किं मधुकरीहुंकारितेनापि किम्
कन्दर्पायुधसिञ्जितेन तरुणीहुंकारितेनापि किम्
श्रीमच्छित्तपसत्कवेर्यदि वचोहेरम्यकुम्भस्थली-
मुक्ताम्भःसुभगं सुधासहचरं कर्णोदरं गाहते.

[*Sml.* 37 b. 193 śl. ('छित्तपस्य')]

16. ' उच्चावचम् '

किमस्मान् विद्वेक्षि क्षपितबहुदोषव्यतिकरान्
 गुणान् वैधेयानां श्रियमुदयिनीं वीक्ष्यधनिनाम्
 परिच्छेदः शौचं विनयपरता चेन्द्रियजयो
 विवेकोऽतः कृत्यं न खलु वयमर्थप्रतिभुवः.

[*Skm* V. 75. ii. p. 327 (' छित्तपस्य ')]

17. ' परुषाभिधानम् '

कुशलं नस्या जीवति कुशलं पृष्टासि जीवतीत्युक्तम्
 पुनरपि तदेव कथयसि मृतां नु कथयामि या श्वनिति.

[*Skm*. II. 31. iii. p. 89 (' छित्तपस्य '); *S. K. A. I ad* 76. 97 śl. p. 70 (*Anon.*); *A. S. VIII. ad* 2. p. 21. (*Anon.*). *R. J. VI. 83. p. 146* (*Anon.*).]

18. प्रतापप्रदीपः

कूर्मः पादोऽस्य यश्चिर्भुजगपतिरसां भाजनं भूतधात्री
 तैलोत्पूरः समुद्राः कनकगिरिरयं वृत्तवर्तिप्ररोहः
 अर्चिश्चण्डांशुरोचिर्गगनमलिनिमा कज्जलं दह्यमाना
 शत्रुश्रेणी पतंगा ज्वलति रघुपते त्वत्प्रतापप्रदीपः

[*Sml.* (*P*) 140 a. (' -त्तपस्य ').]

18 a. गौरीविभज्यमानार्थः.

[*Skm.* I. 10. iv. p. 9 (' कस्यचित् '); *Sml.* (*P*) 3 b (' चित्तपस्य '). As this is found in Murāri's *Anargha-Rāghava* (VII. 118) it is not given here in full].

19. ' हंसः '

तटमुपगतं पद्मे पद्मे निवेशितमाननम्
 प्रतिपुटकिनीपत्रच्छायं प्रतिक्षणमासितम्
 नयनसलिलैरुष्णैरुष्णीकृता जलबीचयो
 जलदमलिनां हंसेनाशां विलोक्य गमिष्यता.

[*Skm.* IV. 67. v. p. 274 (' छित्तपस्य '); *P. R. XI. 40.* (' कस्यापि ') *S. A. S. VI. (25 b)* (' कस्यापि ').]

20. ' संवादानुवादः '

तेषां त्वं निधिरागसामसहना मानोन्नता साप्यतो
 गन्तव्यं भवता न तद्गृहमिति त्वं वार्यसे यासि चेत्
 गाढं मेखलया बलान्नियमितः कर्णोत्पलेनाहतः
 क्षिप्तः पादतले तदेकशरणो मन्ये चिरं स्थास्यति.

[*Skm.* V. 24. ii. p. 294 (' छित्तपस्य ').]

21. 'अष्टमूर्तिः'

दिक्कालात्मसमैव यस्य विभुता यस्तत्र विद्योतते
यन्नामुष्य सुधीभवन्ति किरणा राशे स यासामभूत्
यस्तत्पित्तमुषःसु योऽस्य विधये यस्तस्य जीवातवे
बोढा यद्गुणमेष मन्मथरिपो स्ताः पान्तु वो मूर्तयः.

[*Skm.* I. 17. ii. p. 14 ('चित्तपस्य'); *S. K. A.* II. *ad.* 53; 66 śl. p. 181 (*Anon.*); *K. A.* as an ex. of 'Ekāvali' p. 118. (*Anon.*); *S. R. Bh.* I. 77 śl. 7 p. (*Anon.*).]

[Variants in *S. K. A.*—'स यस्य हविषे' for 'योऽस्य विधये'].

22. 'खड्गः' ['राजप्रशंसा']

देव त्वं मलयाचलोऽसि भवतः श्रावण्डशाखी भुज-
स्तस्मिन् कालभुजङ्गमो निवसति स्फूर्जत्कृपाणच्छलान्
एष स्वाङ्गमनर्गलं रिपुनरस्कन्धेषु संघट्टयन्
दीर्घं व्योमविसारिनिर्मलयशोनिर्मोकमुन्मुञ्चति.

[*Skm.* III. 28. i. p. 206 ('छित्तपस्य') *S. R. Bh.* 185 śl. p. 112. (*Anon.*) *D. Kh. P.* 101 śl.]

23. 'युद्धस्थली'

देव त्वद्भुजयोर्वलं न गदितुं वाचा वयं शक्नुमः
कुर्वाणा हृदयेऽपि तत्पुलकिताः प्रत्यङ्गमेते वयम्
शक्ता सैव पुनस्तवासिपतनच्छिन्नद्विपत्कन्धरा-
रन्ध्रोद्रान्तसमीरभैरवरवा युद्धस्थली जन्पितुम्.

[*Skm.* III. 39. i. p. 213. ('छित्तपस्य').]

24. 'प्रियाव्याख्यानम्'

द्वान्द्रं भाति जगन्निधाम गगनं विश्वं चतुर्द्वेनम्
पञ्चाम्रायमिदं च वाङ्मयमयं पटसायको मन्मथः
सप्तांशः परिवत्सरोष्टजलधिस्कारं धरामण्डलम्
दिक्चक्रं नवनायकं क्षितिपतिश्रेष्ठ त्वयि भ्राजति.

[*Skm.* III. 11. iv. p. 194. ('छित्तपस्य'). The king to whom the verse is addressed seems to be *King Bhoja*.]

25. 'छित्तपस्तु-

'न पुष्कली ते स्वर्लोके जनता किन्तु सामरी
विकली शल्कमात्रेण महती निष्कलीष्यते'.
इतिसामान्येनाह. कथं विकला कालविशेषवाचिनो
नित्यस्त्रीविषयत्वादावेव भवतीति भोजोपि-
'मठन्ति निवसन्त्यस्यामिति मठी."

[*G. R. M.* (*Ed. EGGELING.* p. 80; *BHIMASENA ŚARMĀ's ed.* p. 44 I. नामगुणाध्यायः, *ad.* 46 śl.]

26. 'स्वर्गभ्रमरः'

निरानन्दः कौन्दं मधुनि विधुरो बालवकुले
 रसाले सालम्बो लवमपि लवङ्गं न रमते
 प्रियङ्गा नासङ्गं रचयति न चूते विचरति
 स्मरंश्चमीलीलाकमलमधुगानं मधुकरः.

[*Skm.* IV. 29. v. p. 246 ('छित्तपस्य'); *S. K. A. ad.* I. 69. 81 śl. p. 56 (Anon.); *A. T.* p. 49 (Anon.); *Sml.* (B) 37 b ('चित्तपस्य') *Su. Sam.* XVIII. 8. (Anon.); *P. V.* VI. 58 b. ('कस्यापि'); *P. T.* 77 (Anon.); *S. Rl* 517 (Anon.); *R. J.* III. 30. p. 56 (Anon.). Variant in *S. K. A.* 'न साले' for 'रसाले'

Dr. HAR DUTT SHARMA writes on p. 66 of his Introduction to the *Skm* : 'AUFRECHT remarks that the reading (for Navakara's verse in *Skm.* II. 156. iii. p. 170 — 'निरानन्दाः कौन्दं मधुनि परिभुक्तोज्झितरसे' etc.,) in the सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण I. 81 (Nirnayasāgara edn.) is much better. I therefore, give the verse in full,' and cites verbatim the first line of Navakara as cited above and lines 2-4 of *S. K. A.* Though the 'pratikas' of the two verses are identical and though both of them treat of a भ्रमर, the two verses differ from the latter part of line 1. The first line of Navakara is cited, as noted by Dr. SHARMA, by Vāmana in his *K. A. S.* III. 1. 12 and hence the author of this verse should have been earlier than Vāmana (750—800 A. D.) and much earlier than our poet Cittapa who was a coeval of King Bhoja. To remove this confusion the verse of Navakara also may be cited here :

'वसन्तभ्रमरः'—

निरानन्दः कौन्दं मधुनि परिभुक्तोज्झितरसे
 वनेष्वम्भोजानामविकृतसुखेषु प्रतिहताः
 इदानीं चूतानां मुकुलमधुषु प्रेमसरसा—
 नवीनेष्वाकूतं दधति परिगाढं मधुलिहः.

—*Skm.* II. 156. iii. p. 170 ('नवका-क-रस्य.')]

27. 'रिपुः'

पद्भ्यामूर्युगं विभज्य भुजयोर्मध्यं निपीड्योरसा
 पार्श्वेषु प्रसभं प्रहृत्य नखरैर्दन्तैर्विलुप्याधरम्
 संसृप्तानवबोध्य युष्मदहितान् भूयोऽपि भुङ्क्ते वने
 किं कान्ता सुरतैषिणी, नहि नहि व्यग्री करालानना.

[*Skm.* III. 41. iii. p. 215 ('छित्तपस्य'); *S. K. A.* v. 500 śl. p. 731 (Anon.)]

28. 'कुपित खड्गः'

पर्यङ्को राजलक्ष्म्या हरितमणिमयः पौरुषाब्धेस्तरङ्गो
 भ्रमप्रत्यर्थिवंशोल्बणविजयकरिस्त्यानदानाम्बुपटः

संग्रामत्रासताम्यन्नरपतिसुयशोराजहंसाम्बुवाहः

खड्गः क्षमास्तौविदहः समिति विजयते मालवाखण्डलस्य

[*Skm.* III. 30. i. p. 207 ('छित्त-स्य'); *S. R. Bh.* 110 śl. p. 123. Variants : Line 2 above is l. 3 and l. 3 is l. 2 in *S. R. Bh.* स्नान for स्नान, ताम्यन्मुरलपति for ताम्यन्नरपतिसु. (The last line above in *S. D. X. ad.* 33; p. 525.)]

29. * सामान्यचाटुः'

* * * (Lost)

पाथोदेषु तटाभिघातदिवसादारभ्य न स्ताम्यति
नूनं मालवराजदिग्जयविधौ तैः पीतमम्भोनिधे-
माद्यद्वन्धगजखवन्मदनदीगन्धानुविद्धं पयः.

[*Skm.* III. 1. iii. p. 187 ('छित्तपस्य').]

30. a भूयैवोऽस्तुकपालदाम जगतां

c. विश्वं स्रक्षति....

[*Sml.* ('छित्तपस्य'). Not available to the present writer in full.]

31. ' पूर्णसरः '

भेकैः कोटरगायिभिर्मृतमिव क्षमान्तर्गतं कच्छपैः
पाठीनैस्तनुपङ्कपांठलुठनाशस्मिन् मुहुर्मूर्छितम्
तस्मिन्नेव सरस्यकालजलदेनागत्य तच्चेष्टितम्
येनाकुम्भनिमग्नवन्यकरिणां यूथः पयः पीयते.

[*Skm.* IV. 23. v. p. 242 ('छित्तपस्य'); *S. P.* 777 ('अकालजलदस्य') *P. V.* VI. 62 a ('अकालजलदस्य'); *Sbhv.* 843 ('दाक्षिणात्यस्य'); *Su. Sam.* XI. 3 (Anon.); *S. R. K.* III. 72. (Anon.); *P. R.* XIV. 77. ('भोजप्रबन्धान्') *Bh. P.* 201 śl. (Attributed to a Brāhmaṇa); *S. R. Bh.* 65 śl. p. 223 ('दाक्षिणात्यस्य'). Dr. THOMAS says (Intro. to *K. V. S.* p. X) : 'Translated by TAWNEY *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, p. 43.' Two of the anthologies (*S. P.*, and *P. V.*) attributed the verse to Akāla-jalada. If this is correct, the verse should have been composed by a poet much anterior to Cittapa, for we know from Rājasekhara that Akāla-jalada was his great grand-father (vide : Intro. p. xxx to *K. M.*). The poet is so called probably because of the use of 'अकालजलद' in this stanza.]

32. नर्मदानदी.

मज्जन्मातङ्गहस्तच्युतमदमदिरामोदमत्तालिजालं
स्नानैः सिद्धाङ्गनानां कुचयुगविलसत्कुक्कुमासङ्गपिङ्गम्
सायं प्रातर्मुनीनां कुशकुसुमचयच्छन्नतीरस्थलीकं
पायाद्वो नर्मदाम्भः करिकरमकराङ्गान्तरंहस्तरङ्गम्.

[*Skm.* V. 11. iii. p. 285. ('छित्तपस्य')]

33. 'यशः'

मातुः खेदमयं ततान पृथुकः क्रोडेन धात्र्यामसौ
रागाद्यस्तरुणः पुरन्दरपुरस्त्रीन्यस्तकण्ठग्रहः
ज्यायानप्यभिनत्पितामहपदं नित्याविनीतस्तनू-
जन्मा ते यशसां गणस्तदुचितव्रीडोसि तत्कीर्तने.

[*Skm.* III. 47, ii. p. 219. ('छित्तपस्य'); *Sml.* (B). 168 a ('हनुमतः').]

34. 'भुजः'

मिथ्या देव भुजेन तेऽल्पविभवः कल्पद्रुमः स्पर्धते
नह्येतं भुवनत्रयाभयमहासत्री कृपाणोऽर्चति
चिन्त्यस्तत्र भवान् सकल्पविटपी यस्यैतदेकाग्रवे
कल्पान्ते विनिवेश्य विश्वमखिलं छायासु शेते हरिः.

[*Skm.* III. 8. iii. P. 192; ('छित्तपस्य');
S. K. A. III. 101 śl. p. 359 (Anon)]

35. 'अत्युक्तिः'

मौलौ धारय पुण्डरीकममितं तन्वात्मनो विक्रमं
चक्राङ्गं वह पादपद्ममवनीं दोष्णा समभ्युद्धर
लक्ष्मीं भूनिगटे निवेशय भव ज्यायान् दिवौकस्पते-
र्विश्वान्तःकरणैकचौर तदपि ज्ञातं हरिः खल्वसि.

[*Skm.* III. 12; i p 194 ('छित्तपस्य').
S. K. A. I. 90 śl p. 64, (Anon).]

36. [Not available now in full]

यस्याधो गगनं रसातलमुपर्यभोधयोऽभ्यन्तरे

[*Sml* B 168 a. ('चित्तपस्य').]

37. 'कीर्तिः'

रामः सैन्यसमन्वितः कृतशिलासेतुर्यदम्भोनिधेः
पारं लङ्घितवान् पुरा तदधुना नाश्चर्यमुत्पादयेत्
एकाकिन्यपि सेतुबन्धरहितान् राप्तापि वारां निधी-
न्हेलाभिस्तव देव कीर्तिवनिता यस्मात्समुल्लङ्घति.

[*Skm.* III. 50; ii. P. 221. ('छित्तपस्य').]

38. 'कार्यगर्वः'

लभ्यन्ते यदि वाञ्छितानि यमुनाभागीरथीसंगमे
देव प्रेष्यजनस्तवैव भवतो भर्तव्यतां वाञ्छति
नन्वेतन्मरणान्न किं नु मरणं कायात्मनो विच्युति-
दार्ढ्यं जीव मनस्त्वदङ्घ्रिकमले कायोऽत्र नः केवलम्

[1. *Sadukti.* III. 14. iii. p. 196. 'छित्तपस्य'
2. S. K. A. II. 344. p. 255 (Anon.).]

39. 'रावणशिरश्छेदः'

लूने पञ्च ततश्चतुष्टयमिति स्रक्संनिवेशैः शिरः
 पद्मैरन्यतमावलोकनमितैरुच्छालितैरर्चितः
 हस्तस्पर्शवशेन मूर्ध्नि दशमं मूर्धानमध्यासयन्
 शम्भोरुद्धतसाहसैकरसिकः कैर्न स्तुतो रावणः.

[*Sadukti*. V. 22. v. p. 293 ('छित्तपस्य').]

40. 'अरिपुरम्'

वर्षासंभ्रुतपीतिमानमनवं स्तब्धाङ्घ्रिग्रहस्तद्वयं
 भेकं मूर्ध्नि निगृह्य कज्जलरजदयामं भुजङ्गं स्थितम्
 मुग्धव्याधवधूस्तवारिनगरे शून्ये चिरात्सांप्रतं
 स्वर्णोपस्कृतमुष्टिसायकधिया साकूतमाकर्षति.

[*Sadukti*. III. 45. iii. p. 218. 'छित्तपस्य' .]

41. 'वाचां...सरमणस्तस्थेवनं लोमदः'.

[Given by Dr. THOMAS in his Intro. to *K. V. S.* as from *Skm.* III. 3, but it is not found in the Lahore ed. of *Skm.*]

42. 'भुजः'

वाल्मीकेः कतमोऽसि कस्त्वमथवा व्यासस्य येनैष भोः
 श्लाघ्यः स्यात्तव भोजभूपतिभुजस्तम्भस्तुतावुद्यमः
 पङ्क्तुः पर्वतमारुरुक्षसि, विधुस्पर्शं करेणेहमे
 दोर्भ्यां सागरमुत्तिपीपसि यदि ब्रूमः किमत्रोत्तरम्.

[*Sadukti*. III. 8. i. p. 191. 'छित्तपस्य' .]

43. 'प्रियाव्याख्यानम्'

संकल्पेऽङ्कुरितं द्विपत्रितमथ प्रस्थानवेलागमे
 मार्गे पल्लवितं पुरं प्रविशतः शाखाशतैरुद्धतम्
 ध्रातर्भाविनि दर्शने मुकुलितं दृष्टे तदेव त्वयि
 प्रोत्फुल्लं फलितं च संप्रति मनोराज्यद्रुमेणाद्य मे.

[*Sadukti*. II. 11. iii. p. 194. 'छित्तपस्य' .]

44. 'अश्वधूलिः'

सप्ताम्भोधीन् पिबद्भिर्दिशिदिशि सरितः स्वादयद्भिस्तडाग-
 व्यूहं गण्डूषयद्भिर्गगनतलगतं जाह्नवीमुल्लिहद्भिः
 यात्रायां यत्र हेलाचलतुरगचमूशश्वदुधूतधूली-
 पूरैरैकाधिपात्रव्ययजनितमदो लज्जितः कुम्भजन्मा.

[*Sadukti*. III. 36. v. p. 212. 'छित्तपस्य' .]

45. 'पौरुषम्'

समाजे सम्राजां, सदसि विदुषां, धाम्नि धनिनां
निकाये नीचानामपि च रमणीनां परिषदि
कथंचियत्र स्मः क्षणमतिथयस्तत्र शृणुमः
स्फुरद्रोमोद्भेदाः सुभग ! भवतः पौरुषकथाः.

- [1. *Sadukti.* III. 20 i. p. 200. 'छित्तपस्य'.
2 *S. R. Bh.* 152 śl. p. 110. (Anon.).]

46. हनुमद्वर्णनम्

समालम्ब्यान्योन्यं मसृणचरणाः कम्पनजुषो
न याताः के पारं सति जलधिबन्धे कपिभटाः
तटादेकोऽर्वाचश्चकितसुरमिद्वस्थितिसमु-
त्समुत्कृत्य प्रायात्परमपरपारं स हनुमान्.

- [*Sadukti.* IV. 72. v. p. 277. 'छित्तपस्य'.]

47. "यथा छित्तपस्य :-

'साक्षात्कृतेऽथ लवणं कृतिदिङ्मुखाना-
मृण्णकृतोऽर्चिषि विशेकृदमाकृदांस्ते
आस्याकृताः कृतनमस्कृतयोऽर्थमर्थे
कृत्यव्रतां च नृपती च नृपस्य जग्मुः '

- [*Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*, II Samāsaganādhyaṃ, under śl 98, p. 140
(EGGELING'S ed.) P. 77 (Pandit BHIMASEN ŚARMA'S ed.).]

48. 'गुणः'

'सूर्यो धामवतां न किं न किमयं प्रह्लादकश्चन्द्रमा
गम्भारो न किमम्बुधिः क्षितिभृतां रामः स जेता न किम्
किं त्वेकैकगुणस्तुतौ न हि वयं शक्तास्तदेतद्गुण-
श्रोतृणां सुमहोत्सवाय नृपते त्वमेकमेव स्तुमः

- [*Sadukti.* III. 4. ii. p. 189. 'छित्तपस्य'.]

49. भोजदेवप्रशंसा

(a) 'स्वामिन्नम्बुजनाथ ! धूर्जटिशिरश्चूडामणे चन्द्रमः
पादौ वां प्रणतोऽस्मि साधु वदत क्षत्रप्रसूती युवाम्
राजा यद्युपसेविताद्विग्रखिलक्ष्मापालचूडाशतै-
रासीदस्ति भविष्यति क्षितितले श्रीभोजदेवोपमः '.

- [*Sadukti.* III. i. p. 186. 'छित्तपस्य.' From this verse it is plainly known that
Bhoja and Cittapa were contemporaries.]

49. (b) 'अत्युक्तिः'

‘हंसज्योत्स्नाकुमुदविशदे सैकतेऽस्मिन् सरय्या
 वादयूतं चिरतरमभूत्सिद्धयूनोः कयोश्चित्
 एको ब्रूते प्रथमनिहतं कैटभं कंसमन्यः
 स त्वं तत्त्वं कथय भवता को हतस्तत्र पूर्वम्’.

[(1.) *Sadukti*. III. 12. ii. P. 194. 'छित्तपस्य'. (2.) This śloka is found quoted in Rājaśekhara's '*Kāvya-minūśāsā*' p. 43; IX Ch. (Anon.) beginning with 'ज्योत्स्नापूरप्रसरविशदे'. As the verse is quoted by Rājaśekhara (880-920 A. D.), it cannot be Cittapa's. (3.) *Dhvanyāloka-locana*, p. 110 (N. S. P. ed. 1911)—(Anon.)—beginning with 'ज्योत्स्नापूरप्रसरधवले' and with some variants: केशिनं for कैटभं etc. (4.) *S. K. A.* IV. 88. p. 454 (Anon.)—beginning with चन्द्रज्योत्स्ना (5.) *K. A.* p. 17. (Anon.) 'चन्द्रज्योत्स्नाविशद'. (6.) *Vyakti-viveka* III. p. 126. ('ज्योत्स्नापूर' Anon.) (7) Hemacandra's commentary on his own *Kāvya-nuśāsana*, p. 147. (ज्योत्स्ना etc. Anon.)

ASAT = 'UNDIFFERENTIATED', 'FORMLESS', 'INCAPABLE OF PERCEPTION BY THE SENSES' IN VEDIC PROSE

By

HANNS OERTEL

It is well known that the Vedānta scholastics in their cosmogonic and ontological discussions interpret *sat* as *nāmarūpavyākṛtaṁ vastu* 'an object differentiated as to name and form', while they define *asat* not as 'absolute non-being' (*śūnyaparatvam*, *atyantāsattvam*) but as *avyaktāvasthā*, *prāṇ nāmarūpavyākaraṇāt* 'a state in which individuation and differentiation have not yet taken place' (e.g. Śaṅkara on *Ved. Sū.* 1.4.15 ; 2.1.17 ; on *Bṛh. Ār. Up.* 1.2.1 ; Sāyaṇa, *RV Commentary*, Introduction, p. 7, 22-25 of MAX MÜLLER's second ed.)

It seems worth while to call attention to a few Brāhmaṇa passages in which the meaning of *asat* 'formless, without distinct shape, not accessible to sensual perception' is clear :

1. *Asat* as epitheton of *antarikṣa*.

TS 5.4.6.4 *asad iva vā antarikṣam* cannot mean that the space between heaven and earth does not exist but must refer to its invisibility, its lack of definite form. The parallel passage K.21.8 (47, 21-23) characterizes the *antarikṣa* by the epithets *anārambhaṇa* and *anāyatana* with which compare KB. 29.5 (140, 21-22 LINDNER's ed.) *anārambhaṇam vā idam antarikṣam apratiṣṭhānam*. Both passages refer to the intangibility of the *antarikṣa*.

Very similar is PB. 3.10.2 = 21.7.3 in which earth and heaven (*ayam lokah* and *asau lokah*) are contrasted with the *antarikṣa*. PB. 3.10.2 discusses a certain kind of *viṣṭuti* in which the first and the third *viṣṭāva* (subdivision of a *stoma*) are sung fifteen times in all three rounds, while the middle *viṣṭāva* is used fourteen times only. This *viṣṭuti* is therefore called *nirmadhyā* literally 'without' (WACKERNAGEL, *Ai. Gr.* ii. 1, p. 283, 26) middle' i.e. 'defective as regards the middle *viṣṭāva*'. The three *viṣṭāva* are then identified with the three worlds : the first and third with earth and heaven respectively, the second with the *antarikṣa*. Then the text continues : *astīva vā ayam loko 'stīvāsau chidram ivedam antarikṣam* (cf. KB. 20.3 [90, 17 LINDNER's ed.] *vivṛtam iva hīdam antarikṣam* where KB *vivṛtam*=PB. *chidram*). CALAND translates PB. 3.10.2 'This world (the earth) can be said to exist and yonder world (the sky) can be said to exist [with the note : 'in so far as they are visible'], but the intermediate region is a hollow, as it were' and PB. 21.7.3 'This (earthly) world exists, as it were (visibly) ; yonder world (the sky) exists, as it were (visibly), but the intermediate region is a void, so to speak', following the Commentary : *ayam bhūloko 'stīva vai prāṇinām*

āśrayabhūtaḥ saṁ spaṣṭam upalabhyamāno 'vatiṣṭhate, tathāsau dyulokaś-cāstīva grahaṇanākṣatradibhiḥ prakāśamānatvād, ubhayor madhye 'vasthitam idam antarikṣam chidram iva susīram iva nīrātmakam (on 21.7.3 chidram iva nīrāśrayam ivāmūrtatvād) bhavati.

The invisibility of the *antarikṣa* is also stressed at JB. 1.300 = 2.431 (CALAND, Das Jaiminiya-Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl §169, p. 229, 9) *dvāv imau lokāv āviṣṭamāv¹ iva* ' (Of the three worlds) these two (viz. earth and heaven) are most discernible, so to speak.' And at Ait Ār. 1.2.3 (84, 15-85, 1 KEITH's ed) *trīṇi phalakāni syur ity āhus trayo vā ime trivṛto lokā eṣām rūpeṇeti, tat tan nādṛtyaṁ, dve eva syātāṁ, dvau vā imau lokāv addhātāmāv² iva dīś-yete...*, *antareṇākāśaḥ so 'ntarikṣalokaḥ, tasmād dve eva syātām*, 'Some say (the swing) should have three boards in conformity with these (worlds), for these tripartite worlds are three (in number). But let him pay no attention to this; there should be two (boards) only, for it is only these two worlds (viz. earth and heaven) which are seen most distinctly; the space between them is the (invisible) *antarikṣaloka*; therefore there should be only two (boards) '.

There is no Brāhmaṇa passage in which the epithet *asat* is applied to the wind which shares invisibility and formlessness with the air (but cf. Ch Up 8.12.2 *āśarīro vāyuh*). But Bahīdhara on VS. 13.3 *sataś ca yonim astataś ca vivah* 'he opened the womb of the *sat* and the *asat*' glosses *asataḥ* by *amūrtasya vāyuvādeḥ* 'of the incorporeal, e.g. the wind', while he paraphrases *sataḥ* by *vidyamānasya mūrtasya ghatapañādeḥ* 'of the perceptible, corporeal, e.g. a jar, a cloth'.³

Note: Parallel to TĀ.8.7.1 = TUp.2.6.1 *asad vā idam agra āsīt* we find the frequent K.8.2 (84, 9) = Kap.6.7 (66, 3); K.22.9 (65, 13) = Kap. 35.2 (179, 15) *āpo vā idam āsan salilam eva*; JB.1.237 (CALAND, Auswahl §88, p. 92, 14) = JUB. 1.56.1 *āpo vā idam agre mahat salilam āsīt*⁴; TS.5. 6.4.2; 5.7.5.3; 7.1.5.1; TB. 1.1.3.5 *āpo vā idam agre salilam āsīt*. OLDENBERG (Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft, p. 175, note 1) rightly remarks 'Das Wasser wird auch als das selbst Formlose erschienen sein'. Water like ghee, Soma, omentum, and semen lacks a clearly defined body and shape, cf. JB.2. 159 (CALAND §143, p. 173, 6 from bottom and p. 174, 5) *āśarīrā vā āpo 'śarī-*

1. For *āviṣṭama*, which is wanting in the *Petersburg Dictionaries*, cf. JB. 2 333 (unpublished) *catvāry u ha vai devānām āviṣṭamānīva jvotinsy: agnih prthi-vyām ādītyo divi candramā nakṣatreṣu vidyud apsu*.

2. Cf. the adverbial *addhātāmām* SB.7.4.1.8 *iyam hy evaisām lokānām addhātāmām*; 16.2.9 *agnir vai devānām addhātāmām*.

3. Invisible and incorporeal is also the *manah*, hence the Manes (*pitarah*) are at PB. 6.9.19-20 compared with it (the commentary: *na cakṣurviṣayā bhavanti*).

4. This passage is cited at JB.3.359 (CALAND §212, p. 295, 9-10) *yad vā imā āhur* (the ms. *imām āsur*): *āpo vā idam* (the ms. *imam*) *agre mahat salilam āsīt ity etās tā āpah*.

raṁ ghṛtam and *āsarīro vai somaḥ*; AB.2.14.2 *sā vā eṣā reta eva yad vapā*, ..., *āsarīraṁ vai reto 'sarīrā vapā*.

2. *Asat* = *alakṣaṇam* 'without distinctive marks'

ŚB.7.2.1.7. *alakṣaṇā* (scil. *iṣṭakāḥ*) *bhavanti*, *yad vai nāsti tad alakṣaṇam*¹ which simply means that whatever lacks distinct shape (whatever is not *rūpavyākṛtam*), is not perceptible to our senses. Compare with the *nāsti* in this restricted sense the *asti* in the same restricted sense at PB.3.10.2 = 21.7.3 (above sub. 1). The ŚB. passage continues: *asantaṁ tat pāpmānam nirṛtim kurute* which is semantically equivalent to ŚB.7.2.1.4; 14-16; 10.4.3.2 *pāpmānam nirṛtim apahate*; it does not mean that he annihilates evil and destruction but that he causes them, as far as he is concerned (hence the middle

kurute), to be absent; cf the contrast between $\frac{2}{3}$ 'present' and

$\frac{2}{3}$ 'absent' in Greek, e.g. Sophocles, *Antigone* 1096.

3. *Asat* = 'hidden, concealed from view'.

K 13.4 (184, 12 15) *oṣadhibhyo vekatam ālabheta prajākāmā, oṣadhīnām vā eṣā prīyā, tā etām sūtoḥ paribādhante, tasmād eṣā sarveṣāṁ prīyā*, "pa *oṣadhīya, āpo 'sat khananti, tā eva bhāgadheyenopadhāvati, tā asmai prajāṁ khananti*"; MS. 2.5.4 (51, 16-52, 1) *oṣadhibhyo vekatam ālabheta prajākāmā, oṣadhīnām vā eṣā prīyā, 'tā vā etām sūtoḥ paribādhantā, oṣadhayaḥ khalu vā etasya prajāṁ apagūhanti yo 'luṁ prajāyāi san prajāṁ na vundate, tā eva bhāgadheyenopāsarat, tā asmai prajāṁ punar dadaty, āpo vā oṣadhayā, āpo ha tvevāsat khananti, tā asmai prajāṁ khananti*, 'He who desires progeny should sacrifice a barren cow to the plants, for she is dear to the plants. It is they (the plants) which interfere with her pregnancy (cf. TS.2.1.5.3. *oṣadhayaḥ khalu vā etasyai sūtum apighnanti yā vevad bhavati*), therefore she of all animals is dear to them; (now) the plants are (identical with) the waters, the waters dig out the *asat* (i.e. that which is hidden, invisible); it is the plants which he resorts to with their own share (in sacrificing a barren cow to them); they dig out progeny for him'; MS. '...it is the plants which hide the progeny of one who, though he is capable of (producing) progeny, does not obtain progeny; he resorts to these (plants) with their own share; they give him progeny again; the plants are (identical with) the waters; it is the waters which dig out the *asat*; they dig out progeny for him'. The parallel passage TS. 2.1.5.3. ends with *āpa evāsmā asataḥ sad dadati, tasmād āhur yaś caivaṁ veda yaś ca nā*: "pas tvāvāsataḥ sad dadatīti.

1. Cf. Manu 1.5 *āsīd idaṁ tamo bhūtam aprajñātam alakṣaṇam aprakāśam avijñeyam*.

2. Cf. RENOU, *Monographies Sanskrites* ii (1937) §11, p. 11, 32 where MS. 2.5.4 (51, 16) should be added.

3. For *khan* 'to dig out' (= *khan + nis* ŚB.7.5.2.52) cf. ŚB.6.3.1.37; 43; 6.3.3.11; 26; 6.4.1.1; 35; 6.5.4.1-3.

Note. It seems to me exceedingly unlikely that in Brāhmaṇic cosmo-

gony *asat* ever had the meaning of 'non-existence' το μὴ ὅτι the verbs which are used to describe the act of creation appear to exclude such a notion ; thus *takṣ* (in the Mantra TA.1.11.1 *asataḥ sad ye tataḥsuḥ*) and *takṣ+nis* presuppose some sort of material out of which an object is fashioned (cf. DELBRÜCK, *Altind. Syntax*, p. 457, 16 'das Kunstwerk steckt in dem Stoff, aus dem es herausgebracht wird'); the same is true of *mā + nis* which takes their place in the Brāhmaṇa Prose K.6.7 (56, 7)=Kap. 4.6 (44, 4) ; K.10.10 (136, 4-5) ; K.21.2 (38, 15-16)=Kap.31.17 (165, 7) ; K.34.6 (39, 19) ; K.34.7 (40, 14) ; K.35.20 (67, 5)=Kap.48.18 (308, 20-21) ; K.36.5 (72, 5, parallel to MS. 1.10.10 [150, 9]) ; MS.1.4.6 (53, 19-20) ; MS.1.10.5 (145, 5-7)=K.35.12 (66, 15-67, 2)=Kap.48.18 (308, 15-18) ; MS.3.1.3 (3, 11 ; 14) ; MS.3.10.5 (136, 11-12) ; MS.4.7.6 (100, 17-18 ; 101, 1) ; TS.2.1.4.4 ; 2.2.8.6 ; 3.2.6.3 (parallel to TB.3.8.4.3) ; 7.1.1.4 ; 5 ; TB.1.1.10.4 ; 1.5.3.1 ; 2 ; 3 ; 1.5.4.1 ; 1.5.4. 1-2 ; 1.7.1.5 ; 2.1.6.5 ; 2.2.11. 1-4 ; ŚB.1.1.2.7 = 1.3.1.21 ; 2.2.3.8 ; 14 ; 26 ; 27 (Kāṇva 1.2.3.6 ; 12 ; 27) ; 2.2.3.9 (Kāṇva 1.2.3.8) ; 2.2.3.11 (Kāṇva 1.2.3.9) ; 6.5.3.3 ; 5 ; 7.5.2.6 ; 8.1.1.5 ; 8 ; 8.1.2.2 ; 5 ; 8 ; 10.4.2.28 ; 31 ; 12.1.2.1-3 (parallel to GB.1.4.7 and 9) ; AB.4.23.1 ; 5.7.2 ; GB.1.1.5 ; 6 ; 8 ; 10 ; 12 ; PB.13.4.1 ; ŚB.2.3.3. Ncr do the frequent *jan* 'gignere' and *sṛj* 'emittere' admit the idea of a *creatio ex nihilo*. These two roots, in fact, imply the substantial identity of creator and created object, because in the act of creation the substance of the former passes over into the latter (cf. *Oriental Studies in honour of Dasturji Saheb Cursetji Erachji Pavry*, 1933, p. 359, 25). Hence at ŚB. 14.4.2.10 (= Brh Ār Up.1.4.10 Mādhy. =5 Kāṇva) the Ātman knew : *aham vāva sṛṣṭir asmy, aham hīdam sarvām aṣṛkṣi*¹.

The Ch. Up. 6.2. 1-2 expressly objects to the idea of 'some'² that the existent (*sat*) could be derived from the non-existent (*asat*) : *sad eva somyadam agra āsīd ekam evādvītiyam, tad dhaika āhur : asad evedam agra āsīd ekam evādvītiyam, tasmād asataḥ sad ajāyate*³ *kutas tu khalu somyāivam syād iti hovāca katham asataḥ saj jāyeta, sat tveva somyedam agra āsīd ekam evādvītiyam*. 'In the beginning, my dear, there was only the *sat*, one (i.e.

1. *The Holy Bible in the Sanskrit Language*...translated...by the Calcutta Baptist Missionaries with native Assistants, Calcutta, 1848, renders the first verse of Genesis : *ādito īśvara ākāśam pṛthivīm ca sasarja* which not only fails entirely to express the Hebrew notion of a *creatio ex nihilo* but (on account of the *sasarja*) is directly misleading. It would require a paraphrase to convey the Hebrew thought so as to prevent misunderstanding ; something like : *ādita eva na kimcānāsa, tad īśvaraḥ kratunaiḥ śūnyād divam ca pṛthivīm ca cakāra*.

2. Cf. RV. 10.72.2 ; 3 *asataḥ sad ajāyeta* ; TĀ.8.7.1 = TUp.2.7.1 *asad vā idam agra āsīt tato vai sad ajāyata*.

3. Cf. Epicurus' οὐδὲν γίνεταί ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος

undifferentiated), without a second. Regarding this some say : " In the beginning there was only the *asat*, one, without a second ; from this *asat* the *sat* was begot. " But, my dear, how should this be so ? he said, How should the *sat* be begot from the *asat* ? No, in the beginning there was only the *sat*, one, without a second '. This is the only Brāhmaṇa passage in which *asat* may,

with a fair degree of certainty be interpreted as to τὸ μὴ ὂν It is, for instance, impossible to say what difference there was in the author's mind between *sat* and *asat* at ChUp.3.19.1 *asad evedam agra āsīt tat sad āsīt*, cf. JUpB 1.53.1 *dvayam vāvedam agra āsīt sac caivāsac ca*.

THE BHILS OF MAHARĀṢṬRA

By

R. N. SALETORE

Like the turbulent Bēḍars and the Mīnas¹ who so often harassed the armies of the Marāṭhās and were so constantly in league with these rulers from the seventeenth to the early days of the nineteenth centuries, the Bhils too played an important part in the politics of Mahārāṣṭra during this period. They were, as will be shown presently, no mere free-booters who could be subdued once or twice, or even wiped out by constant oppression, but they proved to be a formidable tribe whose martial nature was a menace to the fighters for supremacy in India during this era of turmoil. Such was the extent of their depredations that the Pēśwās on more than one occasion had to enter into treaties with these people, while formidable Marāṭhā rulers like Hōlkar had to warn redoubtable English generals about their existence in apparently secure places in order to safeguard the English army from their ravages.

The Bhils in Pre-Marāṭhā times.

These Bhils who became so prominent in Marāṭhā days have had a memorable past, at least as an incendiary people.² The Bhils, figuring in the traditional history of Rajputana, are recorded to have been the inhabitants of Iḍār, and during the critical times before the accession of Gōha to the *gādi* of Mewar, they emerged into the political limelight. "At this period" writes Tod, "Edur was governed by the chief of a savage race of Bhil; his name was Mandalica. The young Goha frequented the forests in company with the Bhils, whose habits better assimilated with his daring nature than those of the Brahmīns. He became a favourite with the *Vanapootras* or "children of the forest" who resigned to him Edur with its woods and mountains. The fact is mentioned by Abul Fazil and is still repeated by the bards, with a characteristic version of the incident, of which doubtless there are many. The Bhils having determined in sport to elect a king, the choice fell on Goha; and one of the young savages, cutting his finger, applied the blood as the *tēeka* of sovereignty to his forehead. What was done in sport was confirmed by the old forest chief. The sequel fixes on Goha the stain of ingratitude, for he slew his benefactor, and no motive is assigned in the legend for the deed. Goha's name became the patronymic of his descendants who were styled Gohilōte, classically Grahilote, in time

1. See my forthcoming articles on the other wild tribes in Marāṭhā times : The Ghāssias and the Mīnās, The Bēḍars and the Kōjis.

2. Cf. B. A. SALETORE, *Wild Tribes in Indian History*, pp. 75-77.

softened to Gehlote.”¹ Apart from the confirmation of the fact whether the Bhils were instrumental in raising Goha to a throne, this traditional incident reveals the real environments of the Bhils in the forests of Idār, where they must have had their own chiefs and their own tribal organisation. According to the *Rās Māla* in Gujarat too, these Bhils lived in such wild surroundings, which gave them a sort of freedom from the domination of the monarchs of that country. “In these, says the bard, there was not so great a population in Goozerat, but there was much forest and the Bheels and Koolces lived in security. They were doubtless then, as now, hereditary and professional plunderers, “plunderers of the night,” as they described themselves. Raja Karun Solankhee is the first ruler of Goozerat on record, who devoted his attention to putting a curb upon these wild tribes,—a task which has enjoyed the solicitude, more or less, of all his successors down to the present time.”² These references to the Bhils show that they were not only the dwellers of the woods, but that they became such a menace to the rulers, who made it a policy to root them out, age after age. Nevertheless that these Bhils had some sort of tribal organisation was known to the celebrated emperor of Vijayanagara, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya the Great, for he remarks in his famous poem, *Āmuktamālyadā*, in this way about them : “It is essential that a king should be able to enforce his commands. Even the Ābhīras and the Bhils of the forests are able to enforce their orders, as by the sign of the arrow and the piece of thread. Much more is it necessary that an emperor (*sārvabhauma*) should be able to enforce to his command.”³

The Bhils in Marāṭhā Times

It is no wonder, therefore, that these Bhils who attracted the attention of emperors like Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya of Vijayanagara should have become an object of consternation to the political successors of the Rāyas, the Marāṭhās. They first came into the political limelight in the seventeenth century. A record of the reign of the emperor Jehangir, dated A.D. 11-11-1608 records the grant of a village in Khandesh, the haunt of the Bhils. This epigraph says : “The village of Akar has been given as a gift by the court of the above Pīr (Paulad) of Khandesh in the district of Mulhēr, for bravery and firmness in cultivating and making habitable (waste lands) to Veru Achut Patel, son of Raoji Patel of the community of Marathi, of the tribe of Morē and Haulu Naik, son of Achut Naik Bhil of the tribe of Barir.”⁴ This shows that some of these Bhils at least attempted to take to agriculture provided it paid, of course, but the majority of them remained the children of the forest, the *vanaputras*. Consequently just like their kinsmen the Bēḍars, the Bhils too became a political force during the Marāṭhās.

1. TOD, *Annals of Rajasthan*, I, p. 184.

2. FORBES, *Rās Māla, Hindoo Annals of the Princes of Goozerat in Western India*, I, p. 103. (1921 ed.).

3. *Āmuktamālyadā*, IV, 206 ; *Journal of Indian History*, IV, p. 65.

4. J. J. MODI, *Asiatic Papers*, II, (1917), p. 351. also p. 358.

Pilāji Gaekwad, the agent of Trimbak Rao Dhabaḍē is said to have leagued himself with the Bhils and Kōlis of the country and on this account were considered formidable by the Muhammadans.¹ Three years later the prominence of the Bhils was again felt in connection with the activities arising from the murder of this Pilāji Gaekwad. This murder was not unaccompanied with advantages expected from it by Abhai Shingh, whose agents murdered this Marāṭhā chief. But his triumph was short lived for Dāmāji with the help of Dilla, a *dēsāi* of Padra, near Baroda, who had lived in friendship with Pilāji, instigated the Bhils to rise all over the country, and awaiting an opportunity afforded by the march of troops to quell the insurgents, sent intelligence to Mahadaji Gaekwad, the brother of Pilāji, who had occupied Jambusar, advising him to attack Baroda.² This information of Grant Duff is supported by contemporary documents. A letter from the chief and Factors at Surat, dated March 24. 1733 A.D., says : "As Ahmadabad is at present infested by the Ganimis, they cannot at present contract for the *lemmanees*, that being the place where they are usually made ; but they have ordered musters to be made at Surat ; and if they can be got there, or a happy turn of affairs should happen at Gujarat, they will advise us of it." This disturbance must have continued during the next year as well. Another letter from Henry Lowther to Robert Cowan states : "Dāmāji, the commanding officer of the Ganimis, twice advised the Chief that, if stopping the Bar will not bring the Governor to a compliance, he is ready to march before the town with any number of men the chief shall think necessary. But these are dangerous experiments and only to be tried at the last extremity."³ The motive underlying Dāmāji's letter to the trading English is worth noting, for on February 10, 1734, he wrote to Henry Lowther : "I heard you, once a friend and assistant to the Habsis, whom good fortune seems to forsake, and upon their account you bear hatred to Teg Bakht Khan. My opinion (upon considering of this) is that, as you are a merchant, it cannot be for your interest to be at variance with him, and continuing friendship to the former will be very destructive to your nation. I expect you will return an answer to this immediately, that I may take measures accordingly."⁴ These letters show that Dāmāji, at the head of the Ganimis, who as tradition has it were Bhils and Kolis⁵ when the relations between Teg Bakht Khan, who had assumed the governorship of Surat in his own name, and the English became extremely strained, offered his assistance to Henry Lowther, the chief of the Surat Fac-

1. GRANT DUFF, *A History of the Marathas*, I, p. 374.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 381.

3. GENSE and BANAJI, *The Gaikwads of Baroda, English Documents*, I, pp. 13-14.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 14, *Lemmanees*—piece-goods formerly exported from Bombay and Surat.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

6. Cf. *Baroda State Gazette*, I, pp. 445-46. *Ganima* or *Galima* (Arabic : *Ghanima*) used in Marāṭhī to mean 'looter' or 'enemy'.

tors, who did not give credence to it.¹

Once the Bhils were shown such a systematic method of ravaging the country, it is no wonder that their raids became constant. The consequences were simply disastrous. Foreseeing such a fate, Henry Lowther wrote to Robert Gowan, on the 1st of February, 1734, : "...in case we can't bring him (Damaji) to reason, he and his evil councillors will soon swallow up all the other merchants in their turn and ruin the city ; which agrees with our own sentiments and (those of) the inhabitants in general, who were all in our interest and have at their meetings, which have been frequent on this occasion, declared that, in case the English withdraw from Surat, they would follow us down to Bombay."² These Bhils not only disturbed trade but, owing to their ravages, also put the Marāṭhā government to serious losses. In A.D. 1764-65 Venkat Rāmaśāstri informed the Pēśwā administration of Poona that, owing to the raids of the Bhils, Gosāvis and a desperado, Bajaji Matkar, the *pargaṇās* of Dhargaum, Kāsarābad and Mandalēśvar, did not prosper and consequently the revenue of the government suffered. He was therefore authorised to entertain the necessary troops and crush the marauders. For this purpose he was allowed to levy from the Matkhar's territory a sum not exceeding Rs. 25,000 in order to administer properly the territories inhabited by them. To entertain such temporary levies whenever local disturbances arose, became one of the settled practices of the Marāṭhā government. There was a disturbance of Bhils in Khandesh and the *subhēdar* of the locality, Cintāman Hari, was ordered to entertain 100 *sowārs* for the whole year and to maintain their establishment accounts.⁴

These predatory Bhils had their own leaders. Ditya Bhil, one of such leaders, residing in the hills of Kukudmundē, burnt five villages and caused considerable disturbance in several others in the neighbourhood. On reporting this to the government, the houses and property of the horsemen and soldiers in his service were ordered to be attached and their families imprisoned as follows in the three *sanads* sent by the Poona government to its respective officers : (a) 119 persons including horsemen (*svar*) *siledārs* and peons (*pyadē*) (foot-soldiers) serving in the *pargaṇā* of Sultanpur, under Tukoji Holkar : the *kāmavisdār* of the place being Dhondo Ballāl.

(b) 52 persons including Thorkhēḍkar alias Rānlekar, serving under Mādhav Rao Kadam.

(c) 52 persons *Kāmavisdār*, *pargaṇa Nandurbar* ; *Kāmavisdār*, *Dimat Tukāji Holkar*, *paragaṇa Majakūr*.

1. GENSE and BANAJI, op. cit. I, p. 15.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

3. *Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, IX, (325), p. 298 : *tari dāha hazār vīs hazār pancavis hazār ruṇṇāyēparyant śibandis ēksāl kharca karūn śibandī ṭhevūn, gōsāvi va bhilla va matkar yāncē pāriṇṇatya uttam prakārēṇkarūn rāhaṇē.*

4. *Ibid.*, (330), p. 302. : "*yājkaritān ravūt āsāmi (100) śambhar āsāmi rōjmāriyavār ākherāḥ paryant ṭhevūn hazārī gair hazārī zarhukūm prāni majkūr yēthil subhāce hiśēbiṇ sadrūhu śambhar rautāncā rōjmāra kharāc lihiṇē.*"

So in all three notices were served for the confiscation of the property of 241 people, who were held responsible for a rising in A.D. 1769-70.¹

In addition to such punishment, when culpable Bhils were actually caught, terrific cruelties were inflicted on them. In A.D. 1763-64 Babya Bhil along with Sarif Khan, Padaji Śētya and a *Cāmbhār* of Goregaum, were captured and the government ordered that one hand of all these prisoners should be cut off.² But it is doubtful whether or not such exemplary chastisement had any salutary result, for the incorrigible Bhils, as the Marāṭhā records reveal, still continued their nefarious activities as though the powers of the Pēśwā could neither reform nor subdue them.

Nevertheless the Pēśwā administration took great care to stamp out the destructive activities of these wild tribes. One of their policies was to grant permission to the local authorities affected by the incursions of these Bhils to entertain additional men to preserve the peace. In A.D. 1771-72 in the *pargana* of Bhāmēr the Bhils created disturbances and as Hari *Kāmavisdar* represented that it was necessary to employ more soldiers to meet the emergency, the government granted him the necessary permission.³ If these officers failed to perform their duties they were not spared by the State. Nisbat Govind Hari, the *Kāmavisdar* of *prānt* Bāglaṇ in A.D. 1765-66 failed to quell the incendiarism of the Bhils and as he was dismissed in his place Cīmnāji Dalpatrao was appointed *Kāmavisdar*. He was given a full account of the revenues of the province and was commanded to administer it in peace. In addition he was ordered as follows : (a) He was to entertain 100 soldiers at the rate of Rs. 6 per month (per soldier). (b) He was therefore obliged to put an end to this Bhil menace, to make the province peaceful as before, and on behalf of the government he had not only to make it prosperous but he had to see that there were no more reports of Bhil risings.⁴

The suppression of a Disturbance.

When such a rising actually occurred the government must have striven its best to crush it. How this re-establishment of the public peace was carried out can sometimes be ascertained from contemporary Marāṭhā documents. On 18th of October 1769 Nāropant Nāna received a report of a disturbance of the Bhils and the Gardis, led by Cīmnāji Dēśmukh, and how it was stamped out. The trouble appears to have commenced in the afternoon of Thursday at about two o'clock, when the news was received that below the Ghāṭs, Vārseyān, Gārdis, Sidis and Bhils and about 75 horsemen were seen all

1. *Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Daiaries*, IX, (331) p. 302.

2. *Ibid.*, (621), p. 213 : *ek hāt tōdūn sōdāve*.

3. *Ibid.*, (334), p. 304 : *bhīllāncā dangā jahālā āhē tyācē bandō bastā kari-tankhājati śibandī ṭhēvāvi lāgatē*.

4. *Ibid.*, VII, (458), p. 58 : *Bhīlācē bandō bastās dūn māhī śibandī āsāmi 100 ṭkun taināt eksālīnh majūra 600 rupayē sābhase sāmbhar āsamis Bhīlāncā upadṭarv prāntāmtīl dūr karūn lāvaṇi yathāsthita karūn sarkārca tarjā ābād karūn dyāvya bhīlāncā bōbāḷ āṇunayē*.

together sallying forth from Songhad towards Saleri, devastating the whole neighbourhood (*tamām gānv jālit pōlit cālilā*). On hearing this, at once by night, the writer accompanied with all his forces rode forth to meet them through the Kalāmbah (pass) gate. The road seems to have been full of shrubs, hills and grass, but still they reached their destination in the early morning. There the rebels appeared to be ready. Owing to the protection of the hills, the forces of government were well able to deal properly with the rioters in the fight that ensued. Many Gārdīs were slaughtered: two hundred to two hundred and fifty of them were killed, while the same number were wounded. Those who sought the protection of the grass, fled. Ciman (Cimnāji) Dēsmukh himself, being wounded, fell down beside his horse, but it could not be ascertained whether he escaped or fell down among the slain, despite a keen search for him. Some said that he ran away, while others stated that he hid himself amidst the grass. The rest of the Gārdīs and Bhils decamped. The Government soldiers were consequently able to gather all the guns, swords and other weapons of these rebels, together with fifty horses, big and small. In the ranks of the Government nearly twenty spearmen (*bhalō*) and five or six cavalry men (*ghodeen*) by only were wounded. All of these returned to their camp at about three in the evening.¹

It is interesting to note in this connection that this cimmanrāo Dēsmukh (styled also as Ciman or Cimnāji) of Bāglan evidently did not perish in this suppression of the revolt of A.D. 1769. This is because he recommenced his atrocities later on with the assistance probably of Bhils and similar desperadoes. In A.D. 1774-75 Govind Hari, *Kāmarisdār* of Bāglān, was at his own request permitted to reduce this adventurer, who was pillaging the *pargaṇās* of the State. The amount of Rs. 25,000 to 30,000 required for this purpose was ordered to be recovered as far as possible by forfeiting this Dēsmukh's property, while its adherents, Śankarāji Khandērāo and Lakṣman Viśvanāth in the *talūka* of Mūlhēr, were to be fined.²

It may therefore be inferred that the Marāṭhā State slowly evolved certain definite principles of subduing the Bhils, who became a constant source of trouble to the government as well as to the people themselves. One of these and probably one primarily and constantly utilised was the employment of military force against the insurgents. Officers who failed to crush these rioters were deprived of their office and they were replaced by others, who were specially instructed to see that disturbances of the peace did not recur within their spheres of influence. These officials were assisted by the State with the finances generally recovered from the territory of those who led the Bhils, or if the Bhils were wealthy, from the lands of the Bhils themselves. In addition, the associates of these leaders were usually fined and the fines were apparently used to suppress these ravages

1. *Selections from the Peshwa Dattar*, 39, (116) pp. 118-19.

2. *Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, VI. (659), p. 173. *yāncē pānpātya karane*.

Nevertheless recalcitrant persons who invariably utilised the Bhils to create trouble to the government, were not easily coerced into submission. One of the means for restoring the peace was the despatching of troops to the affected area. The Pēśwā Mādhav Rao Ballāl I on 25-12-1769 ordered Balaji Janardhan to send two hundred troopers to Khandesh where a disturbance was made by Dabhaḍē, Toke and the Bhils. The order added that it would be good if these soldiers were requisitioned through Ramacandra Ganesh, in whom probably the Pēśwā had some reliance or it may be that this person had trustworthy soldiers who were considered fit to meet the emergency.¹

The Bhil Paṭṭi

Probably the Pēśwā government found it unnecessarily expensive to send constantly such punitive expeditions to quell the increasing risings of the Bhils. The Pēśwās therefore resorted to a strange expedient for meeting such expenditure by levying an extra charge from the affected areas in addition to the usual government demands of revenue. There was an occasion to enforce this measure in A.D. 1776-77 when the Bhils, inhabiting the land extending from Kasarbari to Ajintha, caused havoc in that area and rendered the roads unsafe for travel. Nāro Kṛṣṇā, the *Sur Subha* was directed to put down this riot. The officers of the various *mahāls* were also ordered to recover from their spheres of jurisdiction, *in addition to the Government revenue*, such amounts as might be required by the *Sur Subha* for the expense of the troops employed for quelling this disturbance.² This disturbance appears to have spread to the other localities in Khandesh in A.D. 1776-77. The Bhils, for example, residing in the villages of Pōr, Jambūpāṇi and Jāmthi, in the hills on the borders of the *pargaṇās* of Jainabad, Edlabad, and Jalgaon of Khandesh enjoyed *inām* lands and were in charge of *Cowkis* on the high roads. Nevertheless they took to highway robbery and in consequence the neighbouring villages as well as the trade of the country suffered. Naro Kṛṣṇa was therefore directed to put down these Bhils and to collect money for this purpose from the inhabitants of these *māhāls*.

The propriety of advocating and enforcing such a financial measure in order to combat the Bhil menace cannot be said to be justifiable. First because such a levy was an extra tax, which must have been a cause for discontent and a burden to those people who were already ravaged by the destructive Bhils. Secondly the formation of the estimate of such an ex-

1. *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, 39, (119) pp. 120-121 : *Khāndēśāt Dabhaḍē va Tōkē va Bhil labādi karitāt tyācē pāripatyās sarsūbhakadē dōnsē rāut dilyē pāhijē-aisās khāndēśācyā kāmās dōnasē rāvut Rāmācandra Ganēś yāḥkadūn dēvile uttam kēlē*.

2. *Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, IV, (645) p. 153. : *tyā pramāṇē sara-sūbha hūn bhillāncē pāripatya karitil, tyācē śibandī kharācūi vantaṇi sarsūbha hūn pargaṇe majkūri basēl, te sarkār āivaja śivāya dēṇe*.

3. *Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, VI, (646) pp. 154-55.

penditure was left to the discretion of the *Sur-Subha* and naturally therefore the amount of this tax depended upon the whims, the honesty of this official and the circumstances in which he was placed. Thirdly the central government appears to have put an end to the system of sending troops to the affected areas and it was probably difficult to know the exact results of the pacification of a local disturbance achieved through a provincial official.

Despite all these considerations, which must have been certainly apparent to the shrewd Marāṭha statesmen of this time, this occasional levy of Bhil-paṭṭi for safeguarding the common people from the ravages of the Bhils became, in the 18th century, an established financial exaction. In the year A.D. 1778-79 a wooden fort was built in the Kukkermundē *tālūka* for keeping down the Bhils and some soldiers also were stationed there. Tukaji Holkar, the holder of the adjoining *mahāls* of Sultanpur and Nandurbar, had to pay Rs. 5,000 for maintaining them. It was now ordered that the amount should be recovered from the *rāyals* as the erection of the fort saved them from the attacks of the Bhils.' From an economical point of view, this was a blunder, simply because this due to the State only increased the burden and the sufferings of the already miserable agriculturists. The Marāṭhā documents are all silent about the economic effects of such levies on the farming population and it may almost be taken for granted that such a recurring tax was paid with the loudest murmurs by the suffering populace.

This tax called the Bhil-paṭṭi was levied in all localities infested with the Bhils. As a result of their depredations it was deemed necessary by the government to establish for the sake of protecting from the Bhils *thānās* or stations above and below the ghats from Kasadbhāri to Ajntha. The duty of establishing these *thānās* was entrusted to Nāro Kṛṣṇa and to Jyotyaji Jadhavrao Wagholikar, who were authorised to levy for this purpose a tax called *Bhil-paṭṭi* assessed on the revenues of the fifteen *parganās* noted below :

<i>Pargaṇā</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Amount</i>	
		Rs.	a. p.
Rajdhārē		21,690	0 0
Mehunbārē		14,065	2 0
Calisgāurh		46,561	1 3
Pācorenh		45,406	2 0
Sēndūrṇī		19,340	6 6
Nimbāyint		54,940	8 0
Bhādgaorh		43,930	7 0

1. *Ibid.*, (647) p. 256 : *sabab śibandī khavcā baddal rupavē 5000 jānc-hazār rupayāñcī rayet tanagaṇaṇī karūn tālūkē majkūrākadē avraz dvāravācā karār kēlā asē.*

<i>Pargaṇā</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Amount</i>	
		Rs.	a. p.
Löhārē		36,461	4 0
Bāhājā		52,631	13 0
Cikka||wahāl		21,722	0 0
Jhōḍagenh		7,312	8 0
Maṇikpurjī	<i>Hiserīdh Tanākhā</i>	6,187	8 0
Jāmnēr	<i>Nīmē</i> „	58,188	8 0
Dhulē	„ „	41,221	4 0
Utrāṇa	„ „	49,488	13 0
		- - - - -	
Total :		5,19,153	4 9
		- - -	

The Bhil-paṭṭi which was to be recovered at the rate of five per cent. on this whole amount came to Rs. 25,957-8-0 and this sum had to be carefully recovered and utilised wholly for stamping out the Bhil disturbance. The officers concerned were further instructed that, even in those *parganas* the total revenue of which amounted to Rs. 18,190 (*sardēsmukhi*) and where the Bhil trouble was excessive, the assignment of the tax was to be made according to the estimated rate and in those places where this havoc was comparatively less, the tax was to be recovered according to half of the estimated rate.¹

The recovery of this Bhil-paṭṭi in this case was entrusted to Nāro Kṛṣṇa, who was specially instructed to spend this sum with care (*caukaśīne kharca karūn*), to safeguard the people from the Bhils, submit the accounts thereon to the government at the end of the year and employ Dimat Khan Rohillah evidently for crushing the Bhils.² Though these officers were directed to recover this Bhil-paṭṭi or Bhil-tax, specified instructions were issued to them regarding its refunds. Nāro Kṛṣṇa, for instance, was ordered in A.D. 1784-85 to levy the Bhil-paṭṭi in Khandesh only from those villages which were subject to attacks from the Bhils. The amount levied by him from a *parganā* which was not so subjected to such a depredation had to be refunded.³ This Bhil-tax was to be utilised only for the purpose for which it was recovered and any misuse of it was not at all countenanced by the Marāṭhā govern-

1. *Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, VI, (653) pp. 161-62., *sarkār jamā khēriḥ Bhil-paṭṭicā pramāṇē dyavayāca dēvilē aṣē karār karūn, vasul masarinilhekade devila ase*, p. 161 : *aṣarā hazār ekaṣē navvad rupayē yāci āivaz mahālās yēthil sardēsmukhi sudhān jyā mahālās phār upadrav lāgatō, tyācā darōbasta tanākhā, vā thōḍa upadrav lāgtō tyā mahālācā ajmāsāncē hisersidh tanākha karār karūn he sanad kēlī aṣē tarī sadaril pramāṇē bhilpaṭṭicā āivazvasul karūn he ne-mṇūpramāṇē caukaśī kharca karūn bhillānca bandōbasta karaṇē*, p. 162.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

3. *Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, VI, (645), p. 167.

ment. In A.D. 1785-86 the duty of bringing the Bhil plunderers to justice was entrusted to Sivaram Narayan on the condition of maintaining, out of the revenues realised by the *Bhil-paṭṭi*, the necessary force and to make good any loss sustained by the people on account of plunder. A Bhil disturbance occurred, but Nāro Kṛṣṇa, the *Sar Sūbha*, instead of compelling Sivaram Narayan to fulfil his stipulated condition, levied a fresh cess from the people of the locality to meet the charges for an additional force which was entertained by him. A complaint was naturally lodged by the sufferers to the Pēśwā and the amount thus recovered was directed to be refunded.¹

Another measure was adopted by the Pēśwās to keep the Bhils in check, especially if they leagued with the villagers themselves. This measure was meted to the villagers of *Kasbē* Sirūr in *parganā* Bandapur which belonged to Ahilyabai Holkar. A feud existed between the village-officers and the *Kāmrīsdārs* and they had been quarrelling for four months. Balwantrao Kāsi, evidently an officer who happened to encamp at the village, on learning that the Bhils who had captured the fort of Lonara were in the village, demanded their surrender. The villagers sent word that they would pay Rs. 500 or 1,000 to Balwantrao rather than surrender the Bhils. Therefore Balwantrao, with the consent of the *Kāmrīsdār*, attacked the village. In the fight that ensued some of the Bhils were killed, while some were wounded. The rest were taken away by the villagers to the homes of Raghunathrao Dhōndōji and Govind Cimnāji, who were probably influential persons in the locality. The *Kulkarni* also joined them and they all fired on the forces of Balwantrao and at nightfall they allowed the Bhils to escape. As Balwantrao reported all these facts to the government headquarters, Raghunath and Govind were ordered to be arrested and their houses were attached, while the *watan* of the *Kulkarni* was also likewise confiscated. As this *Kasbē* belonged to Ahilyabai Holkar, the whole case was reported to her. This shows that during the Pēśwās the central government itself meted out punishment to offenders who were not under its immediate jurisdiction and the action taken was duly reported to the administrators concerned. Moreover disciplinary measures were taken against those who abetted themselves with outlaws and law-breakers like the Bhils, through the means of imprisonment, and confiscation of private property.

The Rights (Haks) of Bhils.

This principle of confiscation was also applied in a similar manner to the rights or *haks* of the Bhils. These privileges were evidently granted to the Bhils as one of the means of keeping them contented and these rights were withdrawn whenever the government found that the Bhils created trouble. In Khandesh the Bhils once raised an insurrection in the year A.D. 1789-90 and captured the fort of Kanhēra, but an army was despatched

1. *Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, VI, (655) pp. 167-68.

against them and the fort recaptured. Those Bhils who had fought against the government fled and later begged, through Balaji Bhikaji and Bāji Narayan Mahdaji Anant, that the *haks* of the Bhils from the villages, as agreed to by the Pēśwa Bājirao, which were held back, might be continued to them. If these were regranted they promised to do police duty of the villages and refrain from creating any mischief in future. Consequently an agreement was obtained from the Bhil Nāyaks to the following effect :

(a) The Bhils would abandon their residences (*haṭṭis*) built in the forests and on mountains.

(b) They would live in the villages and do the police duty. (*gāmv gannā jāgal karāvī*)

(c) They would receive their rights (*haks*) as usual.

(d) They would henceforth possess no sword or gun.

(e) They would use only arrows while on patrol duty in the Ghats.

(f) They would wear round their necks a packet bearing the seal of Government.

(g) Any Bhil wearing no such packet was to be punished.

Forty-seven copies of this order were issued to 9 *Mahāls*, 26 *parganās* in Khandesh and to 17 *parganās* above the Ghats.¹

But the uncontrollable Bhils were hardly able to abide by their own agreement. Once more in A.D. 1793-94 they rose in revolt in Khandesh and Nāro Kṛṣṇā, the *Sur Sūbha* again attacked them. Subdued and cowed down the Bhils yet once again offered to adhere to their former agreement to tie round their necks the sealed billets of lac (*lakhēcē lakhoṭe bāndhūn*), to leave the hills and do the stipulated police duty as watchmen in the villages. Their offer was again accepted and their *haks* were restored to them on their assurance that they would cause no further disturbance any more. If any tax was recovered on behalf of this expedition against the Bhils, the *Sur Sūbha* was ordered to take this to the State account.² These measures reveal how the Pēśwā government was always ready for a compromise with the ever recalcitrant Bhils with whom depredation had become a second nature and this conciliation was achieved mainly through the employment and the disarming of the Bhils and the attachment of their rights and their property.

The Results of Conciliation and Repression.

These conciliatory and repressive measures of the Pēśwās do not seem to have had any of the desired beneficial effects on the irrepressible atrocities of the Bhils. In fact any disturbance of the peace was invariably attributed to the Bhils, although the culprits might have been some one else and the officer in charge had to explain the facts to the government. On A.D. 20-3-1775, Naro Ganesh explained to the Government at Poona that

1. *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, 36, (172), p. 144.

2. *Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, VI, (658) pp. 172-73.

the Bhils and not his men were responsible for harassing the people.¹ The result of this administrative inquiry is not known, but in the next year there occurred another outrage. Gawajya Bhil of *Kasba Khēḍ* in *pargana* Maṇikpunja attacked and plundered some of the villages in that *pargana*. He was subsequently arrested by the *Kāmavisdār* of the place and imprisoned in the fort of Dhōḍap. The government ordered that if the complicity of Gawajya was proved beyond doubt he was to be beheaded.² From this case it may be seen how the Marāṭhā rulers tried to conduct an inquiry even into the outrages of an outlaw Bhil, who once proven guilty beyond doubt, was given the worst punishment, obviously as an exemplary measure.

Even beyond Khandesh the Bhils became objects of terror to well-organised armies. *Mahārāja* Madhōji Bhōnslē in A.D. 1778 warned Col. Goddard that, as soon as he crossed the Narmada and plunged into the interior, he would be confronted with "impregnable passes, bad roads and thousands of Bhils, ready to attack his men from the hidden caves of the mountains."³ Likewise Mahādji Sindhia requested the Pēśwā in A.D. 1778-79 that the fort of Jaga situated on the bed of the Narmada in the taluka of Hande might be granted to him in order to enable him to put down the Bhils who were infesting the territory along the Narmada. His request was duly complied with and Naro Ballal was directed to hand over the fort to him.⁴ Nevertheless this trouble did not cease, for in A.D. 1779 Beniram Pandit, an English spy, wrote about the Bhil disturbance in that part of the country. As the route beyond Hosangabad was full of steep hills and dangerous passes, he informed his employers that numerous Bhils and other wild tribes had been stationed there "by the Poona ministers" in order to check the progress of Goddard on his march to Bombay. This commander was therefore informed that he would do "well to encamp on the bank of the Narmada" until a fresh plan for his future operations was decided upon.⁵ It is worth noticing here how some of our countrymen sold their souls to foreigners for a mess of pottage by betraying the secrets of their own people who were laying down their lives in the defence of their motherland.

In spite of the warnings of hirelings, allies and the various precautions taken by the Marāṭhā government, the Bhils continued their ravages in the nineteenth century as well. It was recorded in A.D. 1802-03 that they formerly used to receive some grain from the villagers for guarding their villages. When their rights or *haks* were withheld from them for some unrecorded reason, the Bhils revolted and blocked the passes. Then once again the old practice of sending armed contingents to the disturbed locality was revived and 300 Gārḍis were sent to Abāji Mahādēv for putting down the

1. *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, (172) p. 144.

2. *Satara Rajas' and the Peshwas' Diaries*, VIII, (896) pp. 92.

3. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, (1930) V, p. 249.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 262.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 262.

Bhils and orders were issued to continue to the Bhils their rights as before.¹ In A.D. 1804 many of the men of Brigadier General Monson, flying pell-mell in the face of Holkar's army were drowned in crossing the Chumblee, but the most trying experience to the sepoys, says Grant Duff, of all that they endured was the loss of many of their wives and children. These were in some instances left on the opposite bank until the very last moment and in this helpless state were "in view and within hearing of their husbands barbarously murdered by Bheels from the neighbouring hills, who were in the interests of Holkar."²

Such was the power of the Bhils during this period that the English general Wellesley wrote on the 2nd of August 1803 to the Governor of Bombay the following warning: "The whole range of mountains is in the possession of Bheels, whose exertions would prevent the invasion of any party of marauding horse. This fact points out the necessity of cultivating a good understanding with and encouraging the Bheels, so as to attach them to our cause... I cannot conclude this letter without requesting that you will urge the gentlemen at Surat to keep on terms with the Bheels: these appear to be a race of the same description with those who inhabit the hills in all parts of India. By conciliation, and refraining from our interference with their concerns, they will prove our best friends, and contrary line of conduct will make our worst enemies: it must not be expected that we should involve ourselves in the affairs of these Bheels, or press them for tribute." These shrewd words of advice reveal the wise lines on which Wellesley based his policy of dealing with wild tribes like the Bhils when he was about to declare war against Sindhia in Gujarat, especially as the Bhils were the subjects of this Marāṭhā ruler and any rash interference with them might have frustrated all his plans.

Like the English the Marāṭhās too were endowed with keen foresight for once again they tried their old policy of conciliation when dealing with their own fiery people, the Bhils, in A.D. 1804-05. The result was a spell of peace between the Bhils and the Pēśwā. In this year Dattu Nāyaka Bhil entered into agreement with Narasimha Khanḍērāo promising to give up their predatory habits and to live peacefully as loyal subjects of the Marāṭhā government. They were accordingly informed that if they abided by their promises they would in no way be molested.³ Despite all this their ravages were reported again in A.D. 1806. Balaji Laxman, the *Diwān* of Viṭṭal Narsing Vincurkar was appointed with "fullest powers" *Sar Subhedār* of Khandesh and Buglana and a body of the Pēśwā's infantry, under 'Manohurgeer Gosaeen,' was dispatched to support him.⁴ But such appears to have been the state

1. *Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, V, (165) p. 171.

2. GRANT DUFF, *A History of the Marathas*, II, p. 373.

3. Cf. BASU, *Rise of the Christian Power in India*, III, p. 221.

4. *Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, V, (168) p. 172.

5. *Ibid.*

of these provinces that they were never restored to order under the administration of the *Pēśwās*. "Holkar's ravages had been "followed" says GRANT DUFF by various plunderers and the Bheels who, till 1802 A.D. had lived intermixed with the rest of the population, betook themselves to the mountains and carried on precisely the same system of plunder as is now practised by the brigands of Italy and Spain."¹ This observation of GRANT DUFF was quite correct for again in A.D. 1805-06 there was yet once again a rising of the Bhils, near the fort of Khaira and near Ramnagar. Narsing Khanderāo and Manohargir were sent with an army to put them down. The officers of certain forts and Vikramshah, Rajē of the *sansthān* of Jowar and Rujlē Rānā of the *sansthān* of Rāmragar, two Kōli chieftains, were also directed to send forces to their assistance and to co-operate with them.² It is apparently to this outbreak that GRANT DUFF alludes when he says that there was an outbreak of the Bhils in A.D. 1806.

These Bhils continued to wreak havoc by assisting marauders and adventurers as before. Dānglia Trimbakji, confined in the fort of Thāpa in Salsette, effected his escape on the 12th of September 1816 A.D. GRANT DUFF says that he "confided his safety to the Bheels, Ramoosees and Mangs and resided chiefly in the hills about Nassuck". In the next year (A.D. 1817) several Bhils and Bedars (Ramosis) were engaged by Dānglia Trimbakji in the service of the Rāja of Satara and in the camps of Sindhia, Hōlkar and Amir Khan.³ Receiving this support of Hindu rulers between whom and the English there was little love lost during this period, the Bhils did not spare white people, if they could help. On the 5th of November 1817 it was reported that two white women were abducted by the Bhils who thrashed one of them while the other died.⁴

The Bhils after A.D. 1818.

After the fateful year A.D. 1818 there appeared to be a change in the life of the Bhils. Captain Briggs was appointed an agent for effecting a settlement with the Bhils in Khandesh.⁵ Still the Bhils in the mountains adjoining Khandesh continued to disturb the country for some time after the English government was established. In A.D. 1819 the plan adopted for settling them was appropriate waste land for such of them who chose to surrender the bow and arrow for the ploughshare. In spite of all this in A.D. 1822 WILLIAM CHAPLIN found that the Bhils were "unsettled and dissatisfied with a Government of order which keeps them within bounds". The jungles and hills of Khandesh are still more or less infested by them, not-

1. GRANT DUFF, op. cit., II, p. 412.

2. *Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, V, (170), p. 173.

3. GRANT DUFF, op. cit. II, p. 442.

4. *Ibid*, p. 469.

5. *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, 41, (124) · p. 124 · *dōn sāhibāncyā bāyākā Bhilāni dharūn nēlyā po ek jivē mārili va ēk mēli*.

6. GRANT DUFF, op. cit. II, p. 521.

withstanding the very judicious and zealous exertions that have been at various times made to seize or destroy these Banditti. Gang robberies on the highway, and successful forays, in which great numbers of villagers and village cattle are carried off, still evince the turbulent and daring spirit of those half civilised marauders of whom but a scanty portion has yet surrendered the bow and arrow for the ploughshare. The Chiefs seem to have but an imperfect influence in repressing these outrages, though they find no difficulty in exciting a spirit of depredation whenever favourable opportunities present themselves.”¹ In A.D. 1822 from the returns of the Collector of Khandesh no fewer than 111 cases of highway robbery occurred during the last three years but the perpetrators of these crimes were not brought to justice.² Sir James Outram during A.D. 1825-30 succeeded in forming a Bhil-corps, while their riots in A.D. 1852 and 1857 were easily suppressed.

1. WILLIAM CHAPLIN, *Fiscal and Judicious System* pp 169-70

2. *Ibid*, pp. 129-30.

3. *Imperial Gazette*. Bom. I. p. 419, p. 442 ; II, p. 482. GRANT DUFF, *op cit*. II note I, p 521. Cf. *Brief Historical Sketch of Bheel Tribes*, Pt. I, pp 4-5

RAJADHARMA IN THE ŚAUNAKĪYA

By

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

The *Śaunakīya* published recently in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series¹ is interesting in more than one point. It is a treatise on Dharmaśāstra, consisting of two parts, the first part dealing with rituals and the second with the rites of kings, especially the coronation rite. One feels from a study of these two parts that the book as published at present is incomplete and there must be several sections dealing with different topics of the Hindu dharma. What is remarkable about this treatise is that it is a very ancient one. In the second part of the book with which we are concerned at present Śaunaka is seen addressing a certain Āśvalāyana.² This reference to Āśvalāyana is indeed very significant. We know of the well-known Āśvalāyana, as the author of the extant *Gṛhyasūtra*, who is said to have flourished roughly in the sixth century B.C. From the fact that Āśvalāyana concludes his *Gṛhyasūtra* by saying 'Namah Śaunakāya, namah Śaunakāya', the editor of this treatise seems to conclude that the author of the *Śaunakīyam* was the preceptor of the great Āśvalāyana, and enumerates a list of as many as twenty-two works attributed to his authorship.³ It is not possible to agree that one and the same Śaunaka was the author of this and all the other twenty-two works. The style and language of several of these works compel us to the conclusion that all these did not emanate from the same pen. With regard to the *Śaunakīyam* itself, excepting the accidental coincidence of the mention of Āśvalāyana, and Āśvalāyana's reference to Śaunaka, it cannot be quite readily admitted to belong to such an early century as the sixth century B.C., though there is nothing impossible in this.

Other references in this treatise are equally remarkable. The *Itihāsa-Purāṇa* is mentioned⁴ indicating the existence of *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas* before the composition of this work. The next reference of importance is to the *Aitareya-vidhāna*⁵, evidently the prescription of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* on the

1. प्रतिमा लक्षणं चैव प्रतिष्ठां चार्चनं तथा ।

गृणु बुद्ध्या समायुक्त ! आश्रलायन ! सुव्रत ॥ 21. 2.

2. Preface, p. ii.

3. इतिहासपुराणादीन् गृणुयात् तदनन्तरम् । 10. 11.

4. महाभिषेकं वक्ष्यामि राजन्यस्य विधानतः ।

ऐतरेयविधानोक्तं ज्ञात्वा सर्वं यथाक्रमम् ॥ 4. 1.

शुभे मुहूर्ते राजानं पीठमारोहयेद् गुरुः ।

ऐतरेयोक्तमन्त्रेण ब्रह्मघोषविधोषिते ॥ 4. 21.

abhiṣeka of the king. Again this Dharmaśāstra makes mention of the Vaiṣṇavas and their *ālayas* or temples as distinguished from those of Śiva.¹ In more than one place the worship of Durgā is prominently mentioned.² In this treatise, as has been already said, prominence is given to the coronation rite of the king. The rite was followed as was prescribed by the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, thus showing that its basis is rooted in the Vedic literature. In this rite of *abhiṣecanam*, the Purohita finds an honoured place. In fact, in the Śaunakiyan polity, the Purohita still enjoys the exalted place assigned to him by Kauṭilya and other writers on polity. A Brāhmaṇa of good character, belonging to a noble family and versed in Vedas and Vedāṅgas was to be appointed Purohita for the purpose and fulfilment of Dharma.³ The term *dharmāyaiva* means all this. The *Śaunakiya* proceeds that a king should discharge all his obligations with the aid of his Purohita. By so doing he ensures progress of his kingdom, stable wealth, and fame here and hereafter.⁴ One of the main duties of the Purohita was to perform the consecration ceremony in an auspicious place at an auspicious time.⁵ After the ceremony was gone through, the king is said to address the Purohita to bless him and to help him in the peaceful conduct of his administration believing as he did that a rājanya under the guiding hand of a Brāhmaṇa was ever blest.⁶ When once the *abhiṣecanam* was over, the king was hedged with divinity. He was regarded as Indra, the king of Gods.⁷ Details of *Varṣotthānam*, of *nirājanam* of elephants and of horses, all pertaining to a king are furnished in three different sections 6 to 8. This is followed by a section where a reference is made to *nakṣatradevatā pūjā* on his birthday (Section 9). What is particularly interesting is that that day was considered as a special day of festivity. That day the king fed all people irrespective of caste. He brought relief to the distressed and freed the impri-

1. वैष्णवैस्तरुज्ञातो नित्यार्चनमथाहरेत् ।
एतद् विष्ण्वर्चनं मम्यक् प्रणिष्ठाविधिसंयुतम् ॥ 21. 23.
2. 7.15 ; 13.14 ; 14.22.
3. वृत्तवन्तं कुलीनं च वेदवेदाङ्गवित्तमम् ।
ब्राह्मणं वृणुयाद्राजा धर्मयैव पुरोहितम् ॥ 1. 7.
4. पुरोहितेन विप्रेण सर्वकर्मणि कारयेत् ।
मुगतिं राष्ट्रवृद्धिं च श्रियं चाप्यचलां व्रजेत् ॥ 1. 8.
5. मण्डपे नृपतिं तस्मिन्नभिषिञ्चेत् पुरोहितः ।
प्रशस्ततिथिवारेषु निष्ये वा श्रवणेऽथवा ॥ 1. 13.

See also 18. 2 & 7.

6. बृहस्पतिर्यथेन्द्रस्य तथा मे द्विजसत्तम ।
सर्वाः प्रजाः पालयितुं प्रसीद भगवन् ! मम ॥
ब्राह्मणाधीनो राजन्यः सकलं भद्रमश्नुते ॥ 2. 6-73.
7. इन्द्रबुद्ध्या तमप्यर्च्य गन्धमाल्यादिभिः क्रमान्
विप्रेश्चतुर्भिरानीतं वेदवेदाङ्गवेदिभिः ॥ 4. 26.

soned.¹ Some of these details agree with what is said in the Tamil classic *Silappadikāram* of the second century A.D. in its reference to the celebration of a king's birthday² when there was a remission of taxes and general release of prisoners.

Thus we see many interesting details relating to certain aspects of ancient Hindu polity in this Dharmaśāstra of Śaunaka. If scholars would assign to this composition sixth century B.C., as has been suggested in the preface to this edition, then the controversy centering round the introduction of week-day in India at a later period of the 4th century A.D. could be set at rest on account of its unambiguous reference to *vāra* in more than one place.

1. मोचयेद् दुःखितान् सर्वान्निरुद्धान् नृपसत्तमः
सार्ववर्णिकमन्नाद्यन्तस्मिन्नह्निकारयेत् ॥ 9. 6.
2. Canto XXVII, l. 234.

THE DATE OF COMPOSITION AND AUTHORSHIP OF A WELL-KNOWN VERSE IN SANSKRIT

By

HIRALAL R. KAPADIA

It is true that owing to the special mentality of the Indian authors of the olden days and the peculiar circumstances that have affected the preservation of the Indian literature, we know nothing about the authors of various works. Even then I am tempted to discuss here the date of composition and authorship of the following verse :—

“ श्रेयांसि बहुविघ्नानि भवन्ति महतामपि ।
अश्रेयसि प्रवृत्तानां कापि यान्ति विनायकाः ॥ ”

This verse is to be frequently met with in *Jaina* exegetical literature, and that, too, as a quotation.¹ The earliest commentator who has done so (so far as I know) is the well-known Haribhadra Sūri, the Yakinīmahattarā-dharmasūnu. He has quoted this verse in several of his commentaries² out of which his commentary on his own work *Anekāntajayapatākā* may be here mentioned. There is a wide difference of opinion regarding his date. Some believe that he died in *Vira* Samvat 1055 i.e. in *Vikrama* Samvat 585, while others believe that he flourished about two centuries later. Whatever view is accepted, it may be safely asserted that the verse in question is at least 12 centuries old.³

In the 12th *gāthā* of *Visesāvassayabhāsa*,⁴ a splendid work of Jinabhadra Gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa, we have as the first *carana* a “ बहुविघ्नाङ्गे मेयाद् ” of which the Sanskrit rendering is बहुविघ्नानि श्रेयांसि. This is practically the first *carana* of our verse under consideration. It may be mentioned that according to the *Jaina* tradition *Jinabhadra* Gaṇi died in *Samvat* 645.

In the end I may add that I have not come across any work where this verse is explained in Sanskrit.

1. Nowhere is the author mentioned, only the verse is quoted either fully or as a *pratīka*.

2. See the *vivṛti* of *Aṇuogaddūra*, the *vivarana* of *Nandisutta*, the *vyākhyā*(?) of *Sāstravārtāsamuccaya*.

3. *Silāṅka* Sūri who seems to have flourished not later than the 9th century has quoted the verse in his commentary on *Āyāraṅgasutta*. Similarly *Malayagiri* Sūri, a contemporary of *Hemacandra*, the well-known polygrapher, has quoted the verse in his commentary on *Kammapayadi*, *Pañcasāṅgaha*, etc.

4. While commenting upon this work *Maladhārin* *Hemacandra* Sūri has quoted the first *carana* of the Sanskrit verse under question.

Under these circumstances I may conclude this note with the following questionnaire :—

- (1) What is the original source of the verse in question?
- (2) Who is the author of this verse? Is he *Jaina* or non-*Jaina*?
- (3) Is this verse to be met with in non-*Jaina* literature, and if so, which is the earliest work wherein it occurs?
- (4) Are there any verses parallel to this in Indian and non-Indian literatures as well?
- (5) Is this verse explained anywhere in Sanskrit?

A NOTE ON UTKALĀPAYA

By

A. M. GHATAGE

BÖHTLINGK and ROTH have the following note in the First Volume of their Dictionary "*utkalāpa* (*ud+kalāpa*) *adj.* with upraised (spread out) plumage (of a peacock). Ragh. 16.64 Mrtśśak. 76.3. From this the denominative *utkalāpay-* to cause the peacock to spread its tail, *fig.* to bid someone to be proud ; to recognise someone's merits ; to pay thanks ; (?) *vayaṁ sarve vidyāpāre gatāḥ | tadupādhyāyamutkalāpayitvā svadeśe gacchāma | tathāivaṁ kriyatāmitiyuktivā brāhmaṇā upādhyāyamutkalāpayitvānujñāṁ labdhvā pustakāni nītvā pracaṭitāḥ* Pañcat. 244.24."

In the *Verbesserungen und Nachtrage* to their Vth Volume they add "*utkalāpa*, *utkalāpay-* is according to BENFEY causal of *kal-* with *ud-* : it means (1) to take leave of someone (Acc.) Pañcat. 244.25. ed. orn. 53. 15 ; Vet. in Gott. gel. Anz. 1860. p. 736. (2) to carry the wife from the house of the father to one's house ; Vet. in LA(II) 17.14 ; Gott. gel. Anz. 1860. p. 736. cp. *utkalāpana*." M. WILLIAMS and APTE have nearly the same to say on this word.

Many things about this word make one suspicious both as regards its form and meaning. It will be seen that it occurs only in two books the *Pañcatantra* and the *Vetālapañcaviṁśikā*, and it is taken either as a denominative or a causal. The form *utkalāpayitvā* occurring in *Pañc.* with the termination of the Gerund as *tvā* in spite of the pre-verb *ud* would suggest some kind of Prakrit influence. The meanings derived from it, by regarding it as a denominative of *utkalāpa* are not found in literature and the other two (1) 'to take leave' and (2) 'to take the wife away from the father's house' are not agreeing with both the derivatives. Neither do they show any inter-relation between themselves. One is naturally forced to see some kind of misreading or some other confusion as regards the origin of this word. It is evident that the word as used in the two popular books has nothing to do with the noun *utkalāpa* as found used by Kālidāsa.

Both the *Pañcatantra* and the *Vetālapañcaviṁśikā* are popular works and the commonly used recension of the former comes most probably from the Jain sources. As such we should expect that the word is some kind of Sanskritisation of an original Prakrit or Vernacular expression to be found in Jaina writings. In the *Bharaṭakadvātriṁśikā* edited by HERTEL we find two places where a similar word is found used : p. 28. An ascetic takes away a few sugar canes from the field of a wealthy person without his permission ; but to avoid being called a thief he asks permission of the field itself and himself gives the answer as he wanted. The owner one day catches hold of him and asks him why he has stolen the canes, to which he answers, "*ahaṁ*

sarvadāpi mutkalāpyaivekṣudaṁdān gṛhītavān” suggesting thereby that he has taken the permission of the field. p. 36. “*sacaturdaśa vidyāḥ sāṅgopāṅgā adhitya . . . taṁ gurum mutkalāpya svakīyapuram prati cacāla*”. From these two places it is clear that the word *mutkalāpya* is used in the sense of ‘to take permission or leave’ and the second passage closely agrees with the one in *Pañc*. We can naturally think that both the words are in reality one and the same and the form was originally *mutkalāp*— with the meaning ‘to take leave’.

About the origin of this word itself we find that Hemacandra in his DEŚINĀMAMĀLA gives the explanation ‘*mukkalamucie saire*’ VI. 147. according to which the Deśi word *mukkala* means both ‘proper’ (*ucila*), and ‘free’ (*svaira*). Dhanapāla further confirms this statement when he states in his PĀĪALACCHINĀMAMĀLĀ ‘*sacchāṁdā uddāmā niraggalā mukkālā viṣamkhalaya*’ 13. From this Prakrit word *mukkala*, a denominative, can be formed by the adding of the usual suffix *āve* in Prakrit as *mukkalāve* ‘to make free, to be free, to do the proper things’ according to the meanings of the original word. It was, it appears, wrongly Sanskritised as *mutkalāpayati* from which the forms in use were derived. The Prakrit word *mukkala* continues to live in the modern languages in the form of *mokalā* ‘free’ in Marāṭhī, *mukalāro* ‘to make free’ in Gujarāṭī. From its original meaning ‘to free’ it is easy to see its other meanings, the student at the end of his studies freeing himself from the authority of the teacher, and the carrying of the bride from her father’s house is to free her from the authority of the father who was supposed to be her guardian upto the time, not only till her marriage but till her formal departure from the paternal house.

The Prakrit word *mukkala* itself appears to be derived from the past passive participle *mukka* from the Sanskrit root *muc* to release from a form like ‘*mukna*’ as suggested by PISCHEL. The verb *mukkai* has given rise to the Marāṭhī verb *mukane* ‘to lose’. The form extended with the addition of the syllable *la* we find used in the Apabhraṁśa verse quoted by Hemacandra *vaḍḍappanu pari pāriaḥ hatthiṁ mokkaladena* “but greatness is obtained by loosening the hand (by giving many gifts)”. VIII. 4. 366.

PROFESSOR JACOB WACKERNAGEL

11th December 1853—21st May 1938.

With the death which occurred on the night of May 21, this year of Professor Jacob WACKERNAGEL, the world loses a great grammarian and linguist and India one of her greatest lovers. Born on the 11th of December 1853, in the city of Basel in Switzerland, WACKERNAGEL started his studies there and later migrated to Göttingen where he had the unique opportunity of studying under BENFEY. His father was, for long, Professor of German Language and Literature in Basel. This inherited love of grammar and linguistics carried the young scholar to Leipzig for a term and later to Oxford on a scholarship. He received his doctorate from the University of Basel in 1876. That same year he presented his *Habilitationsschrift* for the post of Lecturer in Sanskrit and Classical Philology in Basel. Three years later he became Additional Professor, and in 1881 he got the coveted Professorship of Greek Language and Literature in the same University in addition to the Johannes Reuchlin Readership and a Lecturership in the Obern Gymnasium. In 1902 he went to Göttingen as Professor of Linguistics and in 1915 returned once more to Basel in his old capacity. Here WACKERNAGEL carried on his great work of teaching as well as research until 1936 when he retired. His scientific work in linguistics had already marked him out as one of the most eminent scholars of his time, and he was duly honoured with the Rectorship of Basel University during 1890, 1918-19, and of Göttingen during 1912-13. He was also the recipient of many honorary degrees as well as memberships of learned societies. In 1918 he received a volume of studies from his pupils and admirers, entitled *Antidoron*, as a mark of their esteem and love.

Of the many great works which WACKERNAGEL has left behind him only two need be specially remembered here: his brilliant lectures on Syntax (*Vorlesungen über Syntax mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Griechisch, Lateinisch und Deutsch*) and his great work on Old Indo-Aryan Grammar (*Altindische Grammatik*) of which only three volumes appeared during the lifetime of the author. These two unfinished masterpieces show what a loss Linguistics has suffered by his death.

The NEW INDIAN ANTIQUARY started with the blessings of Prof. WACKERNAGEL, but the Editors and Publishers regret that WACKERNAGEL could not see the first number even. It is a personal loss to the NEW INDIAN ANTIQUARY which hoped to associate itself with this great Master of Linguistics and Indic Grammar. The Editors, on behalf of the Journal and its many subscribers and contributors, convey their heartfelt sympathies to the members of his family in their great loss. They hope to publish shortly a short biography of the regretted Professor with a portrait in a special issue devoted to his memory. May his great soul rest in peace! and may the thoughts he lived be ever a source of inspiration to all!

*The Editors are thankful to Prof. A. DEBRUNNER for supplying them with brief notes on Prof. WACKERNAGEL's life.

HASTAS

(Being a study of the elementary Hand Poses in Ancient Hindu Dancing according to the *Nāṭya Śāstra* of Bharata Muṇi).

By

P. S. NAIDU

Of all the poses of the various Aṅgas and Pratyāṅgas described by the *Nāṭya Śāstra*, those of the hand are the most important and the most interesting. Gesticulation by the hand has always been one of the most natural means of expression for human emotions. "Its (*hasta's*) artistic appeal", says RAJENDRA SHANKAR,¹ "is very great, for with its expressions, hints and suggestions, are the lovely and graceful movements æsthetically blended with rhythm and music, of the very body and limbs of the dancer capable of painting with startling vividness all the phases of joy or languors of sorrow." It is not surprising, therefore, that the *Nāṭya Śāstra* has entered into the minutest details in the analysis of the Hand Poses in order to bring out their æsthetic value and significance.

HASTA AND MUDRĀ

At the very outset it is necessary to sound a note of warning against the prevailing tendency to use the terms *Hasta* and *Mudrā* as though they were synonymous expressions. Not only in the popular articles on Dancing, contributed to the columns of the daily press, but also in some of the papers in the learned journals we find the word *Mudrā* used where *Hasta* is meant. The *Nāṭya Śāstra* tradition will not tolerate this confusion. It is true that both *Hasta* and *Mudrā* refer to gestures of the hand; but the words belong to two utterly different universes of discourse, the former to the æsthetic and the latter to the iconographic and ritualistic. *HASTA* has a strictly æsthetic connotation. It is the only term to be used when a gesture of the hand in dancing is to be indicated. *Mudrā* on the other hand, is used in iconography, and in Buddhistic and Tantric Theology.

In her excellent monograph on 'Mudrās'² MISS TYRA DE KLEEN, the Swedish artist and traveller says, "Mudrā is a Sanskrit word which means 'seal'. The designation of the ritual hand-gestures by this word originates from a time, when the priests used to pronounce certain mantras, at the

1. *Four Arts Annual*, 1935.

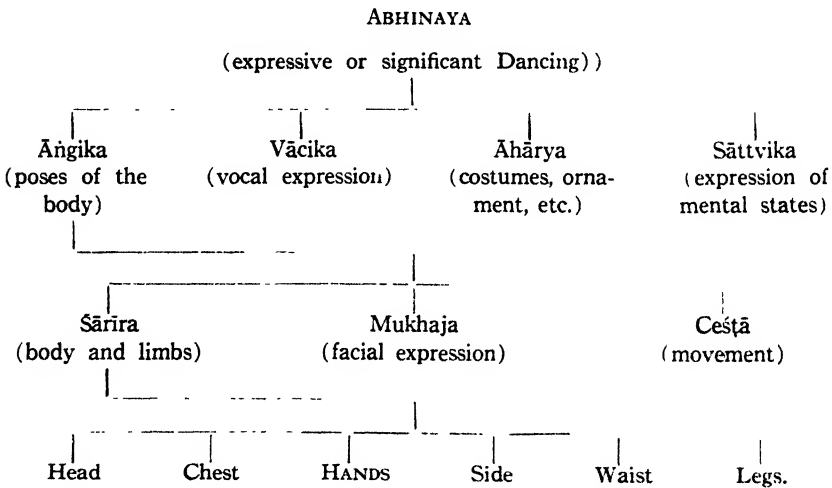
2. This book was published in 1924 by Messrs. Kegan Paul & Co. It has an interesting introduction by A. J. D. CAMPBELL, the assistant keeper of the Indian Section of the V. & A Museum, London.

same time accompanying the sound by imitating the corresponding Sanskrit characters with their fingers, thus *sealing* the magic." Jean PRYZLUSKI writes in his paper on 'Mudrā'.¹ "In Sanskrit the word Mudrā.....has frequently the meaning of 'seal' and describes the actual seal as well as its impressions.....Mudrā means also mode of holding the fingers (in religious worship or magic rites)."

In the light of these remarks, it would be conducive to clear thinking and expression to use the word *Hasta* when we wish to signify a hand pose in dancing.²

HASTAS

We have pointed out in *Tāṇḍava Lakṣaṇam*³ that Bharata deals with the various poses of the hand, as used in classical dancing, under the heading of Śārīra Āṅgika. The following table sets forth the relationship between the Hastas and other elements of significant dancing :



1. *Indian Culture*, Vol. ii, 1936.

2. We may note here that Dr. Ananda K. COOMARASWAMY says, 'The term *Mudrā* (seal) is mainly used in Buddhist Iconography; the term *Hasta* (hand) exclusively in Hindu Iconography.' *Ind. Coll.*, Vol. I, p. 3, f.n.

3. "Bharata discusses Abhinaya under four main heads, namely Āṅgika, Vācika, Āhārya and Sāttvika. The first deals with the poses of the body, and the second with vocal expression; costumes, ornamentation and other adventitious appendages to dancing are dealt with under the third division, and mental states and their expression in the fourth. Āṅgika Abhinaya is divided into Śārīra (that which relates to the body and its limbs), Mukhaja (that which relates to facial expression), and Ceṣṭā (that which relates to movement). Śārīra Āṅgika consists of the poses of the head, chest, *hands*, side, waist, and legs . . ."

—*Tāṇḍava Lakṣaṇam* (by the author of this paper and two others, Madras, 1936), p. 13.

Students of Abhinaya are familiar with the distinction that is usually drawn between *Nāṭya* and *Nṛtta*, the former indicating a dance whose only aim is to expound a definite theme with all its emotive evolutions, the latter signifying a dance which has no such aim, but merely attempts to please the audience by the exquisitely graceful poses executed in the course of the dance. Consistently with this general distinction the *Hastas*, or hand poses are classified into *Nāṭya* and *Nṛtta* Hastas ; the former being subdivided into *Asaṁyuta* (single-handed) and *Saṁyuta* (double-handed) Hastas.

FUNDAMENTAL KARANAS

Before taking up the detailed description of the Hastas, (according to the ninth chapter of the *Nāṭya Śāstra*), we wish to mention the four fundamental hand movements discussed by Bharata Muni. These are *Āveṣṭita*, *Udveṣṭita*, *Vyāvarta* and *Parivarta*. The first of these exquisite poses is performed by folding in slowly and gracefully into the palm the four fingers, commencing with the fore-finger and finishing with the little finger. The definition of this pose makes it plain that the fingers are not to be moved in simultaneously. The movement of each finger follows close on that of the preceding, the time intervals being equal. (Fig. I). In *Udveṣṭita*, the fingers folded in in the first pose, are opened out in the same order. (Fig. II). When the fingers are folded in as in *Āveṣṭita*, but commencing with the little finger and finishing with the fore-finger we have *Vyāvarta* (or *Vyāvrtta*). (Fig. III) : and when the *Vyāvarta* fingers are stretched out in the same order *Parivarta* is performed. (Fig. IV). In these fundamental poses the wrist makes a graceful curve, either inward or outward, as the case may be. Extensive use is made of these four hand poses in several of the Karanas described in the fourth chapter of the *Nāṭya Śāstra*.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE HASTAS

Bharata divides the hand poses used in *Nāṭya* into two distinct groups, namely, those in which only a single hand is used, known as *Asaṁyuta* Hastas, and those in which both hands are used, called *Saṁyuta* Hastas. Twenty-four *Asaṁyuta* Hastas and thirteen *Saṁyuta* Hastas are described in the *Nāṭya Śāstra*. Nandikeśvara's *Abhinaya Darpaṇa* mentions twenty-eight *Asaṁyuta* and twenty-three *Saṁyuta* Hastas. Other minor treatises relating to dancing mention still other figures, but we shall keep to the authentic tradition of the *Nāṭya Śāstra*.¹

1. Dr. Ananda K. COOMARASWAMY in his edition of *Abhinaya Darpaṇam* (Cambridge, Mass. 1917) mentions 28 + 3 *Asaṁyuta* Hastas, and 24 + 3 *Saṁyuta* Hastas ; while Mr. Manomohan GHOSH in the Calcutta (1924) edition of the same work describes 24 + 4 *Asaṁyuta*, and 23 *Saṁyuta* Hastas.

Bharata Saṅgraha (a Telugu work printed in Rajamundry, 1908) mentions 30 *Asaṁyuta* and 24 *Saṁyuta* Hastas.

ASAMYUTA HASTAS

1. PATĀKA. FLAG. Fig. V.

The fingers are erect, stretched out fully, and held close together ; the thumb is bent and rests against the side of the palm as indicated in the figure.

(The *Patāka* pose is so called, because, when the hand with the finger formation, as described above, is bent at an angle of 90° to the fore-arm, we get the appearance of a flag staff with its small flag at the top.

Patāka is the foundation for all the other Asamyuta Hastas).

2. TRIPATĀKA. THREE FINGERS STRETCHED OUT IN PATĀKA. Fig. VI.

The *Patāka* pose is made first and then the ring finger is bent into a graceful curve.

3. KARTARĪ MUKHA. SCISSOR-FACED. Fig. VII.

The fore-finger in the *Tripatāka* pose is pulled back, so that it faces the back of the middle finger.

4. ARDHA CANDRA. HALF MOON. Fig. VIII.

All the fingers (the thumb included) are brought close together and arched gracefully like a bow.

5. ARĀLA. CROOKED. Fig. IX.

The fore-finger is curved like a bow, the thumb is bent and the other fingers are shot up straight.

6. ŚUKATUNḌA. PARROT'S BEAK. Fig. X.

When, in the *Arāla* Hasta, the ring finger is bent like the beak of a parrot, *Śukatunḍa* is formed.

7. MUṢṬI. FIST. Fig. XI.

The fingers are well folded in so that their tips touch the palm with the thumb resting against the closed fingers.

8. ŚIKHARA. CREST. Fig. XII.

The thumb in *Muṣṭi* Hasta is stretched out erect.

9. KAPIDDHA. WOOD APPLE. Fig. XIII.

Śikhara Hasta is formed first, and then the fore-finger is lifted up and placed so that its tip touches the thumb.

10. KHATAKĀ MUKHA. CRAB FACED. Fig. XIV.

When the curved ring finger is lifted up along with the little finger, this pose is formed.

11. SŪCYĀŚYA. NEEDLE FACED. Fig. XV.
The fore-finger is stretched out in *Khaṭakā Mukha*.
12. PADMA KOŚA. LOTUS SHEATH. Fig. XVI.
Make *Sūcyāśya* keeping all the fingers wide apart. Bend the fingers slightly and raise them up again. (In this pose not even the finger tips should touch one another.)
13. SARPA ŚĪRA. SERPENT HEAD. Fig. XVII.
The hand in *Palāka* (Fig. I) is arched with just a slight hollowing of the palm. (This pose is so called because it looks like the hood of a cobra.)
14. MRGA ŚĪRṢA. DEER HEAD. Fig. XVIII.
The three fingers, the fore-finger and the middle and ring fingers, are bent as in *Muṣṭi* (Fig. VII), but the thumb and the little finger are out stretched.
15. KĀNGŪĀ. PLOUGH. Fig. XIX.
The ring finger in *Padmakōśa* is bent, and the little finger is raised up.
16. ALAPADMA. SHAKING LOTUS. Fig. XX.
The fingers are turned askew in the palm without touching one another. (This peculiar skewed movement is to be gone through in such a manner that the finger nails are visible to the audience all the time.)
17. CATURA. FOUR FINGERED. Fig. XXI.
The tips of the thumb and the middle finger are in contact ; the other fingers are stretched out.
18. BHRAṂARA. BEE. Fig. XXII.
The middle finger is curved so that it almost touches the thumb ; the fore-finger is bent ; the two other fingers are stretched out without touching each other.
19. HĀMSĀŚYA. SWAN FACED. Fig. XXIII.
The thumb and the fore-finger touch each other, while the other fingers are stretched out.
20. HĀMSA PAKṢA. SWAN SIDE. Fig. XXIV.
The thumb is bent, the little finger is stretched straight up, and the other fingers are also stretched out.
21. SĀMDĀMSA. TONGS. Fig. XXV.
Make *Arāla* (Fig. V) first, and then let the fore-finger touch the thumb.

22. MUKULA. BUD. Fig. XXVI.

In the *Hamsāsya* pose all the fingers are lifted up, held close to one another so that their tips are brought together.

23. ŪRṆANĀBHA. SPIDER. Fig. XXVII.

The finger should first go through the *Padma Kośa* (Fig. XVI) formation, and then they should be bent.

24. TĀMRA CŪḌA. COCK'S COMB. Fig. XXVIII.

The middle finger is curved so that it touches the thumb, the fore-finger is bent, and the two other fingers are folded in so that they touch the palm.

These are the twenty-four Hastas described in the ninth chapter of the *Nāṭya Śāstra*. The original definitions were, no doubt, framed in such a manner, that each one followed naturally from its predecessor, all of them taking their ultimate origin in *Patāka*. When we remind ourselves that the professional *danseuse* has to commence her training in her very early girlhood, we realise the importance of simple and natural psychological associations for a tender mind attempting to master the difficult technique of the dance. These simple definitions together with the manner of their arrangement, bear eloquent testimony to the nature of the profound insight of Bharata into the structure of the human mind.

SAMYUTA HASTAS

1. AÑJALI. SALUTATION. Fig. XXIX.

The hands are put in *Patāka* (A. H. 1), and are brought together so that the two palms are in complete contact.

2. KAPOṬA. PIGEON. Fig. XXX.

When the *Añjali* pose is opened out below, *Kapoṭa* is formed.

3. KARKAṬA. CRAB. Fig. XXXI.

The fingers of the two hands are interlocked with the thumbs touching each other. The interlocked fingers may face the audience or the *danseuse*.

4. SVASTIKA. X-LIKE. Fig. XXXII.

The two hands in the *Patāka* pose (A. H. 1) are crossed at the wrists.

5. KHAṬAKĀ VARDHAMĀNA. INCREASING. Fig. XXXIII.

The hands in *Khaṭakā Mukha* (A. H. 10) are crossed Swastikawise at the wrists.

6. UTSANĠA. EMBRACING. Fig. XXXIV.

The two hands in the *Mṛga Śirṣa* pose (A. H. 14) are placed so that the right touches the left shoulder-head, the left touches the right shoulder-head.

7. NIṢĀDA. IMPREGNABLE. Fig. XXXV.

The fingers of the right hand in *Mukula* (A. H. 22) are covered by those of the left in *Kapiddha* (A. H. 9).

8. DOLA. SWING.

The two arms are let down loose and free. The fingers already in *Patāka* (A. H. 1) are now released.

9. PUṢPAPUṬA. FLOWER VASE. Fig. XXXVI.

Make *Sarpa Śira* (A. H. 13) of the fingers of the two hands, with the fingers close together ; bring the hands close so that they form a basin.

10. MAKARA. CROCODILE. Fig. XXXVII.

The hands in *Ardha Candra* (A. H. 4) are placed one over the other, the palm facing downwards. The little fingers are moved up and down.

11. GAJADANTA. ELEPHANT'S TRUNK.

The arms are crossed in the middle with the hands in *Sarpa Śira*. (A. H. 13)..

12. AVĀHIDDHA. PIERCING.

First put the hands in *Śukatunḍa* (A. H. 6) bending them with the finger tips pointing towards the chest ; then lower the arms slowly.

13. VARDHAMĀNA. WIDENING.

The hands in *Hamsa Pakṣa* (A. H. 20) are held first with the palms facing downwards, and then upwards.

The thirteen Sarhyuta Hastas described above are merely combinations of the Asarhyuta Hastas. Truly has it been said that the *danseuse* who has mastered the four fundamental Karaṇas and the *Patāka* pose can, without much effort, perform all the Asarhyuta and Sarhyuta Hastas.

article "*the*". Even pronouns other than those of the first and second persons take on these post-positions.

To express the force of the indefinite article '*a*' the same post-positional words are used with *e-* (<*eka*) prefixed. The formation so constructed may be used either *before* or *after* the principal word it qualifies; cf. *ekhan kāpor* or *kāpor ekhan*, a piece of cloth; but *kāpor-khan*, the piece of cloth.

§ 27. The Assamese enclitic definitives are many and various according as they indicate something "broad and flat" "long and flexible" "long and flat" etc.

There are as many as thirteen used in common parlance. The following examples will illustrate the uses of a few :

cālani-khan, the sieve, (something broad and flat).

pāṭ-caṭā, the tablet, (long and flat).

ḍol-gach, the rope, (long and flexible).

kāṭh-ḍāl, the piece of wood (long but round and solid), etc.

They are used also after numerals : *e-khan*, one piece ;

du-caṭā, *ṭini-ḍāl*, etc..... each qualifying something of the nature indicated by the suffix.

§ 28. Most of these post-positional suffixes may be traced to Aryan sources. But the idiom of using them as definitives as in the above expressions is un-Aryan. The enclitic numeratives constitute a characteristic both of the Tibeto-Burman and the Austric languages. In the Tibeto-Burman languages generic *prefixes* are commonly used with numerals which *follow* the nouns. They are many and various according as they qualify "*flat*" or "*globular*" things, things standing as trees, etc..... (*LSI*. vol. iii. part ii. p. 385). But the aboriginal dialects of the Malay Peninsula often *annex* to their numerals certain words which roughly express the genius or some general characteristic of the things enumerated. The numeral and this numerical co-efficient then go closely together and form an inseparable word-group which may either *follow* or *precede* the substantives that represent the things enumerated. (BLAGDEN : vol. ii, p. 775.)

§ 29. Assamese *affixes* the co-efficient to the numerals like Austric and does not *prefix* unlike Tibeto-Burman. The suffixed numeral either *follows* or *precedes* the substantive as in Austric and does not follow it unlike as in Tibeto-Burman : e.g. *du-caṭā kāṭh*, two pieces of wood : *kāṭh du-caṭā*, two pieces of wood or *the* two pieces of wood, according to the context. But Tibeto-Burman influences may be suspected in the varied nature of the definitives according as the objects qualified are 'flat', 'round', 'broad' etc.

§ 30. The idiomatic parallels and other points of contact noted in the above sections only heighten the suspicion raised in § 17. At the present state of our knowledge about the interaction of the Aryan and non-Aryan languages nothing more definite may be hazarded.

PŪRṆAGIRI AND UDDIYANA

By

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

According to some Hindu and the Buddhist Tantras, Kāmarūpa, Pūrṇagiri Uḍḍiyāna or Uḍḍiyāna and Jalandhara are the four *pīṭhas* or sacred centres of importance. But according to the *Sādhana-māla* (Gaekwad Series) Kāmākhyā, Śrīhaṭṭa, Pūrṇagiri and Uḍḍiyāna are the four sacred spots of the Vajrayānists. Of these Kāmākhyā is the same as Kāmarūpa in Assam. Śrīhaṭṭa is the district of Sylhet, formerly in Bengal, but now in Assam. Jalandhara is too well-known. But Pūrṇagiri and Uḍḍiyāna have not yet been satisfactorily identified. We shall, in the present note, try to give some new light towards their location.

1. PŪRṆAGIRI

Dr. P. C. BAGCHI says that 'Pūrṇagiri has not yet been definitely identified.' (*JHQ.* VII. p. 5). Dr. Benoytosh BHATTACHARYYA says, that 'Pūrṇagiri is sometimes identified with modern Poona but this is very doubtful, though at this stage it is extremely difficult for any new identification.' (*Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 744). Dr. BAGCHI in his edition of the *Kaulajñāna-Nirṇaya* of Matsyendranātha (Calcutta Sanskrit Series No III), has appended a copy of the *Nityāhnikā-tīlakam*, which says that Pūrṇagiri-*pīṭha* was in Dāhala country, as,

"Pūrṇagiri-*pīṭhe* Dāhala-deśe janma. Jāti Kṣātriya. Śrī-Udayarāja-nāma. Divya-*pīṭhāśramas-tasya* caryā-nāma Śrī-Pīṭhyatīśadevaḥ. Pūjā-nāma Śrī-Padmānandanāthah. Gupta-nāma Śrī-Ātmānandanāthah. Kīrti-nāma Vibhīṣaṇa-*ānugṛhītas-tadā* Śrī-Laṅkānandanāthah. Asy-aiṅva śaktiḥ Śrī-Padmāmbāpāpū." (Introduction, p. 68.)

Dāhala was the well-known kingdom in Central India ruled by the Kalachuris (Chedis). In the *Kālikāpurāṇa* (ch. 64, v. 46). Pūrṇasaila has been placed in the south, probably of Kāmarūpa. The *Purāṇa* enjoins that god Pūrṇanātha and the goddesses Sarojā, Śāntā and Damanidevī are to be worshipped here. This last-named may have some connection with the name of Damch of the district of same name in C.P., which in the fifteenth century inscription was called Damanakapura. (*Dāmcha-dīpaka*, p. 85.)

It is interesting to note that this ascetic from Dāhala, in Central India, should be favoured by Vibhīṣaṇa, (probably a general name for the king of Laṅkā) and come to be reputed to be known by the name of Laṅkānandanātha. Can it be that there was a Laṅkā in Central India, as discussed by us in the note 'SĪMHALA IN CENTRAL INDIA' (*NIA.* I. 463) ?

2. Uḍḍiyāna.

Uḍḍiyāna is also spelt as Oḍḍiyāna, Oḍyāna and Oḍryāna. L. A. WADDEL identified this with Udyāna in the Swat valley. M. Syl'van LÉVI places this in Kashgarh. Mm. H. P. SHASTRI definitely places it in Orissa. Dr. Benoytosh BHATTACHARYA is in favour of placing it in Bengal, in the Western part of Assam, (*IHQ.*, Vol. III, pp. 744-6). Dr. BAGCHI supports WADDEL (*Ibid*, Vol. VII, p. 5).

If Uḍḍiyāna was really outside India, this location must have been long forgotten. The Kumārikā-Khaṇḍa, embedded in the Māheśvarakhaṇḍa of the *Skanda-purāṇa* (ch. 39, v. 133) names it as one of the seventy-two provinces forming Bhāratavarṣa (India). It comprised nine *lākhs* of villages. According to the *Pag Sam Jon Zan* it contained five *lākhs* of towns. (WADDEL, *Lumaism*, p. 182; *IHQ.* Vol. III, p. 745). Both Sambhala and Laṅkāpurī lay in it. We have shown that both these places were in Central India (*NIA.* I. 463).

According to the *Nityāhnuka-tīlakam* (p. 68), referred to above, Oḍḍa-pīṭha was in Puṇḍravardhana of Gauḍa, as,

“Oḍḍa-pīṭhe Gauḍa Śrī-Paundravarddhānapaṭane janma. Jāti-Brāhmaṇaḥ. Sāmavedī Trivikramo-nāma. Tasya caryā-nāma Śrī-Bhaira-viśanāthaḥ. Kīrti-nāma Kaṇṇakubje dvādaśa-dinānyarkva sthīrikṛtas-tena Vyomānandanāthaḥ. Kaulam-udyotitam tadā Śrī-Uḍḍānandanāthaḥ. Arka-kiraṇāvalī ācchāditā Śrī-Kiraṇānandanāthaḥ. Asy-aiva śaktiḥ Śrī-Gaṇāmbā Śrī-Vaṭulāmbā pāpū.”

The date of copy of this manuscript is 515 N.S. = 1395 A.D. [H. P. SHASTRI'S *Nepal Catalogues* (I. pp. 111-12; II. pp. 70 and 82)]. This Oḍḍa-pīṭha seems to be the same as the Oḍḍiyāna or Uḍḍiyāna-pīṭha. If so, this goes to support the conjecture of Dr. B. BHATTACHARYA. But in the *Skandapurāṇa*, Gauḍa has been mentioned as a separate country from Uḍḍiyāna.

According to the *Kālikāpurāṇa* (ch. 64, vv. 43-44) Odra Jāla-saila, Pūrṇa-saila and Kāmarūpa are the four principal *pīṭhas* of Devī. Odra has been placed in the west, apparently of Kāmarūpa. Here Oḍreśvari-Kātyāyanī and Oḍreśa-Jagannātha are to be worshipped, as,

“Oḍrākhyam prathamam pīṭham dvitīyam Jāla-sailakam |
Trītiyam Pūrṇapīṭham-tu Kāmarūpam caturthakam ||
Oḍrapīṭham paścime tu tath-aiv-Oḍreśvarim Śivam |
Kātyāyanim Jagannātham-Oḍreśaṇ-ca prapūjayet ||

Jāla-saila and Pūrṇapīṭha are no doubt the same as Jālandhara and Pūrṇagiri respectively. Oḍrapīṭha, therefore is identical with Oḍḍiyāna. This Odra again is the same as Orissa. This goes to support the view of Mm. H. P. SHASTRI, but this identification may be due to the confusion arising out of the similarity of names.

The *Kālikāpurāṇa*, as has been shown by Mr. P. K. GODE is earlier than Nānyadeva of Mithilā (1097 A.D.) [*JORS*. Vol. X (1936) p. 293]. There is a MS of this in the Sanskrit College Library, Calcutta, which was copied in Nepal Samvat 'yuga kha sva-nayana' i.e. 204 N.S.=1084 A.D. (*Des. Cat. of Sans. MSS*, Vol. IV, No. 13). So this identification is as old as 1000 A.D. at least. But all are unanimous in placing it in India.

It may be pointed out here that at least four countries in India, well-known for Tantricism, viz., Assam, Bengal, Orissa and C.P. claim Oḍḍiyāna-*pīṭha*. It may be that none of them is original Oḍḍiyāna, which was somewhere outside India and was for want of communication long forgotten. So the Tāntrikas set up this important *pīṭha* in different places to suit their purposes.

[The Editors regret to have to announce the death of Mr. GHOSH which took place early in October this year. A biographical note will appear in one of the subsequent issues of the *NIA*.--S. M. K.]

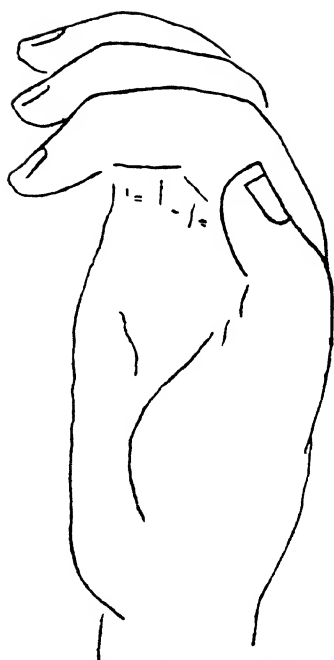


FIG. XVII. Sarpa Śira.

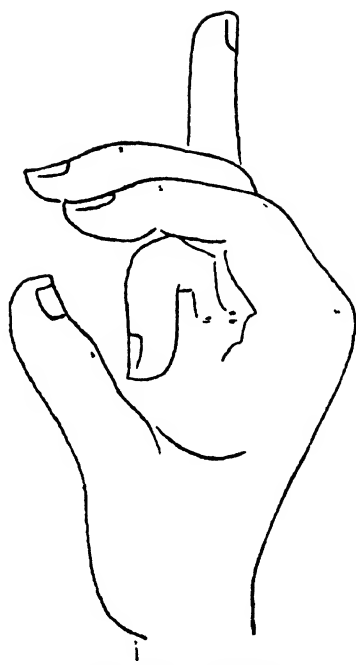


FIG. XIX. Kāṅgūla.

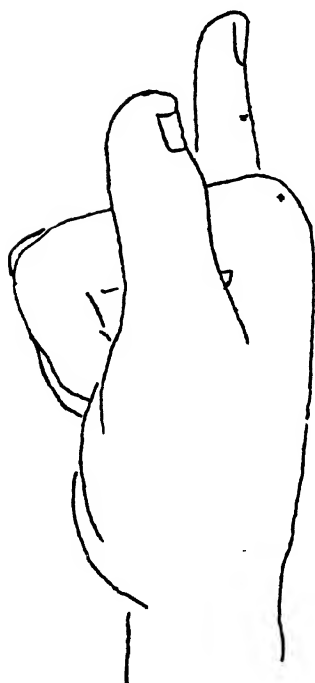


FIG. XVIII. Mṛga Śirṣa.

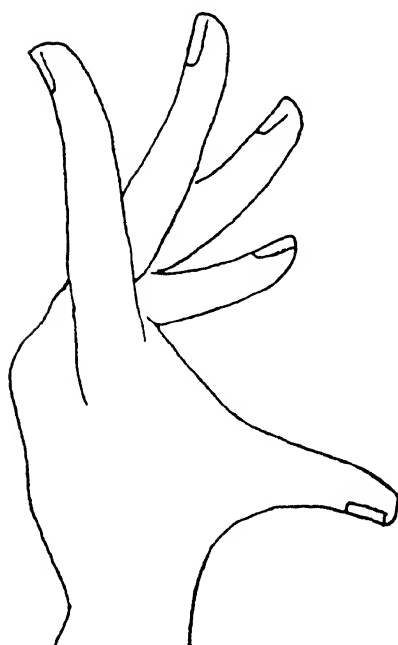


FIG. XX. Alapadma.

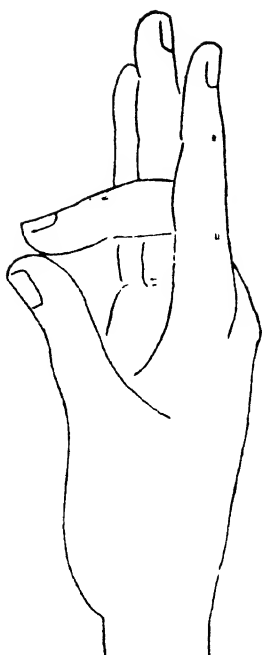


FIG. XXI. Catura.

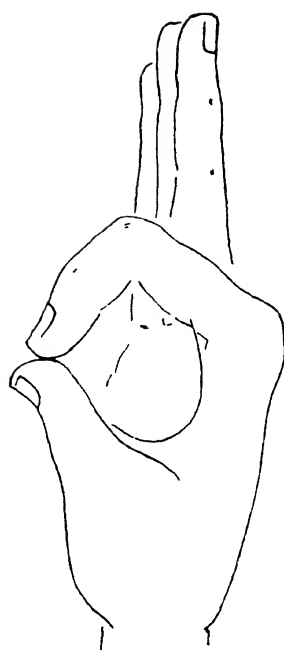


FIG XXIII. Hamsāsya.

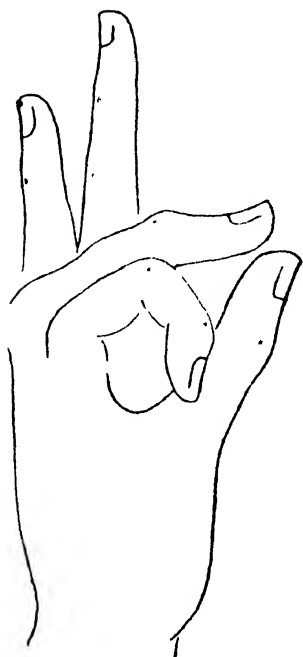


FIG. XXII. Bhramara.

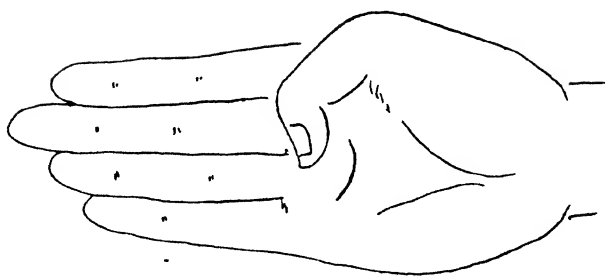


FIG. XXIV. Hanṣa Pakṣa.

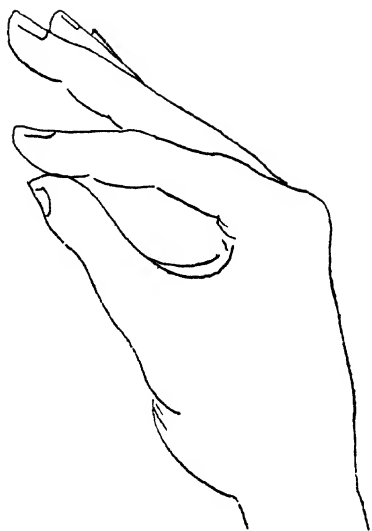


FIG. XXV. Sarindarsa.



FIG. XXVII. Ornabha.



FIG. XXVI. Mukula.

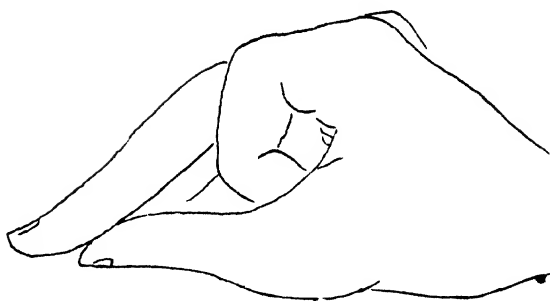


FIG. XXVIII. Tāmra Cūḍa.

SĀMYUTA HASTAS

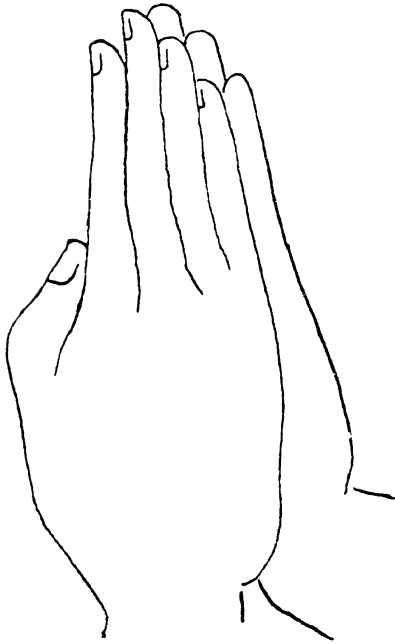


FIG. XXIX. Añjali.

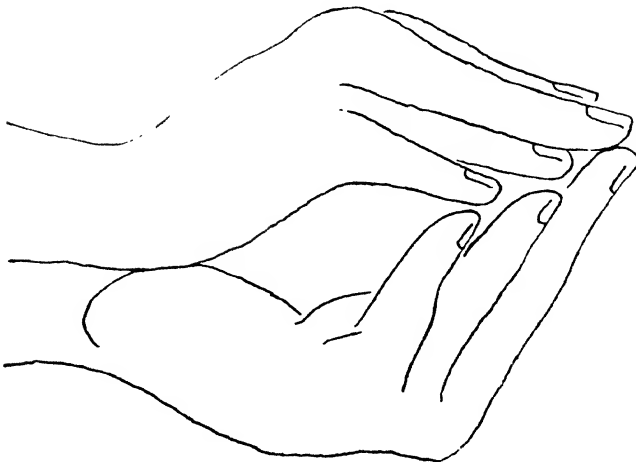


FIG. XXX. Kapoṭa.



FIG. XXXI. Karkāṭa.

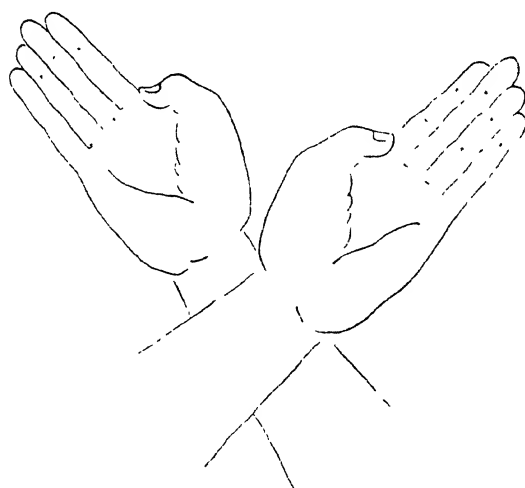


FIG. XXXII. Svastika.

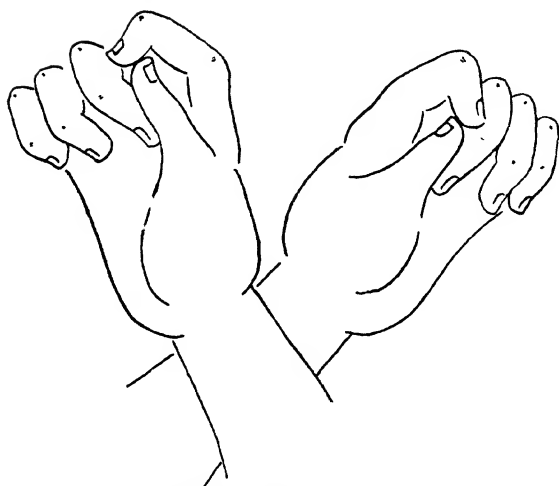


FIG. XXXIII. Khaṭakā Vardhamāna.

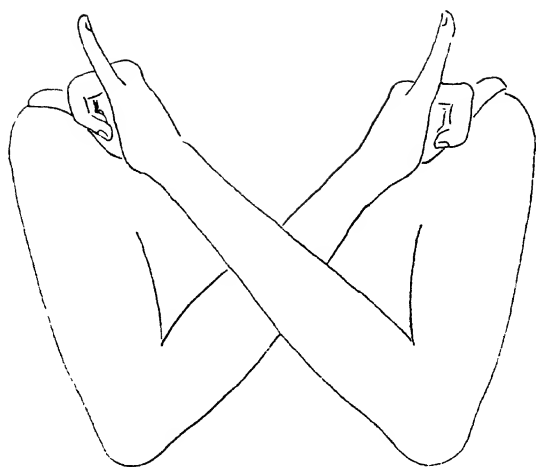


FIG. XXXIV. Utsaṅga.



FIG. XXXV. Niṣāda.

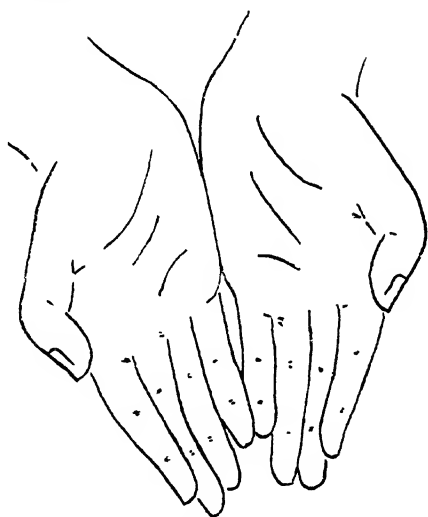


FIG. XXXVI. Puṣpapuṭa.

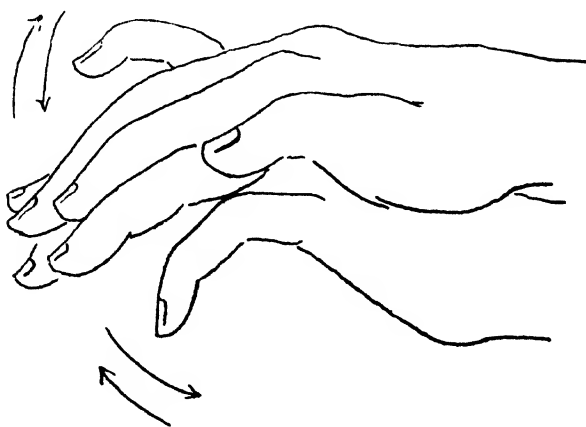


FIG. XXXVII. Mahara.

THE BRAHMĪ INSCRIPTIONS OF SOUTH INDIA

By

C. NARAYANA RAO

Certain Brāhmī inscriptions were brought to light in 1912 in the Pāṇḍya country and referred to in the Epigraphical Report for the Southern Circle in that year. Attention was drawn to them in the Reports for 1915 and 1918. Rao Sahib H. KRISHNA SASTRI, the then Epigraphist, read a paper on them at the first All-India Oriental Conference held at Poona in 1919. Mr. K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR again read a paper on the same subject at the third session of the Conference held at Madras in 1924. Both papers attempted to conjecture the meaning of these epigraphs. But the attempts were vitiated by two factors : (i.) Certain letters in the epigraphs could not be properly deciphered on account of their non-occurrence in other Brāhmī writings ; (ii.) Both of them assumed that there were some Tamil words occurring in them.

Mr. KRISHNA SASTRI's readings varied from time to time. For example, in the Report for 1915, he read the Śittaṇṇavāśal inscription as .

e ō mi ṭ (u) ku mu ṭh(ū) (ū) ra (?)
pi jū na tā kā v(u) ṭ((ī) ī tē nā ku chi
ṭū pō (chi) la ṭl(ā) gha(?) ra chē(gha) ?
t(ō) a (su)(?) ṭa na nā ma.

while he changed it in his paper at the Oriental Conference into :

e u mi nā ṭ(u) ku mu ṭṭha (ū)ra
pi dā no tā kā vu ṭi ī tē nā ku
chi tū pō chi la ī lā ya ra chē ya
tō a ti ṭa a nā ma.

The same is read by Mr. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR as :

Ē ōmi nāṭu Kumathūr piRāntā Kāvudī
Itṭeṇ ku Ciṭupōcil ilāyar cēytā atithanam.

Similarly, there are uncertainties with regard to certain letters in the other inscriptions. Mr. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR has brought about greater confusion by giving unknown values to certain letters on account of his preconceived notion that they are Tamil inscriptions. This untenable hypothesis about their Tamil character has made Mr. AIYAR to proceed further and make all sorts of changes in the readings to suit his theory. Mr. KRISHNA SASTRI also was not free from this bias and he made the whole lot of the inscriptions a jumble of Prākṛt and Tamil forms.

To my mind, the records appear to be Prākṛtic. There is no warrant for assigning such an early date as the third century B.C. for any Tamil in-

scription. To distort the reading of extant records to fit in them up-to date modern Tamil forms in records of the third century B.C. is, I beg to submit, to put the unwary on the wrong track.

I do not pretend to be so positive about the interpretation of these records and where two epigraphists like Messrs. KRISHNA SASTRI and SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR differ so widely, it may seem unwise to step in. Yet, I shall try to give my interpretation of the records on the supposition that, because they are in Brāhmī characters and all contemporary Brāhmī inscriptions contain Prākṛt records, these also may be only Prākṛt records. Scholars may accept my interpretation for what it is worth.

Before proceeding to interpret the records, it is pertinent to allude to the general features of the sounds recorded by the letters of the epigraphs. Mr. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR has summarised them and I shall give them below with such remarks on them as are necessary.

(1) "The *varga-prathama's* have been generally used." But see Āṇaimalai inscription—third letter 'je'; 5th letter 'du'; TirupparankunRam inscription. A seventh letter 'ja'; Arittānapaṭṭi inscription A. thirteenth letter 'dha'; D & E. 4th letter 'dhi'; Siddharmalai inscription G. 'Dhi'. These are the only places where *varga-tṛtīya's* occur, but Messrs. SASTRI and AIYAR differ at these places. What Mr. SASTRI reads as 'je' in the Āṇaimalai inscription, Mr. AIYAR reads as 'ku' (!) and 'ja' of Mr. SASTRI in the TirupparankunRam record is read as 'ja' by Mr. AIYAR (!). The 'dhi' of the Siddharmalai record G. is read as 'ti' by Mr. SASTRI himself in his original reading as given in the epigraphical report for 1915. What Mr. SASTRI reads as 'da' and 'ḍai' Mr. AIYAR reads as cerebral 'Ra' and 'Rai' but leaves it as 'du' in certain other places. Thus, there is great uncertainty with regard to the reading of these letters and it seems better to stick to the 'surd' readings until paleographers come to an agreement on this point.

(2) "The Soft consonants, i.e., the *Varga-tṛtīya's* are conspicuous by their absence."

This is true, but in spite of this remark Mr. AIYAR leaves 'ja' and 'da' unaltered. See remarks on (1).

(3) "ś and ṣ are not met with, though 's' is occasionally found."

's' occurs eight times in these inscriptions. Samskrit 'sa' is represented in these records by 'ca' 'ya' and 'a' except when it is not changed as in the eight places mentioned. I consider this 'ca' from Skt. 'sa' as having a dental affricate value as in Telugu, Marathi and some other modern Indian languages.

(4) "The lingual 'l' occurs frequently."

l and ɭ occur with equal frequency; each of them occurs eight times.

(5) "Almost all the vowels with the exception of aī, au, ɾ ī, aṁ, aḥ are represented." But Mr. AIYAR allows some 'ai's in his readings.

(6) "In the case of combined consonants, the occurrence of short 'ē' and short 'ō' deserve special mention, the two being the special characteristics of the Dravidian alphabets."

Short 'ē' and short 'ō' are not special to the Dravidian languages. They are found in the Prākṛts also. All Prākṛt grammarians are agreed especially on their occurrence before conjunct consonants.

(7) "The aspirates are seldom used : the only two letters that are met with are 'ṭha' and 'ḍha'."

Messrs. SASTRI and AIYAR differ as regards 'ḍha'.

(8) "Some symbols which are never found used in the contemporary Aśōkan edicts are here employed and the sounds which they represent remain to be determined. This is a factor which at once points out that the language employed in the inscriptions contains in it sounds that could not be represented by the symbols extant in the Aśōkan code."

Mr. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR is not sure about what he says in this regard, for he mentions six symbols $\dagger, \text{f}, \text{g}, \text{fi}, \text{z}, \text{y}$, as being peculiar to the pre-

sent epigraphs, but admits the presence of all of them except z in other

Brāhmī records. He does not mention what is the peculiarity about z . It does occur in some other Brāhmī records. So the only letter that admits of

any doubt is fi which Mr. SASTRI reads as 'ḍa' or 'ḍai' but Mr. AIYAR would have it read as the Dravidian *lingual* R to suit his theory of the Tamil nature of the records. To my mind, the letter seems to represent 'ṭṭ' for no part of the letter resembles Brāhmī 'ḍa' and *varga-ṭṭiya*'s are absent in these records, while the suggestion of a cerebral 'R' value to it is unwarranted.

The peculiarities of the alphabet presented in the epigraphs under discussion have led Mr. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR to think of Tamil as their language. But if we remember that the same peculiarities characterize the Paiśāci Prākṛt, we should be under no doubt as to the language which these writings register.

I proceed to attempt an interpretation of the records. I take them in the order given by Mr. KRISHNA SASTRI in his paper read before the first All India Oriental Conference :

1. Marugāltalai Inscription :

vē ṇa kō(ki) si pā nā
ku ṭu pi tā k(ā) (ḷa) kā na
cha ṇa ma.

Mr. KRISHNA SASTRI'S remarks on this are : "The word 'kōsipāna', if it has been read correctly, may be compared with the Skt. 'Kāśyapānām', and

'kuṭupitā', which often occurs in these inscriptions, with the Tamil 'Koṭṭuvittān' "caused to be cut", cf. also CHILDERS : koṭṭēti".

Mr. SASTRI is not sure about the reading 'kō'. The equation 'kuṭupitā = Tamil 'koṭṭuvittān' is gratuitous, especially as he himself recognizes the existence of the Pāli root 'koṭṭēti' in the same sense. There is no warrant for supposing that final 'na' is omitted in 'kuṭupitā'.

Mr. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR'S emendation is—

Vēṇ Kōsipān kuṭupitā kālakañcanam.

This is based on the supposition that 'na' in the epigraphs is a basic letter to suit the Tamil approach to its interpretation. There are certain other suppositions made by him. 'Vēṇa' is emended into 'vēṇ' and is identified with a territorial division now represented by the Travancore State. There is no authority for the statement that the Travancore State was ever called 'Vēṇ'. The equation 'Vēṇ = "Vēl"' is equally unacceptable. The emendation of 'kōsipāna' into 'kōsipān' is also not proper. The existence of 'an' as the ending of masculine nouns is a later phenomenon in Tamil, says CALDWELL. The insertion of 'n' after 'kutupitā' is equally unwarranted. 'p' is a causal particle both in the Dravidian and the Sanskrit languages. As for 'kālakañcanam', MONIER WILLIAMS' remark that Hēmādrī uses this word to denote 'a particular form of building' in the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* is the only one that is applicable to this record.

My Interpretation.

If the third letter is to be read as 'kō' the record has to be read as : 'vēṇa kōsipāna kutupitā kālakañcanam'

vēṇa = Vaiśyānām ; vaiśya = vēssa = vēyya = vēya = vē ; '-na' = Skt. gen. pl. suffix 'nām' as in Prākṛt ; Kōsipāna = Kāśyapānām ; Kuṭupitā = Kuṭāpitā, 'caused to be cut' ; 'kālakañcanam', 'a particular form of building' ; 'kuṭāpitā' is a past passive causal participle agreeing with 'kālakañcanam' ; the difference in gender between the adjective and the noun need not give trouble. The agreement between the adjective and the noun is not strictly followed in the Prākṛts.

Meaning : "The 'kālakañcanam' or building caused to be cut for (or by or belonging to) the people, the Kāśyapas."

If the third letter is to be read as 'ki', as Mr. KRISHNA SASTRI suggests, it should be read as :

"vēṇākī sipāna kuṭupitā kālakañcanam"

vēṇākī = Skt. Vaināyākī, i.e. a woman follower of the Vinaya or Buddhist doctrine ; sipāna = Skt. silpānām, 'belonging to the sect of the silpīns or architects or artisans.

Meaning : The 'kālakañcanam' or building caused to be cut or built by a woman-follower of the Buddhist Vinaya doctrine, (or a woman whose personal name was 'Vēṇākī' or 'Vaināyākī').

This second meaning seems to me more probable.

II. *Aṇaimalai Inscription.*

Mr. KRISHNA SASTRI'S reading :—

- (1) i va(m) je nā ḍu tū u
ḍai yu ḷ(a) p(ā) ta na tā nā ē
ri ā ri ta nā
- (2) a tā tu vā yi a ra ṭam
ṭha kā yi pā nā.

Mr. KRISHNA SASTRI'S remarks on this are :

'Ivaṃje nāḍu' is the name of a country; 'uḍaiyu' = uḍaiyan (Tamil word); 'ēri' a tank (Tamil word); 'aritanā = Haritānām; 'tātuvāyi' a weaver. Mr. SASTRI is not sure about *ḍu* and *ḍai*. Of 'ḷ' he says that it is broader than in the ancient inscriptions of Ceylon. He sees a clear dot after 'ta' in 'ta tu vā yi a'. 'pā' in line 2, he says, may also be possibly read as 'pō'.

Mr. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR'S emendation is :

Iva kunrātū urai yuḷnātan-a tāna
Eri Aritan Attuvāyi Araṭṭha Kāyipān.

In this Mr. KRISHNA SASTRI'S (*m*) disappears; 'je' becomes 'ku' (why?); 'ḍu' becomes cerebral 'Rai'; he is not sure whether 'y' should go with 'urai' or 'yuḷnātan'; (pā) becomes 'n'; 'tānā' becomes 'tāna'; 'atātuvāyi' becomes 'attuvāyi'. All the '*na*'s are given a basic value. He slurs over the meaning of 'ai' in his own reading 'urai'. He sees in this record the Tamil pronoun 'iva' = these.

My interpretation will be based on the following grouping of the letters in the record :

Ivaku—nāṭṭu—tū Uṭṭuyula—pōtana—tānā
Ēri'āritanā Atāntuvāyi 'a—raṭṭha—Kāyipānā.

I accept the dropping of 'm' after 'Iva' which Mr. KRISHNA SASTRI himself thinks as doubtful. I also accept the change of 'je' into 'ku' for no other reason than that it does not make much difference because it occurs in a proper name, though what exactly the letter is has yet to be determined. I would read as 'ṭṭu' what Messrs. SASTRI and AIYAR have read as 'ḍu, (ḍai)' and 'Ru (Rai)' respectively. I do not expect 'ḍ' in these records. I reject the reading 'R' as highly improbable. 'Nāḍu' = country, need not be considered a Dravidian word. It is derived from the Skt. root 'naṭ' to wander. -'tū' in 'Nāṭṭu-tū' stands for Skt. —'taḥ' from; 'pōtana' stands for 'putrāṇām' or 'pautrāṇām'; 'tānā' for 'dānam'; 'Ēri'āritanā' for "Airāvatanām"; 'raṭṭha' for 'rāṣṭra'; and 'Kāyaipānā' for 'Kāśyapānām'. The meaning of the epigraph will be : 'The gift(s) of the sons (grandsons?) of Uṭṭuyula belonging to the Airāvata sub-sect of the Kāśyapas of the Atāntuvayika-rāṣṭra, and (who had come) from Ivaku-nāḍu'.

III. *TirupparankunRam Inscriptions.*

Mr. KRISHNA SASTRI's reading :

(A) Ê ru k(ō) (tu ra) i jaṃ
ku tu ma (pi ka) nā pō
lā l(ai) ya nā.

(B) ch(ē) ya tā ā ya cha
ya nā nai tu ch(ā) ta nā.

His remarks : 'Ērukōṭūra' is a place-name ; 'kuṭumapika' is 'kuṭum-pika', Skt. 'Kuṭumbika', a husbandman. No remarks are offered on (B) ;—Mr. SASTRI is not sure about the letter 'jaṃ' ; it has slight similarity with the Khāsi Aśōkan 'ja' given by BÜHLER ; it is somewhat like the modern Tamil 'ja',—the letters given as 'ya' in (B) are peculiar, the reading is tentative ;—'cha' resembles the 'cha' of the Bhaṭṭiprōle inscription.

Mr. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR's emendation :

Ēru kōṭūr Īla-kuṭumpikan
Ceytā a Ācyan Neḍu—Cātan.

'jaṃ' is changed to 'ja' ;—'pōlālaiyanā' is omitted in the reading but explained in the note :—'naitu' changed to 'neḍu'.

Meaning : "Pōlālaiyan, a husbandman of Ceylon (and a resident) of Ērukōṭūr (caused to be cut) and 'Āchyan Neḍun Chāttan made (it)."

My reading.

(A) Ērukōṭūra Īla—kutumpikanā pōlālaiyanā

(B) Cēyatā'āya-cayanā neṭu cātanā.

Skt. Ēru koṭūra Siṃhaḷa—kuṭumbikānām Pōlāl—āryanām
caitya-cayānām niṣṭhā caityānām."

'pōlāsa' in *Uvāvagadasāo* occurs as the name of a town ; 'pōlāsāḍha' in the *Abhidhānarājendra* occurs as the name of a garden.

Meaning : The establishment of Caityas and groups of Caityas of (to, by) the citizens of Pōlāl, the dwellers of Ceylon, of Ērukōṭūra.

IV. *Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi Inscriptions.*

Mr. KRISHNA SASTRI's readings :

(A) Kā ṇi ya n(ā) na tā si
ri ya ku a nā dha mā ma
i tā ṇa ṭi ṇa chā ṭṭhi ya
nā sā i (ā) kā nā i lā ṇa
chā ṭi kā nā tā na tai ya
chā ṭi kā nā chē i yā pā
li ya.

Remarks by Mr. KRISHNA SASTRI : There is a vertical stroke attached to 'ṇa' (second letter) at the bottom like the medial u-sign ; length of 'nā'

in all these inscriptions is of the Bhaṭṭiprōlu type :—‘ chaṭṭhiyānā ’ and ‘ chā-ṭikānā ’ are variants. ‘ Chē’iyā ’ = “ Chaityāni (?) ” ; Pāliya=Pālya (?) ;—‘ Siriyaka, Siriyaku, Yakāsōtikā ” contain the word yaka = Yaksha. See also ‘ yakānā ’ C. Below.—He does not give his interpretation of the whole.

Mr. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR’S emendation :

“ Kāṇiyan Natā Siri yaku’an dhamām ita
Naṭiñ—Cāriyan Sālākān Iḷān—Cārikān
tāntaiy Cārikān Ceiya Pāliya.”

‘ ṭṭhi ’ is changed to ‘ ri ’ ; ‘ ṭi ’ is changed to ‘ ri ’ ; ‘ i ’ ā ’ is changed to ‘ lā ’ ;—basic values are given to ‘ na ’ and ‘ ya ’ as in the rest.—He equates ‘ ita ’ with ‘ ida ’, modern Tamil ‘ idu ’, this ; ‘ tāntaiy ’ with ‘ tandeī ’, father ; ‘ sālākān ’ with ‘ Syālaka ’, brother-in-law, or ‘ Śālikā ’, an apartment. a room :—he also brings in a ‘ mākan ’ perhaps ‘ son ’, which occurs elsewhere. The meaning he gives to the passage is :

“ This is the charity of the glorious chief Śrī-yakṣa *karāṇi* (by caste). This stone-excavation for a relic-chamber was made by Cārikaṇ, the father of Iḷān-Cārikaṇ and the brother-in-law of Nēḍuñ-Cāriyan.”

My Reading.

kāṇiyanā natā siri-yaku’anā dhamāma ;
itā naṭiña cāṭṭhiyanā sā’i’ākānā Iḷāna
cāṭikānā tāna-taiya ; cāṭikānā cē’iya
pāliya.

Skt. gaṇakānām nāthā(nām) Śrī-yakṣāṇām dharmam ;
idha (Pāli ‘ here ’) (itaḥ) nartinām sārthavāhakānām
Simhaḷānām śrēṣṭhikānām dāna-dēyam ;
śrēṣṭhikānām caitya-pālikā.

“ The gift of the prosperous *yakṣas*, the accountants? the gift of the *Śrēṣṭhins* or chiefs of the wandering traders of Ceylon who have camped here ; the ‘ caitya-pālikā ’ or relic-monastery of (built by) the merchant-chiefs.”

‘ nata ’ may be a scribal error for ‘ nōtā ’=Skt. snuṣā=daughter-in-law ; see (B) below for ‘ nōtā ’.

MR. KRISHNA SASTRI’S readings :

- (B) Ka (ra) ṇi ra n(ō) tā si ri ya ka (rū)
- (C) cā na tā ri tā na ko ṭu pi tō nā
- (D) (V)e ḷa a ḍai ni kā mā tō ra kō ṭi (ō rā)
- (E) (Ve ḷa (a) ḍai ya ni kā mā t(ā) kō
(pō) ti ra (ya) kā si ti kā a (ri tē) a
sā tā nā pi ṇā ka ko ṭu pi tō nā

Remarks : In ‘ veḷa ’ adaiyanikāmā ’ the ‘ y ’ after ‘ ai ’ is superfluous, and occurs frequently in Tamil inscriptions after syllables ending in medial ‘ ai ’. ‘ koṭūpitōnā ’ is from the root *ekoṭu*. ‘ nōtāsiriya ’ and ‘ natāsiriya ’ are variants.—There seem to be three dots before ‘ cha ’ after ‘ siri-

yakaru' in (B), but it is highly doubtful if they are to be taken so. 'a' and 'ra' at the end of (D) are engraved so close to each other that they may also be read as a broadly formed 'la', (but the text gives 'o' and not 'a'.) No interpretation is attempted.

Mr. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR'S emendation :

- (B) Karaṇira nōtā Siri yakaru
- (C) Cānatāritān koṭupitōn
- (D) Veḷ aḍai nikāmatōr koṭi'ōr
- (E) Veḷ aḍaiy nikāmatākō potir yakāsiti
kā'arītāva Sātān Piṇāka koṭupitōn

Meaning of (B) and (C)—“Caused to be excavated by the glorious chief Yakan Cānatāritān, a 'karaṇi' (by caste.)”

(D) “The citizens (or merchants) of Veḷḷaḍai cut it.”

(E) “Yakāsiti, the daughter of a citizen of Veḷḷaḍai caused to be made (this cave) and Sātān Piṇakkan had it cut.”

This interpretation of Mr. AIYAR is on the same footing as the one given by him for (A) above.

My reading.

- (B) karaṇira n(ō)ta siri-yaka-(rā)
- (C) cāna tāritāna koṭupitōnā
- (D) Veḷa-aṭṭaya nikāmatākō (pō)tira (ya)kāsiṭi kā'a(ritē)'a
sātānā piṇāka kotūpitōnā

Notes : Karaṇira (karaṇa and -ira) where 'karaṇa' has in Prākṛt the meanings 'kṛti, kriyā, vidhāna' (*Ṭhāṇaṅgasutta* 3.1; *Surasur.daricaria* 4.24); or 'a court of justice' (*Upadēśapada*, 117); or 'one who does' (*Kumārāpālacārīta*); any of these meanings suits here. '-ira' is a 'matuṣ' suffix meaning 'having'. '-nōtā' is from Skt. 'snuṣā'; 'son's wife'; 'nōha' in Mahārāṣṭri Prākṛt.—'nōtā', as Mr. KRISHNA SASTRI suggests, may be a variant of 'nāta', Skt. 'nātha'. 'Siriya', Skt. 'Sri-yakṣa'—'rācina', Skt. 'rājñām', of kings, 'tāritānā' Skt. dāritānām or daridrānām, 'of those which have been excavated,' 'of the poor.'—'koṭupitōnā'=Skt. Kuṭṭāpitānām, 'of those which have been cut.'—'veḷa' may be connected with the Prākṛt 'veḷla' Skt. 'vilāsa', pleasure; or 'vē'ala'a, Skt. 'vidāraka', an excavator (*Sūtra-kṛtāṅgoniryukti*, 36), or Skt. 'vaikālika', 'belonging to the afternoon.' (*Daśa-vaikālikaniryukti*, 1.5 : 2.17):—'attāya', Skt. 'arthāya', for the purpose of—'nikāmatā', a collection of *Naigamas* or congregations of merchant guilds.—'kō', Skt. 'kṛtē', 'for the purpose of.' '-tā' is a suffix giving the meaning of 'a collection or congregation'—'pōtira', Skt. 'putrī', or 'pautrī', daughter or grand-daughter. 'Yakasiti' may be a proper name or a common name from Skt. Yakṣa-strī, a Yakṣiṇī or a merchant woman (cf. 'Yakṣa', who is always referred to as a merchant.) 'kā'aritē'ā', Skt. 'kāritavati'. 'sātānām', Skt. 'sārthavāhānam' 'for wander-

ing merchants,'—'piṇāka', Skt. 'vināyaka', (Vinayakī) a 'yakṣa', 'yakṣiṇī', (*Paumacaria*, 35, 22); 'koṭūpitōnā', Skt. kuṭṭāpitānām'. (I do not accept the sonant 'ḍ' in these records, and so, as elsewhere, I have read it as 'ṭṭa'.)

The meaning of the inscription will be,—“The daughter-in-law of the king (honorific plural used) who had got this cave excavated and cut, the daughter of Yakṣastrī (proper name) a 'piṇāka' or 'yakṣiṇī', had this done for all the congregations of wandering merchants as an afternoon (resting place.)

V. *Between Kīlūr and Kī Aralaru.*

Mr. KRISHNA SASTRI's reading :

ū pā chā a pō te ṇa ṭu lā vō cchō
ko ṭu pā li ī

Notes : All the letters are in an inverted position to one who reads them from below, except 'tē' and 'kō'.—'upāchā'a', Skt. 'upādhyāya'.—'vōccho', Skt. 'upādhyāya.' The interpretation of the whole is not attempted.

Mr. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR's emendation :

upāchā'a pōtā Neṭula-vōccō koṭu pāliī

Note : upācā'a', Skt. 'upāsaka.' Meaning, “This is the cave cut by Neṭula-vōccan, the son of a lay devotee.”

My reading.

upācā'a pōta ṇaṭṭalā vōccō kotu pāliī

Skt. “upādhyāya-putraḥ nātyakar-ōpādhyāyaḥ kuṭṭāpitā pālikā (kī o).

“The monastery that the instructor of dancers, the son of the teacher, got cut.”

VI. *Karuṅgalakuḍi Inscription.*

Mr. KRISHNA SASTRI's reading :

(E) ṭhu ya rū ra a ri ti nā pā li

Note : 'Eṭhuyarūra' may be the name of a village.

Mr. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR's emendation :

Eṭhu yarūra aritin pāli

“This is the cave of Āriti of Eṭṭiyūr.

My reading is the same as that of Mr. KRISHNA SASTRI.

Skt. “Eṭhuyarūra Hārītānām pāli (kī ?)

VII. *Muttupatti Inscription.*

Mr. KRISHNA SASTRI's reading :

(A) Vi na tai ū ra

(B) Ca i ya ḷa ṇā

(C) kā vi ya

MR. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR'S emendation :

Caiyaḷan Vinatai'ūra kāviy

"This is the cave of Caiyaḷan Vinatai'ūran." (!!!)

My emendation is :

Vinatai'ūra caiya'a ḷēna kāviya

Note.—'caiya'a, Skt. 'caityaka'—'ḷēna', Skt. 'layana', a hollow,—
'kāviya' Skt. 'guhikā', a small cave,—Dravidian, 'gavi'.

"The small hollow cave-monastery of Vinatai'ūra."

VIII. *Siddharamalai Inscriptions.*

MR. KRISHNA SASTRI'S readings :

- (A) pō ti nā ū ra a tā na
- (B) ku vi rā a (na) tai ve ya a tā na
- (C) ku vi rā a na tai ve (ya) a tā na
- (D) ti tō ī la a tā na
- (E) a na tai a ri ya
- (F) ti a na tai (i ra) vā ta na
- (G) mā dhi r(ā) a na tai (vi) su vā nā
- (H) chā na tā na tai chā na tā na
- (J) a na tai ve na tā a tā nā

Note : The frequent occurrence of the groups of letters 'a ta na' and 'a na tai' is noticed. No interpretation of the record is given. Mr. VENKAYYA tried to explain 'anatai' as 'the dwelling place of the Buddhist saints.' (How?)

MR. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR'S emendations.

- A. "Pōtinūra'a tāna" "The gift of one belonging to Podinūr."
- B. Kuvira antai Veya-a tāna "This is the bed of Kuvira and the gift of Vey."
- C. Tiṭayila tāna "The gift of one belonging to Tiṭtai."
- D. Antai Ari'ati "The bed of Ari'ati."
- E. Antai Irāvātān "This is the bed of Irāvātān."
- F. Matira Antai "This is the bed of one belonging to Madirei."
- G. Visuvān Chānatā antai "This is the bed of Visuvān Cānatān."
- H. Cānatān antai "This is the bed of Cānatān."
- J. Vēnatā'a tāna "This is the gift of Vēnatān."

Where, and how, does 'antai' come to mean 'a bed'? Is it because the inscription is found on a stone bed?

My reading is the same as that of MR. KRISHNA SASTRI, except that I would read the 'dhi' in G. as 'ti' with MR. AIYAR.

A. Pōtina'ūra'a tānā

Skt. "pōtina'ūra-sya dānāni" "The gifts of the village Pōtina'ūra."

B. Kuvirā'ana tai

Skt. Kubērānām dēyam, "The gift of the sect called the Kubēras."
vēya'a tānā, Skt. 'vaiśyasya dānāni.' The gifts of the merchant or cultivator."

C. Same as B.

D. From this, the lines run one into another.

D. and E. tiṭṭola'a tānā,—'tiṭṭō'ila' may stand for Prākṛt 'tittilla' meaning 'dvārapāla, partihāra', a doorkeeper, messenger, a 'deśya' word (*Gāhāsattasāi*, 556), or 'tittha' Skt. 'Tṛṣṭha', a congregation of Buddhist monks and nuns (*Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya*, 1035):—The 'a' after 'tiṭṭō'ila' stands for the genitive singular termination '-sya'. and therefore the second meaning alone suits here.

'ānā'ana', Skt. 'dānānām'.—'tai', Skt. 'dēyam'.

Meaning : "The gifts made to the congregation of Buddhist monks and nuns."

E. and F. 'ariyati'ana tai, 'Skt. "ārya-strīṇām dēyam", "The gift of the husband-women."

F. and G. Irāvatanā Matirā'ana tai, Skt. 'Irāvatānām mātṛṇām dēyam.' "The votive offering of the mothers of the Irāvata sect."

G. and H. Visuvānā cānatānā tai, Skt. 'viśvānām jānapadānām dēyam', "The votive gift of the people of all the villages." Cf. Telugu inscriptions : "nānā-desim-pekkandru" etc.

H. and J. Cānatānā ana tai, Skt. 'jānapadānām anyad dēyam.' "another gift of the villagers."

J. Venatā't tānā, Skt. 'Vinatāyā dānām,' "The gifts of Vinatā (or of a devotee)."

IX. *Kōṅgar Puḷḷuḅḅulam Inscriptions.*

MR. KRISHNA SASTRI'S readings :

A. Ku tū ko tu pi tā vā nā ū pā

chā a nā (ū) pā (tū) va

B. Pā kā na ū ra pē tā nā pi

tā nā i ta tā ve pō nā

C. (Ku) tū kō tā la ku (i) ta tā vi

nā chē tu a t(ā) nā lē nā

No interpretation of the whole is given.

MR. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR'S emendation :

A. Kuṭu koṭupitāvān Upācā'an upāruvān

"The lay devotee Upāruvān caused the cave to be cut."

B. Pākānūr-pōtātān Piṭān Itātāve lēn

"This is the cave of Piṭān Itātāven, a resident of Pākānūr."

C. Kuṭu koṭāḷaku Itātāvin Cetu'atān lēn

"This is the cave of Itātāvin Cētu'atān, the excavator of caves."

My reading is the same as that of Mr. KRISHNA SASTRI, except that I think it is possible that his reading 'tu' may be 'tṭa'.

A. Kuṭū koṭupitāvānā ūpācā'anā (ū pāṭu'va :—Skt. Ūpāṭu'a kuṭū koṭṭāpitavān upādhyāyānām. " Ūpāṭu'a had this excavation cut for the treasure."

B. Pākānā'ūra pēt (ā) tānā piṭānā itātāve pōnā

Skt. " Pākānā'ūra vṛddhānām dānam piṭakānām hitārthāya pō (prō?) tānām." " The gift of the elders of Pākānā'ūra for the good (welfare, upkeep) of the 'baskets of books' (the collections of the sacred Buddhist scriptures) of the boys or pupils (the collection of sacred books or scriptures which have been displaced, or got confused in arrangement.)"

C. kuṭū kōḷāḷaku itātāvi nā-ceṭṭa'a tānā lēnā.

Skt. " kōṣṭham kōṣṭhāgara-kṛtē hit-ārthāya ; Jñāna-srēṣṭhasya dānam layanam."

" The apartment for the benefit of the library ; the cave, the gift of Jñānaśrēṣṭha."

X. *Aḷagarmalai Inscriptions.*

MR. KRISHNA SASTRI'S readings :

A. Mā ta tī (ai) yī pō nā ku la vā nā a (ta) nā a t(ā) nā

B. M(ā) ta tī rai ko (pā) pu vā ṇi ka nā

C. ya kā nā kō ṇa ti kā nā

D. Kā ṇa ka a t(ā) nā m(ō) ka nā a tā nā a tā nā

E. Sā (ma) mi si nā mi ta ti

F. Ku pā ṇi tī vā ṇi (ka) nā na ḍu ma lā nā

G. (vā ṇi) ka nā yu la nā ta nā

H. Chi ka tṭha mā tu na tā nā tā ra a ṇi yā k(o) tū pō tā a va nā

J. A nā ka nā nā

Note : Inscriptions H and J. are fragmentary, since they do not end with any mark of punctuation. Between (nā' and 'mī' in E. and 'rū' and 'pā' in F., there is a space for one letter. The group of letters 'mātairai' occurs in A. and B.--'vāṇikānā' is probably to be connected with Skt. 'vaṇik' of Tamil 'vaṇiyan'. No interpretation of the whole is given.

MR. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR does not give the first five inscriptions mentioned above, but begins with 'vāṇikānā' in F. In the writings omitted, he perceives 'mattirai' which occurs several times and the names of two persons who, he thinks, are 'Poṅgulavān' and 'Kūlavāṇika' 'dealers in gold and grains respectively. He emends the rest as follows :

Vāṇikan Neḍumalān ;—Vāṇikan Yuḷnātan :—Cikaramāran tāṇa ;—tāra'ṇi kuṭupita'avan ; aṅkanam.

Of these, the first two, he thinks, are names of persons. The third means : " The gift of Cikaramāran. 'Cikaramāran' as a common name, he says, means "the glorious carpenter." The meaning of the rest, in his opinion, is : "Tāraṇi caused the cave (?) and the drain (?) to be made."

My interpretation follows Mr. KRISHNA SASTRI'S readings.

A. mātairaiyi-pōnā kulavānā atanā'a tānā

Skt. "Mātharakī-putrāṇām [pautrāṇām(?), pōtānām(?)] kulapānām ādānāya [āsthānāya(?)] āsthānasya(?)] dānāni."

Meaning : "The gift of the sons (grandsons?) of Mātharikī, the heads of the guild (*kula*), for food (for the guild?)"

B. mātairai-ko pāpu vāṇikānā

Skt. Mātharikī—kr̥te pāpu, vaṇijām.

'Pāpu', I consider, is the Paisāci Prakṛt form of 'vāvaya', a Dēśi word for 'Āyukta, or grāma-mukhya', an official, the headman of a village. (*Deśi-nāmamālā*, 7.55.)

Meaning : "The gift for the guild of Mātharikī, given by the chiefs of the villages of the merchants."

C. yakānā kōṇatikānā

Skt. "Yakṣāṇām Gōṇardikānām."

Meaning : "The gift of the merchants (*yakṣa*'s) who trade in bulls (who belong to the Gōṇarda guild ; who come from the Gōṇarda hill)"

D. (i) kāṇaka'a tānā

Skt. "gaṇakasya dānāni "

"The gifts of the accountant."

(ii) mōkanā atanā'a tānā

Skt. "mōkṣāṇām āsthānāya dānāni."

"Gifts for the institution of states of relief (from pain)"

E. and F. "sāma misinā mitati rūpā ṇitī vāṇikanā ṇaṭṭa-malānā."

Skt. "samaya-miśrēṇa maitrī-rūpā niyitḥ vaṇijām naṣṭa-malānām."

"The vow in the form of friendship mixed with faith in the 'samaya' or 'Buddhist Dharma', of the merchants who have their mala's or impurities of the soul destroyed."

G. and H. vāṇikānā yulanātana Cikaṭṭha-mātana tānā

Skt. vaṇijām yūtha (-yula)-nāthānām Śrīkaṇṭha (Cikaṭṭha-) mātṛm dānāni.

"The gift of the merchants, the chiefs of the guilds (of the Yula-guild?) of the Śrīkaṇṭha-mātṛ-gaṇa (Cikaṭṭha-mātṛ-gaṇa.)

H and J. tāra'āṇiya koṭṭu pōtā avanā'a nākanānā.

Skt. dāraka-gaṇikā koṭṭāpitā avanāya nāgininām

"The beloved of the excavator (had this) cut for the protection of the *Nāginis*."

Nāga's and *Nāgini*'s are frequently met with in Buddhist literature.

XI. *Sittānavāśal Inscription.*

MR. KRISHNA SASTRI'S reading :

Ē u mi nā ṭ(u) ku mu ṭṭha ū ra
pi ḍā na tā kā vu ṭī ī te nā ku
chi ṭu pō chi la ī lā ya rā che ya
tō a ti ṭa nā ma

Note : 'nāṭu' and 'ūra' denote the district and the village respectively. For Mr. KRISHNA SASTRI'S first reading of this inscription and the emendation of the same by Mr. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR, see beginning of this paper

Mr. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR fits in the following meaning into this inscription.

"Ciṭupōcil iḷayar made this 'adhiṣṭhānam' (monastery) for Kāvuḍi Iten who was born at Kumutṭūr, a village in Eōmināḍu."

I would group the letters thus :

E'umi-nāṭṭa Kumutṭ'ūra -piṭṭānā tā-kā vuṭi itenāku
Ciṭtapōchila iḷāya-rācheyatō atiṭanāma

Skt. E'umi-naṭṭa Kumutṭha'ūra piṭakānām trāṇa-kṛtē vṛddhi-hitēna-
kṛtē Siṃhaḷa-rājyataḥ adhiṣṭhānam.

"An institution of Kumutṭha'ūra in E'umināṭṭa from the kingdom of Ceylon for the protection and with the wish of the increase of the Piṭaka's (the three baskets or collections of Buddhist scriptures.)"

XII. *The Uṇḍāṅkal inscription*

Mr. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR brought to light another inscription of this series from the cave known as Uṇḍāṅkal. He gives the following reading of the same.

(1) Antai Pikān Mākan Vēṇ tāna.

"This bed is the gift of Vēṇ, the son of Pikān."

(2) Potilai Kuvīran : Vēṇ Kūvira koṭupitān

'Potilai Kūviraṇ' is the name of the occupant of the cave.

"Vēṇ Kūviraṇ had it cut."

In the absence of the impression of the original inscription and from the trend of the emendations of Mr. AIYAR of the rest of the inscriptions discussed above, I fancy the original to be :

(1) a na tai pi kā nā mā ka nā vē nā tā na

(2) pō ti lai ku vī ra nā ku vī ra nā ko ṭu pi tā

Tentative Sanskrit rendering :

"anyad dēyam bhikṣūṇām, mahatām vaiśyānām dānāni ; putrah
Kubērāṇām vaiśyānām Kubērāṇām koṭṭapita (vā)'

'Another gift for the *Bhikṣus* ; the gift of the great householders, the merchants ; the son of the Kubēras, the merchant (householder) -Kuberas, had it cut."

Conclusion.

The above discussion leads us to the following conclusions.

1. Mr. KRISHNA SASTRI had done well in giving us his readings and leaving them there when he could not give a cogent interpretation of the records. But he gave a wrong lead by identifying certain of the groups of letters as Tamil words. He failed to reconcile how Prākṛt grammatical forms could be found side by side with those in Tamil.

2. Mr. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR made a mess of the whole lot of the inscriptions acting on the wrong lead given by Mr. KRISHNA SASTRI concerning the existence of Tamil words. For his purpose of making them appear as complete Tamil records, he took undue and unwarranted liberty with them; he cut off vowels as well as consonants, added others, twisted some more, made wrong grouping of the letters, tried to force meanings into the words he had created, and when he failed to draw any sense out of them, as very often he could not draw, he was satisfied with saying that they are all proper names, names of persons or places.

3. It should be remembered that the inscriptions are in the Brāhmī script. All inscriptions in this script so far discovered have been only Prākṛt records. The letters, except for two, in these epigraphs, are very clear and ably deciphered by Mr. KRISHNA SASTRI. The existence of the two peculiar letters in these records should not lead one to suppose that they belong to a non-Prākṛit scheme of letters. In fact, in these Brāhmī inscriptions, letters are found in certain of them which are not found in others, and certain letters acquire new and peculiar shapes.

4. The most peculiar feature of the epigraphs under discussion is that they contain a form of Prākṛit described by the Prākṛit grammarians as Paiśācī. The Aśokan edicts found at Shābāzgarhī and Mansēhra are considered to register a form of Prākṛit which reveals a resemblance to Dardic forms, which Sir George A. GRIERSON has popularized as representing the old Paiśācī dialects, but the present epigraphs are strikingly and more directly representative of the form of Paiśācī known to the Indian grammarians.

The Pāṇḍya country, according to these grammarians, is a tract where the prevailing language is Paiśācī. These inscriptions conform to their statement in a remarkable manner.

SPECIMENS OF ARTS ALLIED TO PAINTING FROM WESTERN INDIA

By

M. R. MAJMUDAR

Poetry, music and dancing are inseparably associated with Western India school of painting. It will be interesting to refer here to certain minor arts more closely allied to painting, and more amenable to illustration.

One of these arts is the cutting of paper-stencils, as practised in the Vaisnava temples of the Vallabhācārya Sect in the north and west of India. These stencils are used in the preparation of temporary pictures upon smooth horizontal surface by means of coloured powders, or they are utilized just to transfer a design on cloth, or on paper or on smooth walls, by pouncing through a pricked or perforated original.

The specimens that are proposed to be introduced through this note are those dealing with the art of letter-writing ; firstly in the style of the paper-stencil, and secondly in the style of figure-weaving in silk or cotton fibres.

This paper stencil specimen is No. 1305 of the Oriental Institute Collection, Baroda—acquired as early as 1912. The subject-matter of 10 paper folios of stencil work (Plate I) is the Sanskrit text of the *Gītagovinda*, done out of devotion and reverence for the Vaiṣṇava lyric of Jayadeva, by a member of the highest section of Brāhmins in Gujarāt—the Nāgar Brāhmins of Vriddha-nagar—the modern Vadnagar in North Gujarāt.

The calligraphic artist is one Devakṛṣṇa, a resident of Natapadra—the modern Nadiād in Kairā District, Central Gujarat—who was a devotee of the feet of Viṣṇu. The text containing this personal reference to the Brāhmin artist is given on the 10th folio and reads as follows :

“ इति श्री नि(गो)तगोविंदे प्रथम नि(गो)तं समाप्तं संपूर्ण । श्रीरस्तु । नटपद्र वास्तव्यं
वृद्धनगरज्ञातीय विष्णुपादांबुजमेवक देवकृष्ण स्वयं लयपितं । रामार्पणमस्तु ॥ श्री ॥ १० ”

(PLATE I)

The size of each of the folios is $9\frac{1}{8}'' \times 4''$ and the rectangle containing the lettering measures $7\frac{1}{8}'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$, the remaining space being the margin, left out on all the four sides. It is meant to be read on one side only, like certain perforated designs and paintings.

The fourth folio (Plate Ia) is remarkable in one way, in that it illustrates the use of the copyist's device in cases of usual slips in writing, such as the

interchanging of letters—when the copyist does not erase or waste the paper, but puts the figures 1, 2 over such interchanged letters to guide the reader. Thus, instead of the word प्रलय in line 1, folio 4, it is inadvertently cut as प्रयल but this he corrects by the use of figures as प्रयेले. It may be noted that the figures used are not Devanāgarī, but are purely Gujarātī. The artist has used stars (*) to indicate either the pauses in, or the completion of a line of the stanza.

The other groups of specimens are the interesting examples of the art of figure-weaving or chequer-patterns in weaving.

These, as a class by themselves, show a higher stage in the process of weaving. Textiles of complex patterns and textures necessitated the more complicated apparatus, that must belong to a later stage in the evolution of the loom.

The weaver, due to the demand of variety, was called upon to furnish articles possessing diverse colourings and elaborate ornamentation. Accordingly, designs are woven as elaborate almost as those of the present day, with dragons, phænixes, mystical birds, forms, flowers and fruits.

The Chinese were the earliest inventors of figured silk-weaving. A scheme long maintained in Syria and Byzantine patterns was that of repeated roundels, within which subjects other than scriptural i.e. secular in nature were wrought, e.g. hunters on horse-back, fantastic animals and birds, singly or in pairs, confronting one another or back to back, frequently with a sacred tree device behind them.

To the influence of the early sporadic weavings that are traced out from China, Byzantine, Venice etc., we seem to trace a distinctive class of work, which was done by inmates of monasteries and convents, as well as their devout ladies in little looms, for use as stoles, maniples, orphreys and similar narrow bands or vestments.¹

We have been fortunate to trace similar braids or narrow-bands done by Jaina monks or *yatis*, hailing from Western India.

Dr. A. K. COOMARASWAMY was the first art-critic to publish such braids in his "Catalogue of Indian Collection. Museum, Fine Arts, Boston, Part IV, Jaina Paintings and Mss, 1924." One of these braids is dated Śamvat 1766 (1710 A.D.). It is reproduced here (Plate II) to facilitate comparison with another braid, which is earlier in date and is published here for the first time.

Such cotton-braids were used mostly for tying up manuscripts. The cotton-braids reproduced in Plate II are blue and white, bordered with brownish red.

1. *Ency. Britannica*, (11th edition), Vol. 28, pp. 451.

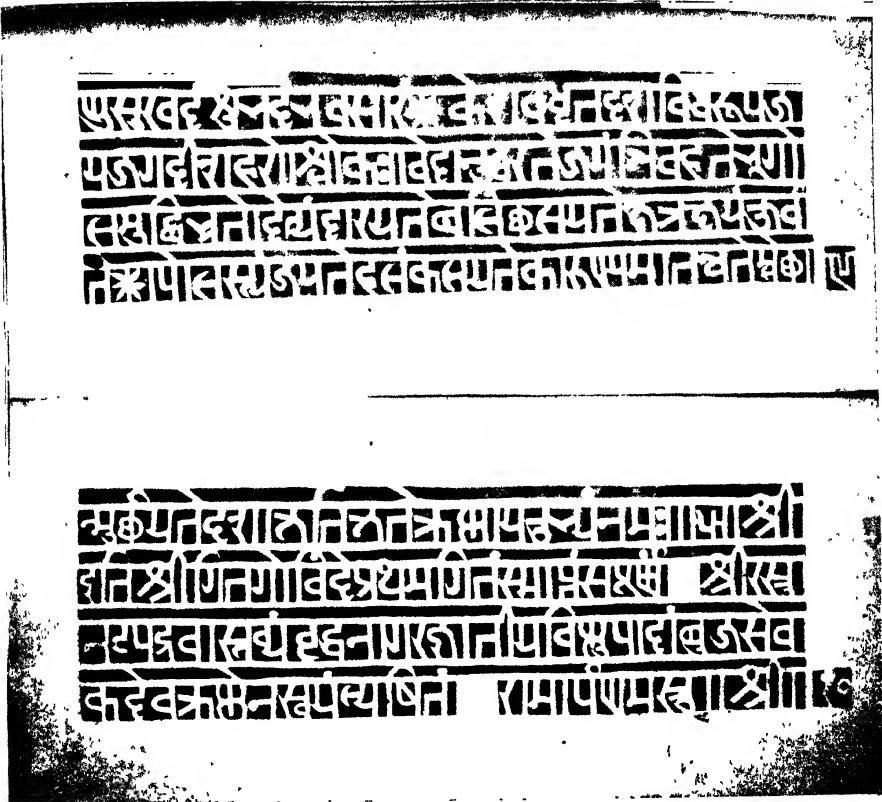


PLATE I

Folios from a paper-stencil copy of the *Gita-govinda*.

[Oriental Institute Collection, Baroda.]

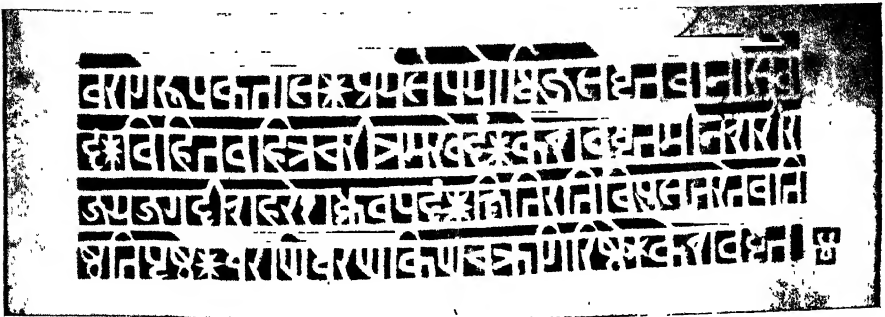


PLATE Ia

The fourth folio of the paper-stencil copy, with a correction.

[Oriental Institute Collection, Baroda.]

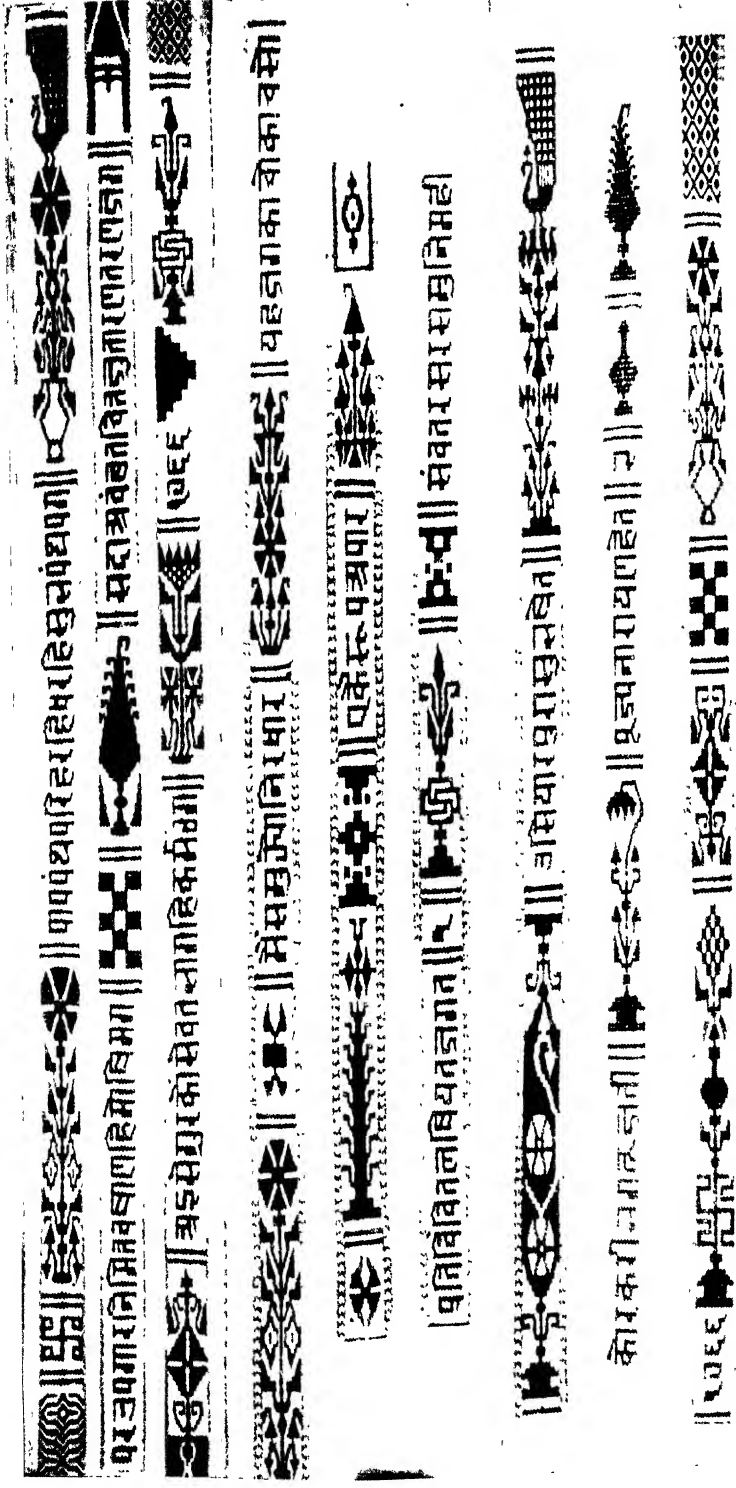


PLATE II

A cotton-braid with woven letters, dated Samvat 1766.

[Reproduced from Dr. COOMARASWAMY'S Catalogue of Indian Collection, Museum.

The text woven in the braid, reads as follows ; the metre is Duhā or Sorathiā Duhā :

पापपंथ परिहरहि, धरहि सुभ पंथ पग ।
पर उपगार निमित्त, वखाणहि मोषि—मग ॥ १ ॥
सदा अवंच (छि) त चित्त, जु तारण तरण जग !
अइमे गुरको सेवत, भागहि कर्मठग ॥ २ ॥

१७६६

मैं समुझ्यो निरधार, यह जग काचो काचसो ।
एकै रूप अपार, प्रतिबिम्बित लखियन जगत ॥ १ ॥
संवत रम रस मुनि मही, उसियारपुरा सुभ घेत ।
कोर करी भगतू जती, पूज्य नारायण हेत ॥ २ ॥

१७६६

Translation :—

“ (A Guru) who forsakes the path of sin and sets his foot on the holy path,

Who tells the way of salvation, for others' good,¹

Whose mind is ever *not-wanting*,¹ who is a saviour from the world,

Such a Guru serving, the thief of merit (demerit) runs away.”²

(Samvat 1766)

“ I clearly understood, after examination of this world ;

God has but one transcendent form, the world is manifest as (His) reflection.¹

In Samvat 1766, in the holy land of Ūsīrpur

Bhagat(u) Yati made this *Kora* in honour of the revered Nārāyaṇa.”²

Even though, on the strength of the above couplets, the specimen has been classified as Jaina, it is doubtful whether the text can be taken positively to refer to Jainism. The words *moṣamaga* [Sans. *Mokṣamārga* ; Prākṛit *mokkha magga* ; Old Gujarāṭi *mosa (kha) maga*], *karmaṭhage* and *jaṭi* are equally applicable to Hinduism also. Moreover, the *Bimbapṛatibimbavāda* put forward by Śaṅkarācārya is reflected here, which does not appear to be common in Jainism. Nārāyaṇa for whom the *Kora* is prepared is also a name seldom found among Jains. It appears, therefore, that the *Kora* may have been prepared for any *yati* (a man with self-restraint) and not necessarily a Jaina Yati.

However, the next specimen (Plate III) is decidedly Jaina and has not a shadow of doubt, inasmuch as the lettering shows a clear salutation to the five-fold worthies of the Jaina clergy, the *pañcaparamesthin* : (1) the *Arhat* or the worthy Jina ; (2) the *Siddhas* or the free souls ; (3) the *Ācāryas* or the best in conduct ; (4) the *Upādhyāyas* or the preachers of scriptures ; and

1. This word *avañcita* is left out in the translation given by Dr. COOMARASWAMY.

(5) all the *Sādhus* everywhere in existence or those who have achieved deliverance. These salutations are technically called the '*pañca namaskāra*' (Sk. *namaskāra*, Prakrit *namokāro* or *namukkāro*, Old Gujarāṭi *navokkāra* or *navakāra*).

The woven letters read thus :

नमो अरिहंताणं । नमो सिद्धाणं । नमो आयरियाणं ।
 नमो उवझायाणं । नमो लोए सव्व साहुणं । संवत्
 १७३९ वर्षे भाद्रवा वदि ५ दिने । ऋ० ।
 मनोहर पाटीकृता ।

The style of putting *mātrā* on the left side of the letter, instead of on the top, mostly found in Mss. copied in the Jaina style and known as *pratimātrā*, or *prsthāmātrā* is adopted in the present instance. This piece is further remarkable, because it furnishes information about the calligraphic artist who wove the braid on the 5th of the dark half of Bhādrapadra, in the Sāmvat year 1739 (1683 A.D.). The name of the Jaina clergy (R̥ṣi) is Manohara.

This strip measuring 11'6" long and 7" broad, has letters woven in deep red, on a yellow background.

The weaving artist of this as well as the previous braid did not rest satisfied with the lettering device ; he has indulged in adorning his piece with figures and designs of elaborate ornamentation, more or less of a secular nature.

This braid (Plate III) shows the designs of the following objects : a *triśūla* (trident), a sword, a boat, a palanquin, a fan, a moat, a writing wooden-board, and a hanging lamp.

The braid noticed above (Plate II) has also the designs of peacocks seated on a tree, at the right hand corners. The other designs are a *svastika*, a jar, a tree, a temple and other floral designs of creepers etc.

The third piece of braid (Plate IV) though measuring only 4' long and 7" broad, at the Baroda Museum, is very interesting in that the subject-matter of its lettering is purely Hindu or Brahmanical. It contains the sacred Gāyatrī—a prayer to Sūrya, the lord of glorious light, with the three Vyāhrtis. It also contains the twelve-lettered Mantra—(called *dvādaśākṣara mantra*), an invocation to Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa.

The text, contained in the *Kora*, noted as *yajñopavīta* in the register of the Baroda Museum, is written in panels or two lines, and is as under :

“ओं नमो भगवते

वामुदेवाय ।

ओं भू भुवः स्वः । तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धि (धी) महि ।

धी यो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ।

ओं नमो नारायणाय । ओं श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ।

ओं नमो नारायणाय । ओं श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ।”

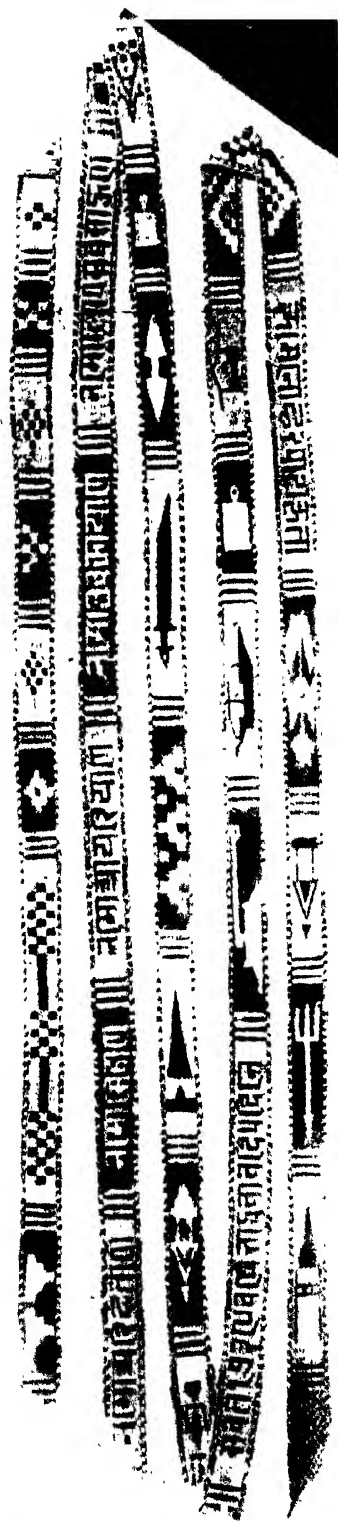


PLATE III

A cotton-braid with woven letters, dated Samvat 1739

[From Pālanpur, North Gujarat.]

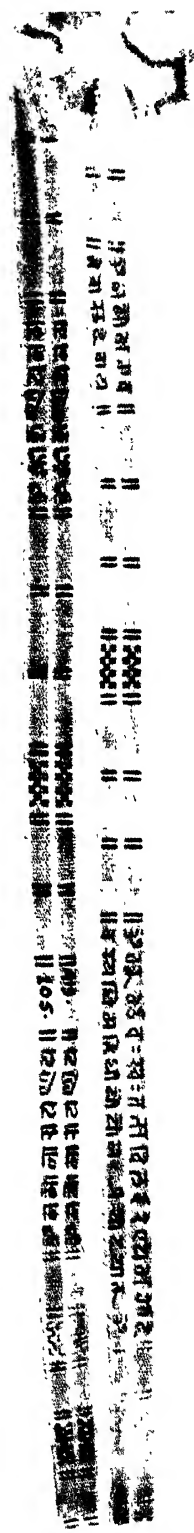


PLATE IV

A braid with *Gāvatri* woven in it.

[From Baroda Museum Collection.]

A *Kāna-topi* (cap) with a Vāṣṭava text woven in it

[From Baroda Museum Collection.]

The text just referred to above is sacred to all Varṇa-Hindus—both Smārta and Vaiṣṇava.

The two specimens that we are now going to notice are not mere narrow strips or braids, but are a sort of letter-weaving on a large scale. The lettering is done in white, the back-ground being deep red.

Plate V shows a cap, big enough to cover the ears fully and the back portion of the head upto the neck. Generally such caps are worn by *sādhus* and *mahants*. The cap appears to have been prepared out of a piece of silk-cloth, which has the text of a four-verse Stotra composed by Vallabhācārya (b. 1479, d. 1529, A.D.) called 'Catuśśloki'.

The portion of the text from the cap, so spread as to make the back visible, gives after the '*catuśśloki-Bhāgavata*', the text of Vallabha's Stotra, which reiterates the worship of God Kṛṣṇa, with all possible devotion :—

“ सर्वदा सर्वभावेन मे (भ) जनीयो ब्रजाधिपः ।
 स्वस्यायमेव धर्मो हि नान्यः कापि कदाचन ॥ १ ॥
 एवं सदा स्वकर्तव्यं स्वयमेव करिष्यति ।
 प्रभुः सर्वसमर्थो हि ततो निश्चिति(त)तां व्रजेत् ॥ २ ॥
 यदि श्रीगोकुलार्थीशो धृतः सर्वात्मना हृदि ।
 ततः किमपरं ब्रूहि लौकिकैः वैदिकैरपि ॥ ३ ॥
 अतः सर्वात्मना शश्वत् गोकुलेश्वरपादयोः ।
 स्मरणं भजनं चापि न त्याज्यमिति मे मतिः ” ॥ ४ ॥

इति वल्लभाचार्य ।

Vallabha, the expounder of Śuddhādvaita philosophy of Vaiṣṇavism has a large following in Western India, especially in Rajputānā and Gujarāt. It is however not possible to assign the date of the article, which has been acquired by the Baroda Museum from some place in Southern Rajputānā. It must, however, be not less than two hundred years old.

The last mention of a Śaivite specimen completes almost the Hindu pantheon as represented in weaving-patterns. This article in the form of a *Gau-mukhī* (Plate VI) or a cow-mouth shaped right-angle bag, is used by a devotee to mutter his *mantras* with the help of a rosary, which is kept in the right-angle bag along with the hand.

The designs in the lettering are the *liṅga-yoni* device placed as full points, sometimes with a *triśūla*. The text contains salutation to the various-named Śiva, Pārvatī and Gaṇeśa.

Closely allied in effect to the stencils and the ornamental weaving on small looms is the printing of letters on cloth, just as the cloth with names of Rāma which is known as “Rāma-nāmi” cloth. But we have not come across such a specimen from this part of India.

The cumulative effect of the various specimens noticed in this note is that the complex patterns and the elaborate ornamentation in weaving was prac-

tised as an art of no mean value among the masses, as well as the enlightened clergy, in Western India.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Plate I and Ia are reproduced through the courtesy of Dr. B. BHATTACHARYA, M.A., Ph.D., Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda.

Plate II is reproduced from Dr. COOMARASWAMY'S "Catalogue of Indian Collection, Museum, Fine Arts, Boston, Part IV, Jaina Paintings and MSS." (1924).

Plate III is reproduced through the courtesy of Mr. NĀTHĀLĀL SHĀH, of Pālanpur, the owner of the article.

Plates IV, V & VI from the Baroda Museum, are reproduced through the courtesy of Mr. Suprakāśa GANGULI, the Curator of the Museum.

[illegible]

PLATE VI

A *Gau-mukhī* (a right-angle bag) with Śaivite text woven in it.

[From Baroda Museum Collection.]

KAUTSAVYĀKARAṆA : A DETAILED NOTICE

RECOVERY OF KAUTSA'S AUTHORSHIP

By

SADĀSHIVA L. KĀTRE

The MS entitled *Kautsavyākaraṇa*, shortly noticed by me in the October 1937 issue of *JRAS* (p. 731), comes from the collection of one Bālaśāstrī GARDE who lived at Gwalior about a hundred years ago and seems to have been very fond of stocking old or transcribed MSS of works on diverse subjects. A few years ago, however, a considerable portion of his collection was actually immersed into a well by the last surviving lady of his line, possibly in a fit of despair, but, thanks to the timely intervention of some authorities of Gwalior State, the remnant could be rescued and deposited at the Oriental Manuscripts Library of Ujjain maintained by the State.

The MS under question (Accession No. 3576) contains in all twelve straw-paper folios of the size $11\frac{1}{4} \times 6$ inches. Of these, two are covering leaves reading the beginning and the end respectively (viz., “अथ कौत्सव्याकरण-प्रारंभः” and “इति कौत्सव्याकरणं समाप्तम्”) of the work on the middle of their external sides. The remaining ten folios contain the text, commencing with the second part of folio 1 and concluding on the fourth line of the second part of folio 10. Each side of the written folios leaves a margin of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches on all sides and, with the exception of folio 10^b, uniformly contains eight lines of about forty letters each. The abbreviated form “कौ० व्या०” of the title, along with the number of the folio, is noted on the left-side margin of the second page of each folio. The MS is written in dark black ink and in Devanāgarī script and the handwriting, as also the general condition of the MS, is good. Although the scribe's name and age are not mentioned, the MS must be about two centuries old on account of its possession by the said Bālaśāstrī GARDE who, under his signature and in a handwriting quite different from that of the scribe of the text, has also added some literary and personal matter, both in Sanskrit and in Marathi, subsequent to the fourth line of folio 10^b.

The work consists of four chapters (Adhyāyas), each chapter being sub-divided into four quarters (Pādas). The Sūtras, though not punctuated, are numbered at distances and their sum-total is given at the close of each quarter and chapter. Each chapter begins with “हरिः ॐ” and each subsequent quarter with “ॐ”. The MS evidently contains only the text without commentary; but, here and there, in margins and above or below some lines, are found subsequently inserted a number of notes explaining or illustrating some Sūtras. A few original readings of the text also appear to have been subsequently emended.

The title “Kautsavyākaraṇa” at once aroused my curiosity, my previous information being that no work ascribed to the celebrated Kautsa has been known to be extant and that our scanty knowledge about him is derived solely from quotations and allusions in his successors’ works. Thanks are mainly due to my friend and teacher Prof. K. CHAṬṬOPĀDHYĀYA of the Sanskrit Department of the Allahabad University who first brought to my notice that the work, despite the difference in title and ascription, was identical with what WHITNEY published in 1862 (*JAOS*, Vol. VII) as *Atharvaveda-Prātiśākhya* on the basis of a solitary MS in the Berlin Library in the last colophon of which the work was termed as *Śaunakīya Caturādhyāyikā* and which also contained a commentary termed as *Caturādhyāyībhāṣya*. Nevertheless, the discovery of our present MS is not without its own importance, as it still helps us in arriving at new and important results regarding the work, its authorship, etc.

On a close comparison of our MS with WHITNEY’s text I was able to trace out a number of deviations in reading and other divergences and also to recover several Sūtras missing in the Berlin MS, as will be found noted in Appendix A below. It is not possible here to comment individually on these divergences. It may, however, be pointed out that in many cases our MS. presents readings that appear to be preferable to those in the Berlin MS adopted by WHITNEY—e.g., i.34, i.94, ii.53, ii.59, ii.100, iii.33, iii.53, iii.55, iv.93, iv.107, etc. Next, in some cases at least, our MS removes the difficulties felt by WHITNEY on account of the readings in the Berlin MS—e.g., i.66, ii.53, iii.86, iv.65, iv.93, etc. Further, while in some cases (e.g., iii.29, iv.93, etc.) our MS supports WHITNEY’s emendations of readings in the Berlin MS, in other cases (e.g., prior to i.1 ; i.25, i.82, iii.60, etc.) it renders them baseless, though sometimes plausible.

The importance of our MS further lies in the fact that it restores several Sūtras missing in the Berlin MS. As noted by WHITNEY on pages 141 and 177, the scribe of the Berlin MS has distinctly indicated the gap twice by means of a lacuna. In the first case, i.e., after iii.28, the Sūtras recovered are “छकारश्च” and “पिप्पल्यादिषु पूर्वात्” along with the part “न”, already guessed by WHITNEY, of iii.29 (“न विसर्जनीयः”). In the second case, i.e. after iii.80, they are “नमश्च” “धातुस्थान् षकारात्”, “उरुब्रह्मण्यत्यादीनाम्” and “निपातस्य स्वः” (emended as “निपातस्वः”). However, there appear to be three more gaps in the Berlin MS not possibly indicated by the scribe and in two of these cases not even detected by WHITNEY. The first is after iii.85 where the Sūtra restored by our MS is “प्रमिनन्ति”. The second is after iii.86 where the Sūtra restored by our MS is “नमैः”. In both these cases the gap was not detected by WHITNEY. The third is after iv.93 where the Sūtra restored by our MS is “इदृग्यवच्च”. In this case, too, the gap is not possibly indicated by the scribe of the Berlin MS nor was it detected by WHITNEY on the spot. But WHITNEY’s note on page 231 (vide Appendix A below) obviously suspects,

as an alternative, the loss of such a Sūtra somewhere in the chapter in the Berlin MS. Our MS confirms this suspicion of WHITNEY and renders unnecessary his alternative conjectures to do away with his difficulty.

A very remarkable feature of our MS is, as will be clear enough from Appendix A below, that it presents as part of the text proper many long and short passages, both metrical and prose, which WHITNEY regards as forming part of the commentary contained in the Berlin MS and, in some cases, as quoted by the commentator from some previous authority—i.e., after i.105, prior to iii.55, after iii.74 and prior to iv.1. We do not know on what grounds WHITNEY allotted these passages to the commentary instead of to the text proper. In fact, there is not the slightest indication in our MS of the text being intermingled with a commentary. On its authority, one cannot but locate these passages in the original text and remark that even if some of them be quotations from some predecessors' works, they are quoted as such by the original author himself. The passages concerned have even been counted as groups of Sūtras in the enumerations of Sūtras found at the close of the respective quarters and chapters in our MS. This is really a very important point necessitating a reinvestigation of the Berlin MS from this point of view.

I may, however, add here that our MS thus incorporates as part of the text proper only the four passages mentioned above. There are many other similar passages quoted by WHITNEY as part of the said commentary which have not at all found place in our MS, e.g., after i.8 (quoted on page 14), after i.10 (quoted on page 261), etc.

If we regard these four passages as part of the text proper, then the work in all explicitly refers once to Śākaṭyāyana, twice to Ānyatareya and twice to Śāṅkhamitri.

I quote below in Appendix B all the colophons in our MS along with the corresponding ones in the Berlin MS as noted by WHITNEY. Each colophon in our MS contains a separate enumeration of Sūtras for each quarter and chapter while the last colophon also notes the sum-total of Sūtras of all the four chapters. The Berlin MS, on the other hand, gives the enumeration in some cases only and, when it does, it carries on the same to the end of the Chapter. The difference in the number of Sūtras, when it occurs, is obviously due to some Sūtras missing in the Berlin MS and WHITNEY's publication and, further, the above-mentioned four detailed passages being treated there as distinct from the text proper.

The importance of our MS from the textual point of view will be clear enough from the foregoing treatment. Yet its outstanding importance lies in its raising the issue of the authorship of the work. Appendix B below will show that the four chapter colophons of our MS describe the work as *Caturādhyāyikā* (= Treatise in Four Chapters) forming part of, or embodying, *Kautsavyākaraṇa* (= Kautsa's Grammar) belonging to the Atharvaveda.

The title-page and marginal headings, too, all note "Kautsavyākaraṇa" as the title of the work which consequently seems to be based on sound tradition. Our MS thus distinctly points to Kautsa as the author of the work. It may be that the present work forms part of a major grammatical treatise ascribed to Kautsa.

The title "Śaunakiya Caturādhyāyikā" is found, on the other hand, only in the last concluding colophon of the Berlin MS. Consequently, the ascription of the work to Śaunaka based on this unseconded solitary evidence stands on a very weak ground.

Internal evidence also possibly goes against the ascription of the treatise to Śaunaka. The Sūtra I.8—

“प्रथमान्तानि तृतीयान्तानीति शौनकस्य प्रतिज्ञानं, न वृत्तिः ॥”¹

makes a third-person allusion to Śaunaka and refers to a precept of his, of which, as explained by WHITNEY, the binding authority is denied. It possibly still remains undecided as to which work of Śaunaka is cited here. As WHITNEY says, the *Ṛk-Prātiśākhya*, which is traditionally ascribed to Śaunaka, cites Gārgya as holding the opinion embodied in the above-mentioned precept of Śaunaka, without exclusively identifying itself in decisive words with that opinion. Whichever work of Śaunaka might have been meant by our author, the form of the Sūtra quoted above seems to go against Śaunaka's authorship of the present work. We little expect that a celebrated author would, in a work of his own, thus exhibit the non-observance of a dictum laid down by himself elsewhere, although it is not unusual to find an author alluding to himself in the third person. It thus seems inconsistent to attribute the present treatise to Śaunaka. As such, its ascription to Kautsa is certainly justified on the authority of the colophons in our MS as shown above.

I have, however, not been able to locate in the present work any words or views ascribed to Kautsa in Yāska's *Nirukta* I.15, Āśvalāyana's *Śrautasūtra* I.2.5 and VII. 1.19, Āpastamba's *Dharmasūtra* I.19.4 and I.28.1, Lāṭyāyana's *Śrautasūtra* X.2.9. and Hemādri's *Parīṣeṣakhaṇḍa* II. 251. This may lead some scholars to distinguish the present Kautsa from his namesake referred to in the above-mentioned works. However, there is every possibility of the same Kautsa having composed more works than one and of the said quotations referring to his own other works. Even the present work is likely to be, as I have shown above, a part of Kautsa's major work.

At any rate, our author certainly seems to be identical with the Kautsa mentioned by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* III.2.108 “उपसेदिवान् कौत्सः पाणि-निम् etc.” (KIELHORN's edition, Vol. II, page 115, lines 17-20) as having studied under Pāṇini. Pāṇini's influence on our author can be easily detected through the numerous identical and parallel Sūtras in the *Aṣṭā-*

1. “That the words thus declared to end in first mutes end rather in thirds is Śaunaka's precept, but not authorized usage.”—WHITNEY's translation.

dhyāyī and the present work. These affinities render the identity of our author almost certain with the Kautsa mentioned by Patañjali as a disciple of Pāṇini.

If our author comes out to be identical with his namesake mentioned by Yāska, then it would unmistakably reverse the popular chronology of Yāska and Pāṇini. The said identity, however, is still to be proved and I hope fresh substantial contributions would be forthcoming on this subject from scholars.

Some of WHITNEY's other remarks too, in connection with the present work, require substantial modification in the new light. That the present treatise belongs to the Atharvaveda is substantially proved by the colophons of our MS, but the title "Atharvaveda-Prātiśākhya" WHITNEY gave to it is no more justified. Another work in three Adhyāyas bearing that title, which WHITNEY in 1862 regarded as almost impossible to discover, has already been discovered and since published by V. B. ŚĀSTRĪ at Lahore.¹ Further, the subject-matter of the present treatise entitles it to be called a Vedic Vyākaraṇa rather than a Prātiśākhya with no less justification than the Vedic portion of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

APPENDIX A

(*Deviations in Reading and other Divergences.*)

WHITNEY'S No.	WHITNEY'S Reading.	Kautsa Reading.
Chapter I		
Prior to i. 1.	ॐ नमः सरस्वत्यै नमः ॥ ॐ नमो ब्रह्मवेदाय ॥ अथाङ्गिरसः ² ॥	श्रीगणेशायनमः हरिः ओम् अथाङ्गिरसः
i. 4.	अन्तृकारः स्वरः पद्यः ॥	अन्तृकारः स्वरः पद्यः
i. 13.	नादो घोषवत्स्वरेषु ॥	नादो घोषवत्परेषु
i. 19.	कण्ठ्यानामधरकण्ठः ॥	कण्ठ्यानामधरकण्ठ्यः
i. 25.	ओष्ठ्यानामधरोष्ठम् ³ ॥	ओष्ठ्यानामधरोष्ठ्यं
i. 30.	ईषत्स्पृष्टमन्तःस्थानाम् ॥	ईषत्स्पृष्टमन्तस्थानां
i. 34.	एकारौकारयोर्विवृततमम् ॥	एकारौकारयोर्विवृततरमैकारौकारयोर्विवृततमं ⁴

1. The Oriental MSS Library of Ujjain, too, has stocked an old MS of the same work designated as *Atharvaveda-Pārṣada-Prātiśākhya*.

2. WHITNEY's emendation of "अथाङ्गिरसः" (Page 245, "The last word is, as I cannot doubt, a copyist's error for "अथवाङ्गिरसः") is quite uncalled for.

3. This is WHITNEY's emendation. From his footnote the Berlin MS seems to agree here with our MS.

4. This appears to be an emended reading in our MS.

WHITNEY's No.	WHITNEY's Reading.	Kautsa Reading.
i. 54.	पदान्ते च ॥	पदांते च
i. 66.	लकारस्य रेफः पादमङ्गुलिमित्येव- मादीनाम् ¹ ॥	लकारस्य रेफः पादमङ्गुरिमित्येव- मादीनां
i. 68.	यरोष्मापत्तौ च ॥	परोष्मापत्तौ च
i. 77.	अस्मे युष्मे त्वे मे इति चोदान्ताः ॥	अस्मे युष्मे त्वे मे इति चोदान्तः
i. 82.	आर्त्ता इवादिष्विवादितिः ² परः ॥	आर्त्ता इवादिष्विवादिति परः
i. 85.	पांसुमांसादीनाम् ॥	अपांशुसु (subsequently- emended as उपांशुरं) मांसादीनां
i. 94-95.	सोष्मणि पूर्वस्यानुष्मा ॥ आन्तर्येण वृत्तिः ॥	सोष्मणि पूर्वस्यानुष्मा ³ आन्तर्येण वृत्तिः
i. 102.	अन्यस्मिन्व्यञ्जने चतुर्थमष्टमं वा ॥	अन्यस्मिन्व्यञ्जने प्रथमचतुर्थ- मुत्तमं वा ⁴
i. 104.	पूर्वस्वरं संयोगाविघातश्च ॥	पूर्वस्वरं संयोगाभिघातश्च
After i. 105.	(Part of the commentary contained in the Berlin Ms.) किमर्थः परिपाठः । इत उत्तरमधि- कम् । एतावत्स्वार्थोऽपि । बहु- विधास्त्रिविधाः श्रुतयो भवन्ति । स्वर- परा अभिनिष्ठानपरा व्यञ्जनपराः । तामां याः समानाक्षरपरास्ता इतावदुतवद्भव- न्ति इतावदुतवद्भवन्ति ॥	(Part of the Text proper) किमर्थः परिपाठ एतावत्स्वार्थोऽपि (later emended as " त्स्वार्थ- त्रयि) बहुविधास्त्रिविधाः श्रुतयो भवति स्वरपरा अभिनिष्ठानपरा व्यञ्जन- परास्तासां याः समानाक्षरपरास्ता इतावदुतवद्भवन्ति इत उत्तरमधिकं

Chapter II

ii. 3.	पदान्ते चाधोषाः ॥	पदांते चाधोषाः ⁴
ii. 15.	ताभ्यां समानपदे तवर्गीयस्य पूर्व- सस्थानः ॥	ताभ्यां समानपदे ⁵ तवर्गीयस्य पूर्वसस्थानः
ii. 16.	पकारान्नानापदेऽपि ॥	पकारां उत्तरं नानापदेऽपि ॥

1. Vide WHITNEY's note on page 48—" It is not in accordance with the usage of our treatise elsewhere to give, in citing a word or phrase in a rule, another form than that which it actually has in the text: we should have expected here पादमङ्गुरि०." Obviously the Kautsa reading removes WHITNEY's difficulty.

2. This is WHITNEY's emendation. From his footnote the Berlin MS seems to agree here with our MS.

3. This appears to be an emended reading in our MS.

4. This appears to be an emended reading in our MS.

5. This appears to be an emended reading in our MS.

WHITNEY's No.	WHITNEY's Reading.	Kautsa Reading.
ii. 26.	नकारस्य चटतवर्गेष्वघोषेष्वनू- ष्मपरेषु विसर्जनीयः ॥	नकारस्य चटतवर्गेषु
ii. 32.	अन्तःस्थोष्मसु लोपः ॥	अन्तःस्थोष्मसु लोपः
ii. 47.	एकामन्त्रिते रौ द्विवचनान्तस्य ॥	एकामन्त्रिते रौ द्विवचनांतस्य
ii. 53.	¹ अकारोपधस्योकारोऽकारे ॥	आकारोपधस्योकारोऽकारे
ii. 59.	दीर्घायुत्वायादिषु ॥	दीर्घायुत्वायादिषु च
ii. 73.	पितुः पितरि ॥	पितुष्पितरि
ii. 75.	आयुः प्रथमे ॥	आयुष्प्रथमे
ii. 77.	परिधिः पतातौ ॥	परिधिष्पतातौ
ii. 82.	सहेः साङ्भूतस्य ॥	सहेः साङ् रूपस्य
ii. 85.	तत्तानग्रादिषु च ॥	तत्तानग्रादिषु च
ii. 86.	स्तृतस्वस्वपिषु ॥	स्तृतस्त्यस्वपिषु
ii. 87.	नामिकरेफाप्रत्ययसकारस्य ॥	नामिकुरेफाप्रत्ययसकारस्य
ii. 92.	स्थासहिसिचीनामकारव्यवायेऽपि ॥	स्थासहिसिचीनामकारव्यवधायेपि
ii. 100.	वर्हिपथ्यप्सुदिविपृथिवीति च ॥	वर्हिपथ्यप्सुदिविपृथिवीभ्यश्च
ii. 105.	परेः स्तृणातेः ॥	परेः स्तृणातेः
ii. 107.	अभि स्याम पृतन्यतः ॥	अभि प्याम पृतन्यतः
Chapter III		
iii. 3.	व्यधावप्रत्यये ॥	व्यवधावप्रत्यये
iii. 6.	जीवन्तीमोषधीम् ² ॥	जीवन्तीमोषधीमहं
iii. 20.	रलोपे ॥	रलोपे पूर्वस्य
iii. 25.	अध त्यंधीः परवर्जम् ॥	अधे त्यंधीः परवर्ज
After iii. 28.	(Missing in the Berlin Ms. ³)	छकारश्च पिप्पल्यादिषु पूर्वात् न
iii. 33.	प्रगृह्याश्च प्रकृत्या ॥	प्रगृह्याश्च प्रकृत्या ॥
iii. 53.	एकरोकारान्तात्पूर्वः पदादेरका- रस्य ॥	एकारौकारान्तात्पूर्वपदादेकारस्य

1. Vide WHITNEY's note. The Kautsa reading agrees with the other Prāti-
śākhya cited by WHITNEY.

2. According to WHITNEY's note, the commentary in the Berlin MS. is here
identical with the Kautsa reading.

3. Vide WHITNEY's note (page 141)—“Then follows a lacuna in the manus-
cript, of some extent and importance, since it certainly includes one or more rules
.....” The ending “न” of the recovered portion is part, already guessed by
WHITNEY, of the Sūtra iii.29 “न विसर्जनीयः”.

WHITNEY's No.

WHITNEY's Reading.

Kautsa Reading.

- Prior to iii. 55. (Part of the commentary (Part of the Text proper) contained in the Berlin Ms.) ॐ मू षडेव स्वरितजातानि लक्ष-
षडेव स्वरितजातानि लक्षणाः गानि प्रतिजानते पूर्व पूर्व दृढतरं प्रतिजानते ॥ पूर्व पूर्व दृढतरं मदीयो मदीयो यद्यदुत्तरं अभिनिहितः प्राश्निष्ठो यद्यदुत्तरम् ॥ अभिनिहितः प्राश्निष्ठो (further emended as प्राक्-जात्यः क्षैप्रश्च ता उभौ ॥ तैरो-श्निष्ठो) जात्यः क्षैप्रश्च तावुभौ तैरो-व्यञ्जनपादवृत्तावेतत्स्वरितमण्डलम् ॥ व्यञ्जनपादवृत्तावेतत्स्वरितमण्डलम् सर्व-सर्वतीक्ष्णोऽभिनिहितस्ततः प्राश्निष्ठ तौक्ष्णोऽभिनिहितस्ततः प्राश्निष्ठ (later उच्यते ॥ ततो मृदुतरौ स्वारौ जात्यः emended as प्राक्श्निष्ठ) उच्यते क्षैप्रश्च तावुभौ ॥ ततो मृदुतरः स्वार- ततो मृदुतरौ स्वारौ जात्यः क्षैप्रश्च स्तैरोव्यञ्जन उच्यते ॥ पादवृत्तो मृदुतर तावुभौ ततो मृदुतरः स्वारस्तैरो-इति स्वारबलाबलम् ॥ अपर आह व्यञ्जन उच्यते पादवृत्तो मृदुतर इति तैरोव्यञ्जनपादवृत्तौ तुल्यवृत्तौ इति ॥ स्वारबलाबलं अपरः प्राह तैरोव्यञ्जन-उदात्तः पूर्वः ॥ परोऽनुदात्तः ॥ स्वरितः पादवृत्तौ तुल्यवृत्तौ इत्युदात्तः पूर्वः सन्धिः ॥ परोनुदात्तः स्वरितसन्धिः
- iii. 55. एकारौकारौ पदान्तौ परतोऽकारं एकारौकारौ पदान्तौ परतोऽकारः सोऽभिनिहितः ॥ सोऽभिनिहितः
- iii. 56. इकारयोः प्राश्निष्ठः ॥ इकारयोः प्राक्श्निष्ठः¹
- iii. 60. २ ऊकारस्य सर्वत्र ॥ ऊकारस्य सर्वत्र
- iii. 62. व्यञ्जनव्यवेतस्तैरोव्यञ्जनः ॥ व्यञ्जनव्यपेतस्तैरोव्यञ्जनः
- iii. 65. अभिनिहितप्राश्निष्ठजान्यक्षैप्राणामुदा- अभिनिहितप्राक्श्निष्ठजान्यक्षैप्रा-
त्स्वरितोदयानामणुमात्रानिधाता विक- णामुदात्तस्वरितोदयानामणुमात्रा-
म्पितं तत्कवयो वदन्ति ॥ निधातो विकंपितं तत्कवयो वदन्ति
- iii. 71. स्वरितादनुदात्त उदात्तश्रुतिः ॥ स्वरितादनुदात्तमुदात्तश्रुतिः
- After iii. 74. (Part of the commentary (Part of the Text proper) contained in the Berlin Ms.) अस्वराणि व्यञ्जनानि स्वरवन्तीत्या-
अस्वराणि व्यञ्जनानि स्वरवन्ती- न्यतरेयः किं सन्धेः स्वरितं पूर्वरूपमि-
त्यान्यतरेयः ॥ किं सन्धेः स्वरितं त्यान्यतरेयः उत्तररूपं गांमितिः ॥ भवति ॥ पूर्वरूपमित्यान्यतरेयः ॥ किमक्षरस्य स्वयमाणस्य स्वयते अर्द्ध उत्तररूपं शाङ्खमितिः ॥ किमक्षरस्य ह्रस्वस्य पादो दीर्घस्येकैकं सर्वमिति स्वयमाणस्य स्वयते ॥ अर्धं ह्रस्वस्य शाङ्खमितिः अक्षरस्यैषा विधा न विद्यते

1. This appears as an emended reading in our MS.

2. This is WHITNEY's emendation. From his note the Berlin MS. seems to agree here with our MS.

3. This appears as an emended reading in our MS.

WHITNEY's No.	WHITNEY's Reading.	Kautsa Reading.
	पादो दीर्घस्येत्येके ॥ सर्वमिति शाङ्ख- मित्रिरक्षरस्यैषा विधा न विद्यते यद्य- द्विश्वरीभव (?) ॥ ऋगर्धर्चपदा- न्तनावग्रहविवृत्तिषु मात्राकालः ॥	यद्विश्वरीभावः ऋगर्धर्चपदांताव- ग्रहविवृत्तिषु मात्राकालः कालः
After iii. 80.	(Missing in the Berlin Ms. ¹)	नसञ्च धातुस्थात्पकारात् उरुब्रह्मण्व- त्यादीनां निपातस्य स्वः (later emended as निपातस्वः)
iii. 83.	पूर्याणः ॥	दूर्याणः
After iii. 85.	(Not found in the Berlin Ms. and not detected by WHITNEY).	प्र मिनन्ति
iii. 86.	न मिनन्ति ² ॥	Originally न मिनाति, later emended as न मिनातेः
After iii. 86.	(Not found in the Berlin Ms. and not detected by WHITNEY.)	नभेः
iii. 89.	पदान्तस्पर्शयुक्तस्य ॥	पदांतस्य स्पर्शयुक्तस्य
iii. 95.	पदेनावर्जिते च ॥	पदेनावर्जितेन

Chapter IV

Prior to iv. 1.	(Part of the Commentary contained in the Berlin Ms.)	(Part of the Text proper समासावग्रहविग्रहान्पदे यथोवाच समासावग्रहविग्रहान्पदे यथोवाच च्छंदसि आकटायनः तथा प्रवक्ष्यामि छन्दसि आकटायनः ॥ तथा वक्ष्यामि चतुष्टयं पदं नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपातानां चतुष्टयं पदं नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपाता- आख्यातं यत्क्रियावाचि नाम सत्त्वा- नाम् ॥ आख्यातं यत्क्रियावाचि नाम ख्यमुच्यते निपाताश्चादयोऽसत्त्व उप- सत्त्वाख्यमुच्यते ॥ निपाताश्चादयः सर्गास्तु प्रादयः नाम नाम्नामुदात्तेन सर्वं उपसर्गास्तु प्रादयः ॥ नाम नाम्ना- समस्तं प्रकृतिस्वरं न गुष्मदस्मद्वचनानि नुदात्तेन समस्तं प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥ न न चामंत्रितमिष्यते नामानुदात्तं प्रकृति-
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1. Vide WHITNEY's note (page 177), "Here follows a lacuna, apparently of considerable extent etc."

2. On iii.86 WHITNEY remarks, "The manuscript reads *minanti* instead of *mināti*, and the final repetition of the rule before its successor is wanting." The scribe of the Berlin MS. seems to have erroneously combined into one the two Sūtras "प्र मिनन्ति" and "न मिनाति".

WHITNEY's No.	WHITNEY's Reading.	Kautsa Reading.
Prior to iv. 1. (continued)	<p>युष्मदस्मद्वचनानि न चामन्त्रितमि- ष्यते ॥ नामानुदात्तं प्रकृतिस्वरो गति- रनुचो वा नाम चेत्स्यादुदात्तं ॥ क्रिया- योगे गतिः पूर्वः समासो यावन्तोऽ- नुचाः समर्थास्तान् समस्यते ॥</p> <p>यत्रानेकोऽनुदात्तोऽस्ति परश्च प्रकृतिस्वरः ॥ आख्यातं नाम वा यत्स्या- त्सर्वमेव समस्यते ॥ सोपसर्गं तु यन्नीचैः पूर्वं वा यदि वा परम् ॥ उदात्तेन समस्यन्ते तथैव सुप्रतिष्ठितम् ॥ उदात्तस्तु निपातो यः सोऽनुदात्तः क्वचिद्भवेत् ॥ समस्यन्ते तथा विधि- मितिहासो निदर्शनम् ॥ नधारिषां सुसहेत्येवमादीन्युदाहरेत् ॥ सहेत्यने- नानुदात्तं परं नाम समस्यते ॥</p>	<p>स्वरो गतिरनुचो वा नाम चेत्स्यादुदात्तं क्रियायोगे गतिपूर्वः समासो यावन्तो- ऽनुचाः समर्थास्तान्समस्येत्.</p> <p>यत्रानेकोऽप्यनुचोऽस्ति परश्च प्रकृ- तिस्वरः आख्यातं नाम वा यत्स्यात्सर्व- मेव समस्यते सोपसर्गं तु यन्नीचैः पूर्व वा यदि वा परं उदात्तेन समस्येते यथैतत्सुप्रतिष्ठितं उदात्तस्तु निपातो यः सोऽनुदात्तः क्वचिद्भवेत् समस्यते यथाविधिमितिहासो निदर्शनं नधा- रिषां ससहेत्येवमादीन्युदाहरेत् सहे- त्यनेनानुदात्तं परं नाम समस्यते.</p>
	<p>अनुदानेन चोदात्तं स्वभावो यत्र चोच्यते ॥ सहसूक्तवाकः सान्तर्देशाः शतक्रानो निदर्शनम् ॥</p>	<p>अनुदानेन चोदात्तमभावो यत्र चोच्यते सहसूक्तवाकः सान्तर्देशाः शत- क्रानो निदर्शनं</p>
	<p>अनुदात्तो नु गतिर्मध्ये पूर्वपरौ प्रकृति- स्वरौ ॥ पूर्वेण विग्रहस्तत्र पुरुषेऽधि समाहिताः (Transposed)</p>	<p>उदात्तो नु गतिर्यत्रानुदात्तं परं पदं पूर्वेण विग्रहस्तत्र संसुभूत्या निद- र्शनं यत्रोभे प्रकृतिस्वरे पूर्व यच्च परं</p>
	<p>उदात्तानुगतिर्यत्रानुदात्तं परं पदम् ॥ पूर्वेण विग्रहस्तत्र संसुभूत्या निदर्शनम् ॥</p>	<p>च यत् वर्जयित्वाद्युदात्तानि सर्वमेव विगृह्यते नामाख्यानि समस्यन्ते न चाख्यातं च नाम च नाम नाम्नोप- सर्गैस्तु संवन्धार्थं समस्यन्ते न युष्मद- स्मदादेशा अनुदात्ताः पदात्परे नामो-</p>
	<p>यत्रोभे प्रकृतिस्वरे पूर्व यच्च परं च यत् ॥ वर्जयित्वाद्युदात्तानि सर्वमेव समस्यते ॥</p>	<p>पसर्गगतिभिः समस्यन्ते कदाचन</p>
	<p>नाख्यातानि समस्यन्ते न चाख्यातं च नाम च ॥ नाम नाम्नोप- सर्गैस्तु सम्बन्धार्थं समस्यन्ते ॥</p>	
	<p>न युष्मदस्मदादेशा अनुदात्तात्प- दात्परे ॥ नामोपसर्गगतिभिः समस्यन्ते कदाचन ॥</p>	

WHITNEY's No.

WHITNEY's Reading.

Kautsa Reading.

Prior to iv. 1.
(concluded)

मामनु प्र ते प्र वामित्येवमादी-
न्युदाहरेत् ॥ एतदश्चानुदानानीदमस्य
तथैव च ॥

नामोपसर्गगतिभिः समस्यन्ते कदा-
चन ॥ बृहन्नेषां य एनां वनिमायन्ति
पर्येनान्ययस्येति निदर्शनम् ॥

अनुदानो गतिः सर्वैः समस्तः
स्वरितादिभिः ॥ संस्त्राव्येण दुरमर्ण्य
आचार्येति निदर्शनम् ॥

प्रपरानिसमादुर्गिरवाधिपरिवीनि
च ॥ अत्यभ्यपिसूदपा य उपानु-
प्रतिर्विशतिः ॥

एकाक्षरा उदात्ता आयुदानास्तथा-
परे ॥ अभीत्यन्त उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे
गतिस्तथा ॥

आयुदाना दशैतेषामुच्चा एकाक्षरा
नव ॥ विंशतेरुपसर्गाणामन्तोदात्तस्त्व-
भीत्ययम् ॥

अच्छारमस्तंहस्तोलाङ्गलंतिरःपुरःपुन-
र्णवःक्षितीवाक्षीतिफलीहिङ्स्त्रुग्व
पट्प्रादु हलाककजास्वाहास्वधा—
श्रत्स्वरललेत्युपसर्गवृत्तीनि यथा-
स्तातस्वराणि ॥

मामनु प्र ते पुत्र इत्येवमादी-
न्युदाहरेत् एतदश्चानुदानानीदमस्य
तथैव च

नामोपसर्गगतिभिः समस्यन्ते कदा-
चन बृहन्नेषां य एनां वनिमायन्ति पर्ये-
नान्ययस्येति निदर्शनं

अनुदानो नु गतिर्मध्ये पूर्वपरौ
प्रकृतिस्वरौ पूर्वेण विग्रहस्तत्र पुरुषेधि
समाहिते (Transposed)

अनुदानो नु गतिः सर्वैः समस्तः
स्वरितादिभिः संस्त्राव्येण निदुरमर्ण्य
आचार्येति निदर्शनं प्रपरानिसमानि-
दुरवाधिपरिवीति च अत्यपिसूद
पाभीत्युपानुप्रति विंशतिः

एकाक्षरा उदात्तास्त आयुदाना-
स्तथाऽपरे अभीत्यन्त उपसर्गाः क्रिया-
योगे गतिस्तथा

आयुदाना दशैतेषामुच्चा एकाक्षरा
नव विंशतेरुपसर्गाणामन्तोदात्तस्त्वभी-
त्ययं

अच्छारमस्तंहस्तोलाङ्गलंतिरःपुरः-
पुनर्णवः क्षितीश्येनीवातीफली
हिङ्स्त्रुग्वषडुलाककजास्वाहास्वधा-
श्रत्स्वररला इत्युपसर्गवृत्तीनि
यथाम्नातस्वराणि

iv. 6.

आशीर्बभूवेति छुतस्वरस्य सिद्ध-
त्वात् ॥

iv. 12.

अनिङ्गेन पूर्वेण ॥

iv. 15.

थानेकाक्षरेण ॥

iv. 18.

वकारादौ च ॥

iv. 20.

तातिलि ॥

iv. 21.

उभेयाद् द्युभि ॥

आशीर्बभूवेति छुतः स्वरस्या-
सिद्धत्वात्

अनिङ्गेन पूर्वेण

व्यानेकाक्षरेण

ककारादौ च

तातये

उभेयाद् द्युसि

WHITNEY's No.	WHITNEY's Reading.	Kautsa Reading.
iv. 23.	विश्वाद्दानीमि ॥	विश्वदानीमि
iv. 30.	वस्ववस्वप्रसुन्नसाधुभिर्यो ॥	वस्वघस्वप्रसुन्नसाधुभिर्यो
iv. 39.	अनतौ विसंभ्यां प्राणाख्या चेत् ॥	अनितौ विसंभ्यां प्राणाख्या चेत्
iv. 42.	मिथोवगृह्ययोर्मध्यमेन ॥	मिथो वावगृह्ययोर्मध्यमेन
iv. 44.	द्विरुक्ते चावगृह्ये ॥	द्विरुक्ते वावगृह्ये
iv. 46.	सुमिषक्तमस्तमे ॥	सुमिषक्तमे
iv. 53.	अब्रतिजरत्पर्वसु ॥	अंचतौ जरत्पूर्वसु (?)
iv. 65.	मनुष्यत् ¹ ॥	मनुष्यत्
iv. 69.	दृशौ सर्वनामैकारान्तेन ॥	दृशि सर्वनामैकारान्तेन
iv. 74.	षत्वणत्वोपाचारदीर्घदुत्वलोपान्प- दानां चर्चापरिहारयोः समापत्तिः ॥	षत्वणत्वोपचारदीर्घदुत्वलोपात्पदानां चर्चापरिहारयोः समापत्तिः
iv. 93.	वनियमिश्रथिग्लापि ² ॥	वनियमिश्रथिग्लपीनां
After iv. 93.	(Missing in the Berlin Ms. ³)	इंग्यवच्च
iv. 98.	इदमूष्वादिषु पदत्वात् ॥	इदमूष्वादिषु त्रिपदत्वात्
iv. 100.	दीर्घायुत्वादीनां च ॥	दीर्घायुत्वायादीनां च
iv. 104.	यज्ञततिर्न पृथग्वेदेभ्यः ॥	यज्ञपतिर्न पृथग्वेदेभ्यः
iv. 107.	पदाध्ययनमन्तादिगच्छस्वरार्थज्ञाना- र्थम् ॥	पदाध्ययनमन्तादिशब्दस्वरार्थज्ञानार्थ संहितादाढ्यार्थ ⁴
iv. 117.	प्रगृह्यावगृह्यसमापाद्यान्तगतानां द्विर्वचनं परिहार इतिमध्ये ॥	प्रगृह्यावगृह्यसमापद्यानामंतग- तानां द्विर्वचनं परिहार इतिमध्ये
iv. 124.	समापाद्यानामन्ते संहितावद्वचनम् ॥	समापद्यानामन्ते संहितावद्वचनं
iv. 126. (concluding)	स एकपदः परिहार्यश्च ॥	स एकपदः परिहार्यश्च परिहार्यश्च

1. From WHITNEY's note on page 217 the Kautsa reading appears to be preferable.

2. The Kautsa reading removes the difficulty expressed by WHITNEY on page 229.

3. Vide WHITNEY's note on page 231—"The signature of the section is as follows : 102 : Caturthasya tṛtiyaḥ pādaḥ ; so that, unless rule 53 is to be divided into two, or unless the copyist's count is inaccurate, we have lost, somewhere in the course of the second and third sections, one of the rules of the text."

4. WHITNEY's note on page 235 shows that the commentary in the Berlin MS. takes note of "संहितादाढ्यार्थम् "

APPENDIX B

(Colophons and Enumerations of Sūtras).

WHITNEY'S Reference.	Berlin MS.	Kautsa MS.
After i. 41.	चतुराध्यायिकायां प्रथमस्याध्या- यस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥ सूत्र ४१ ॥ एकचत्वारिंशत् ॥	४१. इत्यथर्ववेदे कौत्सव्याकरणे प्रथमाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥ १ ॥
After i. 62.	प्रथमस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥ ६२ ॥	२१. इति प्रथमाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः २.
After i. 91.	प्रथमस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥ ९१ ॥	२९. इति प्रथमाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ३.
After i. 105.	चतुराध्यायिकायां च प्रथमोऽध्यायः समाप्तः ॥ १३ (?) ॥	१९. इति प्रथमाध्याये चतुर्थः पादः ४. इत्यथर्ववेदे कौत्सव्याकरणे चतुराध्यायिकायां प्रथमोऽध्यायः समाप्तः १. सूत्राणि ११०.
After ii. 39.	द्वितीयस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥	३९. इति द्वितीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः १.
After ii. 59.	॥ ५९ ॥ द्वितीयस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥	२०. इति द्वितीयाध्याये द्वितीयः पादः २
After ii. 80.	॥ ८० ॥ द्वितीयस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥	२१. इति द्वितीयाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ३.
After ii. 107.	॥ १६ (?) ॥ इति द्वितीयोऽ- ध्यायः समाप्तः ॥	२७. इति द्वितीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ४. इत्यथर्ववेदे कौत्सव्याकरणे चतुराध्यायिकायां द्वितीयोऽध्यायः २. सूत्र १०७. एक्यं २१७.
After iii. 25.	तृतीयस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥	२५. इति तृतीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः १.
After iii. 54.	तृतीयस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥	३१. इति तृतीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः २.
After iii. 74.	तृतीयस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥	४०. इति तृतीयाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ३.
After iii. 96.	॥ १०५ ॥ इति तृतीयोऽध्यायः ॥	२९. इति तृतीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ४. इत्यथर्ववेदे कौत्सव्याकरणे चतुराध्यायिकायां तृतीयोऽध्यायः समाप्तः ३. सू० १२५.

WHITNEY'S Reference.	Berlin MS.	Kautsa MS.
After iv. 46.	॥ ४७ ॥ चतुर्थस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥ and चतुराध्यायीभाष्ये चतुर्थस्य प्रथमः पादः समाप्तः ॥	८८. इति चतुर्थाध्याये प्रथमः पादः १.
After iv. 72.	चतुर्थस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥	२८. इति चतुर्थाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः २.
After iv. 100.	॥ १०२ ॥ चतुर्थस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥	३०. इति चतुर्थाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ३.
After iv. 126.	इति शौनकाय्ये चतुराध्यायिके चतुर्थः पादः ॥ चतुराध्यायीभाष्यं समाप्तम् ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ लेखकपाठकयोः शुभं भवतु ॥ ध्यायः ४. प्र० मू० ११०. द्वि० मू० श्रीचण्डिकायै नमः ॥ श्रीरामः ॥ १०७. तृः मू. १२५. च. सू. १७४. संवत् १७१४ वर्षे ज्यैष्ठ शुद्ध ९ दिने इत्यथर्ववेदे कौत्सव्याकरणे चतुराध्या- समाप्तं लिखितं पुस्तकम् ॥	२८. इति चतुर्थाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ४. सूत्राणि १७४. इति चतुर्थो- ५१६ ॥

SOME INTERESTING VOCABLES FROM MODERN INDO-ARYAN DIALECTS

By

BABURAM SAKSENA

A study of the modern Indo-Aryan (IA) dialects does offer not only interesting facts for Phonetics but also for Semantics. I have collected together lists of Awadhī and Mālvi words and from those offer here a few words as specimen.

Awadhī : *onahā, kaniyā, kōrā, milā, hālab.*

Mālvi : *āl, kabīth, kēm, khāṭolā, tāraj, paṭaknā, batānā, banōbast.*

onahā 'overcast' is connected with Skt. *avanaddha-* and bears the same sense even now. The same root is found preserved in *pahnab* 'to shut up, to put in a fold' which is derived from *pra-ṇaddha*.

kaniyā 'lap' is a word of the feminine gender and is found particularly in Western Awadhī. It corresponds with standard Hindi *gōd*. The derivation of *kaniyā* is doubtful. Probably it is connected with Skt. *karna* 'side' and we may compare with it Marāṭhī *kānī* fem. 'loop of a rope' (cited under *kānu*, NEP. DIC., p. 86).

kōrā 'lap' derived from Skt. *kroḍa* is a rare preservation of the ancient word in its actual sense. It is found in Eastern Awadhī particularly and is used in the masculine gender as different from *gōd* and *kaniyā* cited above. Professor TURNER suggests the possibility of Nēpālī *kolḷo* (NEP. DIC., p. 108) with Skt. *kroḍa*.

Milā 'a person, a man,' is found in Eastern Awadhī; its origin is obscure. Possibly it has a non-Aryan origin. It is very commonly used by the illiterate people.

hālab 'to wade, to move' found in Eastern Awadhī has quite a distinct sense from its Hindustānī correspondent, *hilnā* 'to shake, to move' (intransitive) and *hilānā* (transitive).

āl 'pumpkin' corresponds with Hindustānī *laukī* and is evidently a derivative of Skt. *alābu* (NEP. DIC, p. 563, see *lauko*). Like *laukī*, *āl* is feminine and the two words together make a fine example of the difference in the play of the accent in the earlier stages of the Prakrits.

kabīth 'wood-apple' corresponds with Hindustānī *kaithā* and is derived from Pkt. *kaviṭṭha*. Professor TURNER (NEP. DIC., p. 105 under *kaīth*) quotes Dakkhinī Hindustānī *kawīṭ*, Sindhī *kawīṭu* and Marāṭhī *kavāṭh* which have-ṭ- while other Indo-Aryan languages have -t.

kēm 'the Kadamba tree' is derived from Skt. *kadamba* and is the only derivative of the word known so far. The corresponding words in other IA are loan-words from Sanskrit.

khātāṭā 'wife, woman' is very common in Mālvi. Its derivation is obscure. Has it any connection with *khaṭvā* ; *khāt-*, the meaning being 'one who occupies the bed or shares it' ?

tāraj 'latrine, Nature's call.' The origin is obscure.

paṭaknā 'to put' corresponds with the same word in Hindustānī and Awadhī where it bears the meaning of 'throwing, causing to fall'. The Mālvi word does not contain any bad tinge and is quite commonly used in the sense of Hin. *rakhnā*.

batānā 'to show', derived from Skt. *vārtā* 'talk', has come to be restricted in this sense in Mālvi although in Hindustānī it still retains the meaning of 'talking, informing'. The transition from 'talking' to 'showing', however, is intelligible as giving information entails generally some physical gestures. In a particular idiom in Hindustānī viz., in *bhāv batānā* 'to suggest feelings by the poses of dance', the sense of 'showing' is available.

banōbast corresponding to Persian *band-o-bast* 'arrangement, management' is restricted in Mālvi to a particular sense. It means 'the arrangement made to facilitate the coming out in the open of a Purdah princess, involving the emptying of the place and its vicinity of all males'.

māḷī 'husband' is peculiar to Mālvi and is widely used in this sense. Its origin is obscure ; it is unlikely that it has anything to do with Awadhī *māḷī* 'earth', derived from Skt. *mṛttikā*.

If we interest indigenous scholars in the usefulness of collecting vocables of the unwritten dialects of IA, I believe we shall find considerable material of linguistic interest. Incidentally we shall also be able to know how far our spoken, as different from literary, dialects owe a debt to the substratum languages. The written standard languages, most naturally, have been avoiding the loan-words, and what we miss there, is easily available in the dialects. In this respect we Indians ourselves can do a lot, unaided by foreign scholars.

NOTES ON MARĀTHĪ ETYMOLOGY—I

By

S. M. KATRE

In my Presidential Address at the Linguistics Section of the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum in December 1937 I had occasion to draw the attention of all Indo-Aryan Linguisticians to the necessity of studying the different modern Indo-Aryan languages scientifically and incidentally correct the many wrong notions prevailing about Modern Linguistics as applied to Indian Languages. There is so much to be done in this field yet, but at times it is necessary to correct wrong movements which are liable to bring the whole science into misuse by the application of pseudo-scientific methods. It is therefore necessary to review the whole field of Modern Indo-Aryan Linguistics and urge upon the properly trained scholars not only to publish their scientific researches in English but also give the benefit of their specialised knowledge to scholars of each language through the medium of that language itself.

In this series of studies I propose to discuss a few interesting words the history of which is as yet not clear to Marāthī scholars. The principles of modern Linguistics must be clearly borne in mind before we attempt to give the *etymon* of any given vocable. And the history of modern Indo-Aryan is so deeply imbedded in the earlier stages of Indo-Aryan that at times we may even have to go deeply into questions which are not the immediate concern of a scholar of modern I-A. languages. In this sense these studies will not be a regular contribution towards an etymological dictionary of Marāthī on the comparative basis, but they will form the source book on the foundation of which any future comparative etymological dictionary of Marāthī will have to be built up. They are rather indicative of the methods to be applied thoroughly to every word before any comprehensive attempt in that direction materialises, and as such we may have to discuss the question of principles involved not only in Marāthī linguistics but also in the whole field of I-A. linguistics.

To start with the main theme of these studies I shall begin with two words which occur in the brilliant paper of Prof. VELANKAR on "Apabhraṁśa and Marāthī Metres"¹, namely *ovī* and *sāki*. Prof. VELANKAR has demonstrated beyond any possibility of doubt that all the common Marāthī metres are to be traced to the popular Apabhraṁśa metres which were in vogue among the people just before the modern I-A. vernacular came into being. So we may overlook for the present the etymology suggested by RAJWADE and

1. *New Indian Antiquary* (NIA.) 1.215-228.

supported by PRIYOLKAR of the word *ovī* from the root *ova-ñē* < Sk. *ava-√mā*¹ "to measure off", and consider the purely historical aspect of the question of deriving *ovī* from the Sk. *ardha-catuṣ-padī*. Prof. VELANKAR has made out an unimpeachable case for deriving *ovī* from Sk. *ardha-catuṣ-padī* from the *metrical* point of view, but the linguistic aspect of this question needs investigation.

It is one of the fundamental principles in modern linguistics to take proper notice of the chronological sequence of all linguistic phenomena ; etymology as such can only be supported if the facts are demonstrable otherwise from the chronological point of view. For there are many words in the Sanskrit lexicons which are patently Sanskritisations of Prakrit, Apabhraṁśa or other words of a non-Aryan character, and citations of these in no way prove the possibilities of such derivations. A case in point is the word *bhoplā*, which has been identified by the late Mgr. DALGADO with the Portuguese word *abôbra*² in opposition to the Sk. lex. word *bchu-phala-ka* ; the lexicon giving this word is of recent origin, and may at first sight appear to be a Sanskritisation of the Portuguese original. But it has been actually demonstrated that this word occurs much earlier than the coming of the Portuguese to India³ and therefore gives credence to the etymology of Sk. *bahu-phala-ka* even if an earlier occurrence of the Sk. word is not traceable.

Purely linguistic considerations show that the process suggested by Prof. VELANKAR involves difficulties which cannot be explained away by rules of Prakrit Grammar. Although we depend to a large extent upon the orthodox Prakrit Grammarians for our understanding of Prakrit Grammar, we do not depend upon them for our study of Prakrit Linguistics. The object of the Prakrit Grammarians like Vararuci and Hemacandra was not to give us a historical grammar of the Prakrit languages but to give us a practical method of learning Prakrit with the mastery of Sanskrit ; from this point of view there are many errors of linguistic terminology employed by these orthodox Grammarians, since the aspects of phonetics, phonology, morphology or semantics (concerning ourselves only with the vocables in a sentence and their interpretation outside of Syntax) were not independently studied as a whole.

The Marāṭhī word *auṭ* is in the first place connected not with Sk. *ardha-caturtha-* but with the form *ardha- *turtha* ; but here we meet with certain difficulties. Sk. *ardha-* has given us two forms in Pk. *addha-* and *aḍḍha-* ; if Sk. *ardha-* in the above compound gives us the cerebralised form as suggested by Prof. VELANKAR in *aḍḍhuṭṭha-* we cannot derive Mar. *auṭ* or for that matter Gujarati *ūṭhu* from the OI-A. form *ardha- *turtha-* through the MI-A. form *aḍḍhuṭṭha* ; the history of the cerebrals in I-A. shows the untenability

1. NIA. 1. 223 ff.

2. *Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages* (GOS. LXXIV), s. v.

3. In his note on this word (to be published shortly) my friend Mr. P. K. GODE gives a reference from Śrīpati's Marāṭhī commentary on his Jyotiṣaratnamālā. Śrīpati flourished about the 11th century A.D. (see *Indian Culture* 4. 483).

of such supposition. Initially no cerebrals are known to OI-A. in genuine I-A. words ; in MI-A. we find initial cerebrals due to cerebralisation (unexplained) of OI-A. words in certain instances. Medially we find the OI-A. cerebrals retained in MI-A. and the treatment depends upon whether they are single inter-vocalic or otherwise. In Marāṭhī and Gujarati, as in some MI-A. dialects the lateral retroflex *-ḷ-* has replaced the *-ḍ-* in several instances. Apart from these changes a cerebral has not suffered such a drastic treatment as the losing of the occlusion characteristic in Mar. *auṭ*. The cerebralised form *aḍḍha* is characteristic of Ardha-Māgadhī and Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī¹ while *addha* is the only form known to the other dialects. We have actually the form *addhuṭṭha* occurring in Amg.² besides the cerebralised *aḍḍhuṭṭha*. The form *āuṭṭi* is also quoted from the *Sūrapaṇṇatti*.³ Probably it is a mislection for *āuṭṭhi*. The Guj. form *ūṭhu* preserves the original aspirate of the MI-A. and OI-A. stages, while Mar. characteristically loses the final aspiration. But it should be remembered that the form *addhuṭṭha* is not directly from Sk. *ardha* + *caturtha*, but from *ardha* + **turtha*. Now in the case of the equations given by Prof. VELANKAR from Sk. *ardha-catuṣ-padī* to *ovi* the cerebral forms have to be replaced in the first instance by dental forms of Sk. *ardha*. But the chief difficulty here is the transition of *°-uṭṭha-* to *°-uḍḍha-* (from Sk. **-turtha-*) ; this is by no means an easily explained phenomenon, though we have some parallels in *kaṭṭha-* : *kaḍḍha-*, etc. No normal historically demonstrable phonetical law can explain this vocalising of a consonant cluster, and the possible stages are of such a nature as to make the whole process untenable. Secondly we have to explain the change of forms like *ardha-catuṣ-padī* : MI-A. *addha-(c)au-ppai* through *addha-(c)āuvai* ; we have indeed Hindi *caupāi*. from Sk. *catuṣ-padī*. This last will give us in the Apabhraṃśa stage a form like **ādha-ūvai* or *āha-ūvai* but nothing beyond. The syncope is possible only at one stage, and we cannot build up hypothetical forms indefinitely on such basis. Hence on the happy analogy suggested by Prof. VELANKAR himself we have with us a Sk. form like *ardha- *tuṣ-padī* (cf. Sk. *ardha- *turtha*) giving a MI-A. form **addha-ūvai* and an Apabhraṃśa form **āhūvai* with only one syncope. This form may possibly lead to **hūvai* or its Vṛddhi form **hovaī* and yield Mar. (*h*)*ovi* or more popularly *ovi*. For the forms **turtha-* and **tuṣ-* of Sanskrit we may cite *tur-īya* meaning "fourth". This etymology then gets over all the defects of the one given by Prof. VELANKAR and offers a possible evolution of the form on the historical basis of deriving Marāṭhī metres from their corresponding Apabhraṃśa ancestors. But the more natural way of constructing the Mar. word on the same basis, taking into consideration the lame or defective fourth foot of the metre is to take the original Sanskrit word to be *apa-pādikā* giving MI-A. words **ava-vāiā* > **o-vāi-ā* > **o-vi-ā* > Mar. *ovi* regularly.

1. PISCHEL, *Pr. Gr.* §291, (p. 201).

2. *Ibid.*, §§290, 450.

3. *Pāṭi-sadda-mahāṇṇavo*, s. v.

The second word that I am about to discuss here is more interesting and involving of some fundamental discussion of I-A. grammar itself. The word *sākī* is indicative of a Dvipadī containing 28 *mātrās* in each of its two lines making a total of 56 *mātrās*. RAJWADE connected this word with the Sanskrit *śākvarī* indicating a particular Vedic and later classical metre containing altogether 56 syllables. Prof. VELANKAR disagrees with this derivation on two counts : firstly the similarity between the two metres discussed is only connected with the number 56 and therefore superficial, for the Mar. and Sk. metres have nothing else in common, one dealing with 56 *syllables* and the other dealing with 56 *mātrās* ; secondly he quotes the authority of PISCHEL to show that no Sk. *-r-* is lost in MI-A. or the new Indo-Aryan Vernaculars where it is retained as *-r-* or *-l-*. As regards the first contention I have no remarks to offer and I agree with Prof. VELANKAR that since the two metres are unconnected historically or as no historical connection between the two has been demonstrated so far, the derivation appears highly doubtful. But what I intend bringing out in this discussion is that a Sk. *-r-* need not be retained in MI-A. or new I-A. languages. The question of retention must necessarily depend upon the origin of OI-A. *-r-* itself. It is in this sense highly interesting to find out what would be the feminine form of *śākvān-* in MI-A. dialects in opposition to the feminine form *śākvarī* of Sanskrit. A detailed discussion of feminine base formation will be reserved for my basic work on MI-A. comparative grammar. Here I may only mention the point that where OI-A. feminine formations show some PI-E. peculiarities it is not necessary that the MI-A. feminine bases should depend upon the OI-A. bases. In this event though Sk. offers a feminine *śākvarī* to the masculine *śākvān-*, if we demonstrate that the normal formation of the feminine would be a form in MI-A. like *sakkī*, then the case is complete for equating Mar. *sākī* with the Sk. *śāk-varī* through the feminine base formations of OI-A. and MI-A.

This question takes us to the very problem of the alternance *r/n* which we find in the whole domain of Indo-European grammar. A detailed discussion of the problem with reference to I-E. linguistics will be found in BENVENISTE'S *Origines de la formation des noms en indo-eruo péen* (Ardien-Maisonneuve, Paris, 1935). I shall only take the relevant forms from OI-A. in discussing this question of MI-A. formations.

In the first place we find in OI-A. certain flexional types in *r/n* or *i/n*. From *áśan-* (*áśn-* in oblique cases) we have *ásri-*, *catur-ásra-*, etc. Similarly Sk. *ásthi* gives the genitive *asthnáh* ; *udán-* gives us the forms *sam-udrá*, *udrá-*, *anudrá*, etc. Sk. *ákṣi* : *akṣ-nā* ; *ásṛ-k* : *asnáh*, *yákṛ-t* : *yaknáh* ; *śakṛ-t* : *śaknáh* (whence the Prakritised Sk. form *cha-ga-ṇa*) ; *áhar* ; *áhnām*, etc ; *grdhra-* : *grdhnu-* ; *vasar-*, *vāsara-* : *vasan-tá-* ; *údhra* : *údhnah*.

This alternation *r/n* is also found in certain complex suffixes. Of the formation in **-ser-/-sen-* we have no purely I-A. examples ; for this we have

to go back to the I-E. stage where we find this fairly common.¹ Similarly for the formation **-ter-/ten-* of I-E. we have no purely OI-A. examples, and only a comparative study of I-E. shows that where Sk. has the *-tara-/tana-* suffix the alternation is seen in some of the other cognate languages.²

The third formation in this series is in **-wer/n* (or **-mer/n*) and gives us the largest number of examples in OI-A. Vedic *snā-van* has a parallel in Avestic *snā-var-* on which the Prakrit *ṇhāru* and Pāli *nahāru* are based giving the various new I-A. forms. In OI-A. we have two allied suffixes *-vara-* and *-vana-*. In this way we get forms like *īś-vará-* "lord", *adh-vará-* "feast, sacrifice", *it-vará-* "going", *vy-ad-vará-* "gnawing animal", *kár-vara-* "action", etc. A more significant alternance is the feminine formation of *-van-* in *-varī-*; *yāj-van-*: *yaj-varī* "worshipper"; *jī-t-van-*; *jī-t-varī* "conquering"; *ṛtā-van-*: *ṛtā-varī* "regular, truthful"; *pī-van-*: *pī-varī* "full, strong, swelling"; *śák-van-*: *śák-varī* "strong, powerful, able"; *°dāvan-*: *dāvarī* "giver"; *sva-dhā-van-*: *svadhā-varī* "constant, faithful". Similarly we have forms in *-man-/mara-*: *āśman-*: *aś-mará-* "stone"; *ād-man-*: *ad-mará-* "gluttonous".

Thus the question of an alternance of *r/n* goes back to the I-E. stage and shows traces even in the same dialect belonging to this group. But while the feminine formation of *-van-/varī* is common to a few forms the more usual formation in OI-A. is *-vat-/vatī*. Now this suffix becomes *-vanta-* in MI-A. but in the nominative singular, forms in *-vañ* are survivals of OI-A. declension. In the Apabhraṃśa stage such nominative singular forms have often given rise to new bases. Thus the nominative singular masculine *sžkkañ* may easily give rise to the normal feminine *sakkī*, or else the reduction of OI-A. *-vatī* directly give us a form like **vañ* in MI-A. leading to *-vī* in Apabhraṃśa. Hence the Sk. *śák-van* will give rise to MI-A. formations like **sakkī* or **sakkāi*, yielding Apabhraṃśa forms of the type **sakkī* or *sākī*. Thus there is no linguistic difficulty of connecting Mar. *sākī* with Sk. *śák-varī* through the simple form *śák-van*.

1. BENVENISTE, pp. 100-103.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 103-110.

MISCELLANY

THE AVIMUKTA-TATTVA OF BĀLAMBHAṬṬA PĀYAGUṆḌA

In my search for women writers in Sanskrit, on whom I published some articles in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, I came across in the Catalogue of the Oriental Library, Mysore (1922), in the section on 'Māhātmya', p. 179, a work called *Avimukta-tattva*, (MS. No. C.1054 Devanāgarī 71 folios), said to have been compiled by a lady named Bhavāni,—'Bhavāni samgrhita.' The Curator of the Mysore Oriental Library, Mr. M. S. BASAVALINGAYYA, was kind enough to send me extracts of the beginning, end and colophon of this work. From the extracts we learn that this *Avimukta-tattva* on the greatness of Benares is a work of Bālakṛṣṇa or Bālam-bhaṭṭa, son of Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa, and I am contributing this note on the work, since the work seems to have remained unknown till now, not having been mentioned in works like Mr. KANE's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, I.

It is well known that Bālam-bhaṭṭa wrote the *Bālabhaṭṭī* or *Lakṣmī-ryā-khyāna* on the *Mitākṣarā* and published it as a work of his mother, Lakṣmī. From the 6th introductory verse in his *Dharma-śāstra-samgraha* which he began compiling for COLEBROOKE, we learn that Bālam-bhaṭṭa had a stepmother named Bhavāni,—'Lakṣmīsūnurbhavānyāmbah'—India Office Catalogue, No. 1507. We now learn that this Bhavāni was his junior stepmother, that Bālam-bhaṭṭa wrote a treatise on the greatness of Benares called the *Avimukta-tattva* and that this work, he published as a production of this 'Dvitiya ambā Bhavāni'. I give here the beginning, end and colophon of the *Avimukta-tattva* :

BEGINNING : श्रीगणेशाय नमः । श्रीकालभैरवाय नमः ।

अविमुक्ते महाक्षेत्रे पुरुषार्थैकसाधने ।

पराज्ञानादि (?) श्रुत्यादिमूलकं तत्त्वमुच्यते ॥

यद्यपि तापनीयेऽविमुक्तमेवैकं तारकोपदेशद्वारा तत्काले मुक्तिजनकत्वं (?) उक्तं तथापि जाबालादौ तस्य वाराणसीमध्यप्रतिष्ठितत्वमप्युक्तमिति क्षेत्रद्वयं तत्तात्पर्यभूतम् । तथा हि—

END : 'सर्वभूतदयातीर्थं ध्यानतीर्थं विशिष्यते ।

एतानि पञ्चतीर्थानि सन्यस्यन्नि देहिनाम् ॥

वसन्ति सर्वदेहेषु तेषु स्नानं समाचरेत् ॥

इति श्रीवराहपुराणे धरणीवराहसंवादे अध्यात्मतीर्थवर्णनं समाप्तम् ।

हंहो महेश कृष्णामयमानसोऽसि

किं मां न मोचयसि कन्दुकवत्पतन्तम् ।

कर्माणि भोक्तुमिह सन्ति पुराकृतानि

भुक्तेषु तेषु हर हे तव कः प्रसादः ॥

COLOPHON : इति श्री त्यायगण्डो (पायगण्डो) पाल्य बालकृष्णद्वितीयाम्बाभवानीविरचित-
मविमुक्ततत्त्वं संपूर्णम् ॥ संवत् १८४४ कालयुक्ति संवत्सर—

According to Mr. GOVINDA DAS cited in Mr. KANE's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, I, p. 462, the time of Bālam-bhaṭṭa is A.D. 1740-1830. In the same place in Mr. KANE's book, we are told that a Benares Palace Library MS of *Ācāra-bālabhaṭṭī* is dated Śaṁvat 1831 (A.D. 1774) and that a Jammu MS of Bālam-bhaṭṭa's *Upā-kṛti-tattva* is dated Śaṁvat 1848 (A.D. 1791). This Mysore MS of Bālam-bhaṭṭa's *Avimukta-tattva* bears an intermediate date, Śaṁvat 1844 (A.D. 1787).

V. RAGHAVAN

CORRESPONDENCE

MY RESEARCH IN LONDON

When my friends and sympathisers cheered me by their send-offs in last December, many wondered why I was going to Europe for research in Indian History and more particularly in Maratha History. Certain scholars of high repute wrote to tell me that I should do better working with my small typewriter in one of the Records in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and Poona, and derive full benefit of the expense and labour involved.

I often wished the Indian Research Societies and Institutions would concentrate more on the collection of catalogues and press-lists than on the publication of records or selections therefrom, despite the propagandistic value such publications possess. I naturally rejoiced at finding the authorities of European archives sparing no effort to secure catalogues and press-lists from every quarter. These are well bound and kept in a separate section for ready references and within the easy reach of the reader. Every country tells her own tale of her contribution towards the advancement of the social sciences and in unravelling the vast treasure of human knowledge and experience of bygone ages. With the help of these sources in India, not only could duplication of labour and expense have been saved but every effort would have presented a distinct advance.

Up-to-date card indexes filed according to authors and subjects serve adequately to guide an ordinary reader. His requirements are often limited to known sources, but the interest of the research worker is not confined only to the main topic of the book. His imagination prompts him to see much beyond what has been emphasised and conspicuously noticed by the author. The research worker, therefore, feels greatly handicapped if direct access to book-shelves also is denied to him. Titles do not generally indicate the subject-matter in detail and are often misnomers. In fact, any cross index, however exhaustively prepared, does not prove adequate or perfect for his needs. But the old depositories in which his interest is centred are so enormously swollen in the course of time that many of them had to find resort to the "stack" system, owing to lack of space and funds for rearrangement. In such depositories, of course, direct access is neither helpful, nor safe from the administrative point of view. This makes the task of the research worker rather difficult. His speculation on the imperfect data does not often meet with the desired result. The system adopted here of index by personal (or Christian) names instead of surnames of Indian authors is most confusing and disadvantageous too inasmuch as all references to these authors are made by surnames. Subject indexes, which minimise the disadvantages in the author-index, are generally neglected because of the necessity for a specialised labour and also because whatever skill displayed is open to criticism.

Amid these advantages and disadvantages, I began my work in the India Office Library and the British Museum—Oriental Books and Manuscripts Library. A closer idea of the nature of the field of research was necessary as any hasty effort of the kind of "first come first served", must prove not only ineffective but futile, particularly in view of the limitations of time and funds within which I have to work. I therefore devoted about two months to finding out the actual field of work from the voluminous catalogues and press-lists maintained here.

Having made my exhaustive notes of all the published and unpublished material available here, a plan for my campaign was an absolute necessity, so that whatever

harvest I reap must prove helpful and at the same time whatever stage it reached it must be self-contained and serviceable. I determined to work on the following principles :

- (a) To extract material in the first instance from those manuscripts and publications that cannot possibly be lent out,
- (b) To divide the work by periods such as Pre-Shivaji (16th century), Shahaji-Shivaji (1601-1660), Shivaji (1660-1680), Sambhaji (1680-1689), Rajaram (1690-1700) and so on.
- (c) To attempt contemporary and direct sources firstly.
- (d) To note and index whatever volumes read (every volume selected is gone through entirely).

I restricted myself in the first instance to the 16th and 17th centuries, and had to do my search section by section for various reasons.

SECTION	TOTAL NO. OF VOLUMES.*	NO. OF VOLUMES GONE THROUGH.**	NO. OF VOLUMES TO BE STUDIED.***
<i>India Office Library :—</i>			
Col. MacKenzie Collections :			
(a) "1822"	11	3	8
(b) Private	56	22	34
(c) General	118	7	111
Orme Collection	262	82	180
Sanskrit Collection	25	20	5
Marathi Collection	63	18	45
Miscellaneous	25	18	7
<i>India Office Records :—</i>			
Danvers Collections :			
(a) Dutch Records	113	78	35
(b) French Records	14	1	13
(c) Portuguese Records.	59	59	—
Charters and Agreements	14	5	9
Treaties, Contracts and Agreements	42	7	35
Parchment Records	42	42	—
Factory Records	not counted	19	?
<i>British Museum-Oriental Books and MSS. Library :</i>			
Sanskrit Section	2	2	—
Marathi Section	31	29	2
Hindi Section	2	2	—
Gujarati Section	3	3	—
European Section	28	5	23
Persian and Urdu not yet attempted.		426**	

While going through the various manuscripts care is taken to compare the published material with them. For this and other reasons about 163 publications had to be gone through. A mention of the following in particular may be of interest :

- (1) Catrou's Supplement on Aurangzeb-French-1705.
- (2) Valyntin's IVth volume : the Great Moguls, Dutch--1725.
- (3) Ogilby's History of the Great Moguls-English, 1675.

*Indian History generally.

**16th and 17th century.

I have also started compiling a Reference Book for identifying paintings of 16th to 19th centuries. All the identified Dutch, Mogul, Rajput, and other paintings of personages of historical importance are being photographed. The estimate as it stands now numbers no fewer than 1000 of these pictures just to make it a representative collection of what is obtainable in Europe. The sets of cards and pictures published by local Museums are also being collected. Two photographs worth mention are : Shivaji's Sword at the Buckingham Palace and Tatiya Topi—a minute previous to his hanging.

The Dutch and Portuguese records make a valuable addition to our knowledge, particularly that relating to the 16th century. Their narratives of events on the Western coast provide details of day to day happenings and depict a complete if one-sided picture. Portuguese records describe sufficiently well the relations of the various powers in the Deccan down to the middle of the 18th century. The material is voluminous. I can hardly induce myself to attempt anything but the political side and have to neglect both the economic and industrial aspects.

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V. S. BENDREY.
28-7-38.

BOOKS RECEIVED

[The acknowledgment of the receipt of a book in this section does not necessarily imply that it will be reviewed or that the Editors will undertake to make such arrangements.]

The Editors do not take the responsibility of returning to the Publishers such books as are not reviewed; the publicity given here is regarded as a full return for the presentation of the work.

Reviews will be published as circumstances permit and copies of them will be sent to the publishers of the works reviewed.]

Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1936. Superintendent, Government Press, Bangalore, 1938. Pp. viii + 187. Price Rs. 8/-. FROM THE DIRECTOR OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCHES IN MYSORE.

Bhṛṅgadūta, edited by Prof. S. P. CHATURVEDI, Morris College, Nagpur, (Pp. 35-65 of the *Nagpur University Journal*, No. 3, December 1937). Reprint presented by author. Pp. 31.

Concepts of Riti and Guṇā in Sanskrit Poetics in their historical development by P. C. LAHIRI (= *Dacca University Bulletin* No. XVIII). The University of Dacca, Ramna, Dacca 1937. Pp. vii + 310.

Die Lehre der Jainas nach den alten Quellen dargestellt von Walther SCHUBRING. Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin & Leipzig, 1935. 6½" × 9¾". Pp. 251. Price RM. 22 (= *Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, III. Band, 7 Heft). From the Publishers.

Hymnes et Prières du Veda—Texts traduits du sanskrit par Prof. Louis RENOU. Librairie d'Amerique et d'Orient Arden-Maisonneuve, 11 rue Saint-Sulpice, Paris (VI), 1938. Pp. viii + 164.

Polski Biuletyn Orientalistyczny—*The Polish Bulletin of Oriental Studies*, Vol. I, 1937. The Oriental Institute of the J. Pilsudski University, Królewska 10, Warsaw, Poland. Price including postage 10 Zloty or 2 Dollars. Pp. 142.

Sri Jaina-jyotir-grantha-sangraha, edited by Upādhyāya KṢAMĀVIJAYA GAṆĪ Shah Mulchand Bulakhidas, Mulji Jetha Market, Dvarkesh Lane, Bombay, 1938. Pp. 149. Price Rs. 2/-.

Srimad Bhagavad Gītā (Text of Suddha Dharma Mandalam Edition). The Suddha Dharma Office, Mylapore, Madras, 1937. Pp. iv + 81. Free within India on receipt of two anna Stamps: Foreign 1s. postage extra.

Srimad Bhagavata, condensed in the Poet's own words by Pandit A. M. SRINIVASACHARIAR, translated by Dr. V. RAGHAVAN, with Foreword by Sir P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYER. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras 1937. Pp. xiii + 447. Price Re 1/4.

The Heart-Doctrine of Sri Bhagavad Gita and its Message by T. VASUDEVARAO and T. M. JANARDANAM. (= Suddha Dharma Tract No. 3). Suddha Dharma Mandalam Association, Mylapore, Madras, 1938. Pp. xvi + 144. Free, within India, on application with four annas stamps. Foreign 2s. postage extra.

The Mahabharata, condensed in the Poet's own words by Pandit A. M. SRINIVASACHARIAR, translated by Dr. V. RAGHAVAN, with a Foreword by Prof. S. RADHAKRISHNAN. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, 1935. Pp. xvi + 495. Price Re. 1/4.

Valmiki Ramayana, condensed in the Poet's own words by Pandit A. M. SRINIVASACHARIAR, translated by Prof. P. P. S. SASTRI, with a Foreword by the Rt. Hon. V. S. SHRINIVASA SASTRI. Second Edition. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras 1937. Pp. xvi + 420. Price Re. 1/4.

Wörter und Sachen, Zeitschrift für indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft, Volksforschung und Kulturgeschichte—Neue Folge, herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. Hermann GÜNTERT unter Mitarbeit von R. Von Kienle, H. Kuen, W. Porzig, K. Stegmann von Pritzwald, L. Weisgerber und W. Wust. Band I, 1938—Heft I. Carl Winter's Univ.-Buchh., Heidelberg. RM. 10- per half year.

VĪRABALLĀLA II

By

S. ŚRIKAṆṬHA ŚĀSTRĪ

Vīra Ballāḷa's long and glorious reign extending over a period of nearly half a century marks an epoch not only in the political history of Southern India but also in the cultural history of Kārṇāṭaka. The Hoysala power that had newly arisen from the ashes of the Chālukya Empire had been firmly and truly strengthened by the conquests of Viṣṇuvardhana-Biṭṭiga. But during the reign of his son and successor Narasiṃha I the Hoysala empire had received a check if not a positive set-back in the attempt at expansion over the whole of the southern peninsula. There is no record of any campaign that was personally conducted by Narasiṃha who, born in luxury, seems to have contented himself with keeping together the conquests of his father while on all sides the Chālukyas, the Chōlas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Kālachūryas and the Yādavas of Dēvagiri strove to dismember the newly formed empire. It was under such circumstances that Vīra Ballāḷa assumed the reigns of office.

A. POLITICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL.

Vīra Ballāḷa was the son of Vīra Narasiṃha I and Ēchala Dēvi. The latter is spoken of as "*Pāṇḍya mahārājādhirāja Mānābharaṇa Vamśānvaya sañjātā*" i.e. born of the family of Mānābharaṇa the Pāṇḍya sovereign.¹ Vīra Ballāḷa, it might safely be conjectured, must have taken part in his father's campaigns at a very early age for in 1167 A.D., he is already styled "*Malairāja rāja*" i.e. Lord over Malai.² Perhaps he grew impatient of his father's feeble control and in 1171 A.D. we find him fighting with some of his father's feudatories. By this year he had already acquired the titles "Teṅkaṇāḍitya, Teṅkaṇa Chakravarti, and Sapta Mālava Viṣṇuvardhana." His Daṇḍanāyaka Biṭṭarasa defeated the Chengāḷva Mahādēva and built Pālavarapattana though opposed by Chengāḷava Permadēva, Bālaguḍa Nandi Dēva and Kuracheya Udayāditya. In that year we find Vīra Ballāḷa at Jayamgoṇḍa Ballāḷapura on the eve of his coronation. Perhaps these early transactions of his are to be interpreted as a rebellion against his father,³ in the early part of the year 1173 A.D. in Taḷigināḍu and Kodagināḍu. The fact that like his grand-father he was also called *Viragaṇa Viṣṇuvardhana* has led a few scholars to attribute some of his achievements to his grand-father and *vice versa*. He had numerous titles, some self-acquired and others inherited. We have to keep in mind the warning of Dr. FLEET that care should be taken to distinguish

1. *My. Arch. Rep.* 1923.

2. *Bl. 86 Epi. Car.* Vol. V.

3. *My. Arch. Report* 79 of 1913.

between the two in arriving at chronological data. For example even before Vīra Ballāla conquered Uchhangī. he had already possessed the title Uchhanginātha acquired from Biṭṭiga. Hence to arrive at the date of the capture of the fort it would not suffice to find out the earliest dated inscription which refers to it. Talakāḍu was probably never taken by him and yet it figures in the list of his conquests because Viṣṇuvardhana had already taken it. Keeping these canons of criticism in view, we will try as far as possible to settle the chronology and the political happenings in the reign.

There is some confusion as to the precise date of Vīra Ballāla's coronation even in the epigraphs themselves. Mr. RICE and Dr. FLEET assumed that Vīra Ballāla was crowned on July 22nd, 1173 A.D.¹ The inscriptions give us the following dates :—

Vijaya Śrāvaṇa Śuddha 1 Sōmavāra. July 12, 1173 A.D.¹

Vijaya Śrāvaṇa Śuddha 10 Bhānuvāra, Saturday, July 21-25 1173 A.D.²

Vijaya Śrāvaṇa Śuddha 11 Bhānuvāra. July 22, 1173 A.D.³

Vijaya Śrāvaṇa Śuddha 11 Bhānuvāra. July 22, 1173 A.D.⁴

Vijaya Śrāvaṇa Śuddha 11 Bhānuvāra. July 22, 1173 A.D.

Vijaya Śrāvaṇa Śuddha 11 Bhānuvāra. July 22, 1173 A.D.⁵

Nandana Āshāḍha Śuddha 10, Budhavāra, July 3rd 1172 A.D.

Nandana Āshāḍha Śuddha 11, Guruvāra⁷ July 4th 1172 A.D.

The choice of dates lies between July 3rd 1172 A.D. and July 22nd, 1173 A.D. Since the last inscription of Narasiṃha is dated 1172 A.D.,⁸ it is probable that Vīra Ballāla was crowned in the same year, with the support of Tantrapāla Hemmāḍi. (*Bl.* 86, *Ec.* V).

Soon after his coronation at Dvārasamudra he began his era of conquests which went on almost uninterrupted to the very last year of his life. The Pāṇḍyas of Uchhangī, Iruṅgōlas of Nidugal, the Chōlas of Kanchi, the Kalachuris of Kalyāṇi, the Yādavas of Dēvagiri and the Saḷa chieftains harassed the empire on every side. His first campaign was evidently against the Pāṇḍyas of Uchhangī. In 1174⁹ we hear of a battle at Haḷevāgil in Havaleya Pāḷya. Uchhangī had been in the possession of the Chōlas for twelve years in the reign of Vīra Narasiṃha¹⁰ and had resisted every effort

1. SEWELL and S. K. IYENGAR place the death of Narasiṃha as early as 1170 A.D. on slender evidence. (*Historical Inscriptions of South India*).

1. *Bl.* 118, *Epi. Car.* V.

2. *Hn.* 71, *Epi. Car.* XI.

3. *Hn.* 119, *Epi. Car.* XI.

4. *Kd.* 4, *Epi. Car.* VI.

5. *Kd.* 50, *Epi. Car.* VI.

6. *Ak.* 71, *Epi. Car.* V.

7. *Sh.* 45, *Epi. Car.* VII.

8. *Kd.* 66, *Epi. Car.* VI ; *Bl.* 25, *Hn.* 154, *Epi. Car.* V.

9. *Hn.* 29, *Epi. Car.* V.

10. *Bl.* 137, *Epi. Car.* V.

of the rulers of Hoysaḷa empire to capture it. This formidable fort was under the command of the Pāṇḍya, Vijaya Pāṇḍya Kāmadēva.¹ One of the inscriptions describes how Vira Ballāḷa reduced it to dust.

*Chira Kālam ripugaḷgasādhya menisird Uchhangiyam multidur-
dhara tējōnidhi dhūḷigōṇṭeyene Koṇḍākāma dēvōvaṇi*

*Śvaranam sandodeya Kshitīśvaranarā bhaṇḍāramam strīyaram
turagavrāta mumam samantu piḍidam Ballāḷa bhūpālakam "*

Dr. FLEET opined that the siege of Uchhangi must be dated later than 1196 A.D. It is also held by some scholars that since an inscription dated 14th March 1177 A.D.,² mentions Vira Ballāḷa as staying at Dvārasamudra, it must be inferred that he had not yet set forth on his conquest. And because another epigraph dated 26th September of the same year³ says that he was engaged in his conquests, we must locate the exact date somewhere between the months of March and September. Since the former inscription merely says that the King was ruling in peace and wisdom at the capital, it does not follow that he had not already made some conquests. It is difficult to believe that for five years after his coronation such an energetic ruler of an enpirē surrounded by enemies, idled away his days at the capital.

The generals who conducted the campaign were Mahāpradhāna Komara Nāgadēva, Virayya and Mādhava Daṇḍanāyaka. The hill fort was stormed after a long siege and the Pāṇḍya had to submit after the walls were laid in the dust. The Pāṇḍya was restored to his possession after his surrender and Vira Ballāḷa obtained the titles "*Giridurgamalla*," "*Pāṇḍya-rāja-pratishṭhāpanāchārya*" "*Pāṇḍya-rāja-gaja-Kēsari*" and since the cavalry of the chief was captured on a Saturday he obtained the title of *Śanivārasiddhi*.⁴ Evidently like Śrī Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya of Vijayanagara at the siege of Raichore, Uchhangi was taken by Vira Ballāḷa on a Saturday declared auspicious for war. It is interesting to note that many of these titles belonged to the Kalachūris also. Vijaya Pāṇḍya of Uchhangi had been the feudatory of Sōvidēva Rāya Murāri and therefore this campaign of Vira Ballāḷa was primarily directed against the Kalachūris whose power had suffered an eclipse after the death of the usurper Bijjaḷa.

In 1175 A.D.⁵ Ballāḷa attacked Śibi and captured Hāneya Kōṭe which he renamed Vijayagiri.⁶ In the same year (Ś. 1097) he marched against the Tuḷuva Chiefs in the Mangaḷūra and Bāra Kūra districts and took not only the title of *Tuḷuvabalajaladhi* but also married Tuḷuvala Mahādēvi who became his senior queen (*piriyarasi*).⁷ She was the daughter of Āhavāditya

1. *Sr. Bel. 124, Epi. Car. II.*

2. *Chn. 13, Epi. Car. V.*

3. *Chn. 36, Epi. Car. V.*

4. *Bl. 137, Epi. Car. V.*

5. *Si. 99, Epi. Car. XII.*

6. *Mlk. 12, Epi. Car. XI.*

7. *My. Arch. Rep. 1917.*

Vīra Vikrama II who belonged to the family of the Guttas of Guttal. Dr. FLEET conjectured that she was the wife not of the Emperor but of one of his feudatories named Ballāla son of Siṃha of Sāntalige nāḍu. But it is now believed that she was the queen of Ballāla the emperor.

In 1176 A.D.¹ Rēcharasa who had the title *Vasudhaika-bāndhava* abandoned the decaying Kalachūri empire where he had been the prime-minister and accepted office under Vīra Ballāla. The emperor made an attack on Tiptur in this year. A great merchant (*mahāvādḍavyavahāri*) Dēvi Setṭi built a Jaina temple called Vīra Ballāla Jinālaya.²

In 1177³ (Monday 26th September) Vīra Ballāla had gone to Uchhangī to consolidate his conquests prior to the march to the south against Kanchi. It is well known that the Kannaḍa poet Rudrabhaṭṭa in his *Jagannātha Vijaya* written during this reign gives the title "*Rāja-rāja-pratishṭhānirata*" to the emperor. Whether this Rāja-Rāja is the second or the third of the name, it is difficult to say. Many scholars hold that it was during the days of Vīra Narasiṃha II that Hoysala intervention in Chōla politics began for the first time, but facts seem to point otherwise. It is extremely probable if not certain that Vīra Narasiṃha's reinstallation of Rāja Rāja III must be placed during the last years of Vīra Ballāla or the first years of Vīra Narasiṃha II. The dealings with the Chōlas began very early in Vīra Ballāla's reign. Uchhangī, as has been already mentioned, had been besieged by Chōlas for twelve years before Vīra Ballāla recaptured it. An inscription of 1174 A.D.⁴ tells us that Ballāla burnt the "*Chōlika Kshititāla*." Another inscription of 1184 A.D.⁵ gives the title "*Chōla Kaṭaka Sūrēkāra*" (plunderer of the Chōla army) to the emperor. A third inscription of 1188 A.D.⁶ mentions Sāmantha Sōmeyya nāyaka who had the title "*Kāḍavabala jaladhi baḍabānala*." Evidently the dealings with the Kāḍava Perunjinga must have begun before that date.

However we have no right to assume that Vīra Ballāla was contented with merely one expedition into the Chōla country nor can it be assumed that he had no need to retake Banavāse, Pānūṃgal, Palasikā etc. when they had once been conquered or that since Vīra Ballāla was in Dvārasamudra in the year 1177 A.D. he had not yet started on his conquests.

During the comparatively weak rule of Vīra Narasiṃha I, the Chālukyas, the Chōlas and the Kalachūris had become powerful. Banavāse had fallen into the hands of the Chālukya general Brahma. Uchhangī was in the hands of the Pāṇḍyas. Hānūṃgal was under the Kādamba ruler Kāmadēva who had deserted Vīra Ballāla for the Kalachūrya Emperor. Therefore Vīra

1. Ak. 77, *Epi. Car.* V.

2. *My. Arch. Rep.*, 1923, pp. 36-39.

3. *Chkn.* 36, *Epi. Car.* V.

4. *Cn.* 220, *Epi. Car.* V.

5. *Tk.* 10, *Epi. Car.* VI.

6. Ak. 48, *Epi. Car.* V.

Ballāla had every need to drive out these intruders from the Hoysala empire. The dealings with the Chōlas must have begun soon after the conquest of Uchhangī.

Dr. KIELHORN in the appendix to the eighth Volume of the *Epigraphia Indica* gives the dates of Rāja Rāja II as 1146-1161 A.D. Relying on this it is believed by some scholars that the title "Rāja-rāja-pratishṭhānirata" given to Vira Ballāla by Rudrabhaṭṭa must be a reference to Rāja Rāja III who came to the throne in 1216 A.D. on some day between June 27th and July 10th, as before the former date there ruled Kulōttunga III and Vira Ballāla's early part of the reign is not contemporaneous with that of Rāja Rāja II. But since the revised dates of Rāja Rāja II have been given as 1146 to 1178 A.D. and because as already pointed out, there is an inscription of 1175 A.D. which refers to the burning of Chōla vishaya, it is reasonable to conjecture that about the year 1174 A.D. Vira Ballāla reinstated Rāja Rāja II.¹ The latter was evidently harassed by Rājādhirāja II who had come to power in 1172 A.D. Thus Vira Ballāla's intervention in Chōla politics must be located between 1172 and 1178 at which latter date Kulōttunga III succeeds Rāja Rāja II.

The next campaign was against the Irumgōlas of Niḍugal. In 1178 A.D. Vira Ballāla's empire was limited on the north by Sāvimalai, in the east by Nangali, and Paḍiyaghaṭṭa, in the south by Kongu and Chēram, Anamalai and in the west by Bārakūr and Ghaṭṭavāḍi.²

In 1179 A.D.³ (7th April, Saturday) Vira Ballāla fought with Sankama-dēva at Madavallī near Chavuti ghaṭṭa. This Samkama is evidently the Kalachūri emperor who had the title Niśśanka Malla and claimed Vira Ballāla's homage. Sōvidēva Raya Murāri died in 1178 A.D. leaving a fast disintegrating empire to his two sons Sankama and Āhavamalla who by the help of Piriyaḍaṇḍāyaka Kāvanna restored the fallen fortunes of the house. This Kāvanna styles himself "*Kalachūri rājya samuddharaṇa*" i.e. the uplifter of the Kalachūri empire. Āhavamalla had effected a distribution of the Kalachūri dominions between himself and his brother about the year 1178 A.D. and this was taken advantage of by Vira Ballāla.

Sōmēśvara IV of the Western Chālukya family who had been supplanted by Bijjala and his sons, now strove in his turn to rally round himself the old chieftains who had been staunch supporters of the family fortunes. Foremost among them was the Daṇḍanāyaka Brahmadēva of Banavāse who devoted his energies to uphold the Chālukya power against the Kalachūrya usurpers. Brahma styles himself "*Chālukya rājya pratishṭhāpānāchārya*." "*Kālachūrya Kālānala*" and "*Chālukya rājya samuddharaṇa*. Vira Ballāla however defeated the Chālukya forces under Barmadēva or Brahmadēva,

1. Ak. 138, *Epi. Car.* V.

2. Chkm. 21, *Epi. Car.* VI.

3. Mg. 33, *Epi. Car.* VI.

thus setting limits to the Chālukya political jurisdiction in the North at Heddore.

In 1180 A.D., we find Kallayya Nāyaka of Gallipāleya fighting the battle of Ummaḍibavara. On Monday February 9th 1180 A.D.¹ Mahāpradhāna Tōya Singayya and Basavayya Nāyaka of Hānuṃgal were encamped at Uddareya Kōṇṭe and were involved in a fight with the son-in-law of Bankayya Nāyaka.

In 1181 A.D. Vīra Ballāḷa was at Huḷiyera nelaviḍu.

In 1182² Bappadaṇḍādhipa who had the title "*Drōhagharatṭa*" and founded an agrahāra named Drōhagharatta Chaturvēdī mangalam, had won for Ballāḷa all the region bounded on the North by Perdore, including Malai-nāḍu, Tuḷunāḍu, Bāyilnāḍu, and Chōḷamaṇḍala. A battle also took place in Kiḷalaināḍu where the fort Peruvadakkottai was under the general Adich-chandan and his mercenary soldiers.

In this year, on Monday November 9th³ (*Śubhakṛt, Māṅgaśira śuddha Pāḍyami, Sōmavāra*) the Chief queen Padmalā presented Vīra Ballāḷa with a son and heir. Thus by 1218 A.D. when Vīra Narasiṃha was formally crowned, he was already thirty-six years old.

Between the years 1183 A.D. and 1188 A. D., Vīra Ballāḷa was at Dvāra samudra evidently preparing for the second expedition of conquest. In 1184 A.D. he lost his queen Chikka Bammalā for whose merit he made a donation.⁴ In 1188 A.D. we hear of a boundary dispute in "*Aggaḍala ayaravaliyagaḍi*" when one Biḍiga and Amnea died in the fray.⁵

In 1189 A.D. began the long war with the Yādavas of Dēvagiri who had wrested the northern parts of the Chālukya Empire from Sōmēśwara and had penetrated far into the Hoysaḷa territory. The Kaḷachūris also took the offensive as we find Vīra Ballāḷa encamped at Hadideya Kuppa against the attacks of Murāri Kēśava Narasiṃha, when one Guriya Malla attacked the general Gaṇḍapeṇḍēra Chenna Kālama Sāhiṇi, the *dandanāyaka* of the Kalachūri Bhujabala Chakravarti.⁶

It was in 1190 A.D. that the decisive battles which fixed the northern limits of the Hoysaḷa empire were fought. Vīra Ballāḷa was at first encamped at Haḷlivūr and then at Lokkiguṇḍi. Bhillama had encamped at Hērūr and attacked the Hoysaḷa army with 12000 cavalry and 200,000 foot at Soratūr. The year 1191 A.D. usually given as the date of the battle seems to be wrong. Bhillama suffered a heavy defeat on Sunday 23 December

1. *Gd.* 41, *Epi. Car.* X.

2. *Bl.* 137, *Bl.* 140, *Epi. Car.* XII.

3. *Ngm.* 32, *Epi. Car.* III, pt. II.

4. *Tk.* 20, *Epi. Car.* VI.

5. *My. Arch. Rep.* 1927, No. 13

6. *My. Arch. Rep.* 1917.

1190 A.D.¹ and fled from the field of battle leaving remnants of his army to perish, pursued by Vīra Ballāla as far as the Kṛṣṇa. An inscription graphically describes the fight.

Sandugrāhita raktadindavaṭṭādattī mahī chakra mi |
nnendingārūva doṭṭidaṭṭegala beṭṭellellyum baṭṭeyin |
nendingappudu Māṅgam hasivadendingappudem banṇegam |
Kondam Sēvuṇa Sainyamam bavaradōḷ Ballāla bhūpalakam ||
Eraḍum lakkambaram sutthaṇeyaraśani sannāhadim paṇneraḷsā-
siradaśvaśrēṇi mēlanikarvaṇeya maṇi paṇyānadim tōrkevetṭai
tare tannondāneyim Sēuṇa nōpa balamam nūnki bennaṭṭi kondam |
Soraṭūrim Kṛṣṇa vēṇi nadiyataḍivaram Vīra Ballāla rāyam ||

A Kannaḍa poet Rājāditya also says :—

Madanārāti nṛpālakam bhayadi bengoṭṭōdu tirpalli tā-
nadiyoḷbidḍuvu pañcha bhāge hayashaṭbhāgam diśāpaṭṭavā
dudu mūrbhāge kadarchi vōḍḍavu chālurbhāge lāyakke san
dudu mikkaṇūru vāji sahitaṁ keṭṭōḍidam Bhillamam.

By this great victory, the Hoysaḷa empire included within its compass Vīrāṭarāja nagara, Kurugōḍu, Matanga Hill, Gutti, Guttavoḷal, Uddare, Kaleḍi Banaṇikke, Ballāre, Soraṭūr, Erambarige, Hāluve, Mānuve and Lokkiguṇḍi. Vīra Ballāla now claimed to be an emperor, established his own era and assumed imperial titles as “*Samasta bhuvanāśraya, Śrīpṛthvīrallabha, Mahā-rājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Paramabhāṭṭāraka, Pralāpa Chakravartī, Bhuja-bala Chakravartī, Asahāya śūra*” etc. Bhillama was not killed in this fight, as an inscription in the Trikūṭēśvara temple at Gadag dated June 1191 A.D.³ tells us that at the request of his minister Jaitrasimha, he granted Haṇḍi-gōla in Belvola 300 to the god Trikūṭēśvara. But he died soon after, before the year 1192 A.D. whether actually slain by Vīra Ballāla or not it is impossible to say with certainty.

In 1192 A.D. the Yādava Jaitugi or Jaitrasimha now tried to avenge the death of Bhillama and marched on the Kuntaḷa kingdom to regain the lost possessions and prestige. Lokkiguṇḍi⁴ was attacked but Baladeva (Vīra Ballāla) defeated and repulsed him retaking Lokkiguṇḍi and marched again as far as Gadag where an inscription tells us that he acquired the lordship of the Kuntaḷa country from Jaitrasimha. The Hoysaḷa empire now included Nangali, Kongu, Singamalai, Rāyapuram, Taḷakādu, Rodda, Bengiri, Kol-lagiri, Ballāre, Vallūru, Chakragoṭṭam, Uchhangī, Vīrāṭanapoḷal, Bankāpura, Banavāse, and Koyyaṭūr.⁵ Eragadaṇḍanātha was placed in charge of Bana-

1. Dg. 25, *Epi. Car.* XI.

2. Cn. 179, *Epi. Car.* V, pt. I.

3. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II, p. 303.

4. Shk. 105, *Epi. Car.* VII, pt. I.

5. Cn. 249, *Epi. Car.* V.

vāse 12000 and Sāntaḷige 1000.¹ A battle took place at Sīgalnāḍu² when Sīgalnāḍāḷvar seized fifty horses near Tumbikere where Murasādi rāyar had encamped. The latter then destroyed Kāvepāḷeya and marched to Anilaivāḍi against Sikkeya nāyaka of Mukkodāl in Sīgalanāḍu.

In 1194 A.D.³ Vīra Ballāḷa was at Bāgūḷiya Nelaviḍu and on Thursday 18th August laid siege to Kurudakōte.

In 1195 A.D. he had reduced Erambarige and encamped there.⁴

In 1196 A.D. he was engaged in fighting Kāmadēva of Hānuṃgal. Vīra Ballāḷa had his camp at Ānekere and his general Sāhaṇi died in battle perhaps at Baḷehaḷli in Āvatur 120 of Talagaināḍu Koḍgi nāḍu.⁵ Kāmadēva had taken up the Kalachūri cause and we find him fighting the Hoysaḷas upto 1204 A.D. There was a skirmish with the people of Kenkere.⁶

In 1197 A.D. Vīra Ballāḷa was at the Haḷlavūr or Vijayasamudra on the banks of the Tunga-bhadra in the course of his northern conquests.⁷ His commander Mādhava captured the fort of Ekkalarasa.

In 1198 he was encamped at Kukkanūr-Koppal⁸ and made a grant at Muḍgoṇḍa Solapuram.⁹

In 1199 Vīra Ballāḷa was at Lokkiguṇḍi when Sindeya nāyaka won the battle of Hatti over the Nilagiri army.¹⁰ One Dāsaiya Nāyaka figures as the commander of Vaḷangai forces.¹¹ In 1199 Sāmantas Lakkeyanāyaka and Mādaiya made a grant to Pampā Virūpaksha.¹²

In 1200 A.D.¹³ he was at Huḷiyere *neleviḍu* after taking the formidable fort of Niḍugal from the Irūṅōḷa and cutting off the head of one Tailapa. This Tailapa was the son of Ekkalarasa a feudatory of Sankama Kaḷachūri.

In 1202 we hear of a battle at Baniyūr.¹⁴

On Monday 13th January 1203 A.D. (Śivarātri) Malleyaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka took the fortress of Udareya Kōṭe.¹⁵ In the same year, Yādavas re-com-

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1. *Shk.* 105, *Epi. Car.* VII.
 2. *Kn.* 26, *Epi. Car.* IX.
 3. *Ak.* 113, *Epi. Car.* V.
 4. *Ak.* 104, *Epi. Car.* V.
 5. *Cn.* 40, *Epi. Car.* VI.
 6. *Cn.* 157, *Epi. Car.* VI.
 7. *Tk.* 45, *Epi. Car.* I.
 8. *Bl.* 77, *Epi. Car.* V.
 9. *Mad. Epi. Rep.* 5 of 1910.
 10. *Epi. Car.* IV.
 11. *Mad. Epi. Rep.* 9 of 1910.
 12. *S. I.* 1 IV, p. 56.
 13. *My. Ar. Rep.* 1918.
 14. *Shk.* 156, *Epi. Car.* VII.
 15. *Shk.* 244, *Epi. Car.* VII.

menced their war against the Hoysaṣas. We find the chief queen (*piriyarasi*) Kēṭala ruling at Haḷḷavūr in Māsavāḍḍi from Haḷḷavūr.¹

In 1204 while Vīra Ballāḷa was at Haḷḷavūr, the *nālprabhu* Bichasetti died fighting with Noṇamba Nāyaka.²

In 1205 Rāmayya Nāyaka of Chunchuna Kōṭe fought with Eḍavara Rāchayya Nāyaka at Beḷavūr.³ On Monday 25th April a battle was also fought at Kereya magali.

In 1206 A.D. Vīra Ballāḷa claims to have captured the elephants of Sōmēśvara and his son Vīra Narasimha is mentioned as joint ruler.⁴

In 1207 A.D. (November 5th Monday) a battle took place at Kētana halḷi near Baḷḷigāve.⁵

In 1208 A.D. we find Vīra Ballāḷa once more marching on Heddore.⁶

In 1909 he was encamped at Vijayasamudra on the banks of Tungabhadra on his expedition against the Yādavas.⁷

In 1212 A.D. (8th April, Monday) Singhaṇa was defeated in battle as he was marching on the Kuntala country.⁸ In the same year a few months before (3rd January, Sunday) we find Ballāḷa at Haḷḷavur and his queen Padmalā at Hosahadangili.⁹

In 1213 A.D. Vīra Ballāḷa lost the dominions North of Malaprabhā to Singhaṇa Yādava. An inscription of 1214 A.D.¹⁰ gives the title "*Sēvuna Kaṭaka sūrēkārurum*", to Arakereya Bonkeya Nāyaka, Honnahalḷi Mādeya-Nāyaka Kāḷeyanāyaka, Bāchehalḷi Bōkeyanāyaka, Beḷḷūra Mācheyanāyaka, Mongalāchārya Kasavey Nāyaka, Baragiyana Mācheyanāyaka, Masaneya Nāyaka, Koleyadi Nāyaka, āchayya, Marenāyaka, etc.

In 1214 (15th September, Monday)¹¹ we hear that Gujjaras had penetrated even to Dvārasamudra itself where in the Itṭigēgēri, Amitayya, son of Basavaḍaṇḍanātha and Mēḷayya, son of Kāmayya Daṇḍanāyaka, forcing the enemy to retire, died in battle.

In 1217 Basavaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka was ruling from Kurugōḍu. In this year the expedition against the Magara Kingdom took place. An inscription of 1218 A.D.¹² already gives Vīra Narasimha the titles "*Magara rājya diśā-*

1. *Car. Dēś Ins* : Vol. II, p. 29.

2. *Kd.* 130, *Epi. Car.* VI.

3. *Ng.* 62, *Epi. Car.* IV.

4. *Cd.* 23, *Epi. Car.* XI.

5. *Shk.* 143, *Epi. Car.* VII.

6. *Mad. Epi. Rep.* 123, of 1913.

7. *Cn.* 172, *Epi. Car.* V.

8. *Sb.* 404, *Epi. Car.* VIII, pt. II.

9. *Mad. Epi. Rep.* 495 of 1914.

10. *My. Arch. Rep.* No. 19 of 1927.

11. *Tk.* 46, *Epi. Car.* VI.

12. *Ng.* 29, *Epi. Car.* III, pt. II.

paṭṭa," "*Aḍiyama nāyaka gharatṭa*," and "*Chōla pratishṭhāpanāchārya*." Therefore all the transactions in the Chōla country must be prior to 1218 A.D. and of course long before the marriage of his son Vīra Sōmēśvara in 1234 A.D. In this inscription Vīra Ballāḷa is styled Dakṣhiṇa Chakravarti i.e. Lord of the South, and was ruling at Dvārasamudra called also Vijayasamudra. His general was Malleyanāyaka of the family of Sambuvarāya (*Sambuvarāya Kāḍavarāya Kulānvaya*). The dealings with Chōlas in the time of Narasimha and Sōmēśvara are recorded in a Sanskrit work of Sakalavidyā Chakravarti, named "*Gadya Karṇāmṛta*."¹ It speaks of a ninety days battle between Vīra Narasimha and the Magadha (probably the Magara), Pāṇḍya and Chōla chiefs who had overrun Rāja Rāja III's territory and imprisoned him at Jayanta mangalam (Sendamangalam). Narasimha took the fort, released the King, marched on Śrīrangam and compelled the Pāṇḍya to acknowledge his suzerainty.

In 1218 Vīra Narasimha plundered the Chōla capital.² In Ś. 1139-40 we hear of Sōmēśvara ruling in Chōlika vishaya. That the struggle with the Kāḍava Perunṅinga was even earlier than 1233 A.D. is proved by an inscription of 1222 A.D. which calls Narasimha "*Chōla Kamala Kanjapriya*" who restored the fortunes of the Chōlas by defeating Adiyama, Chēra, Pāṇḍya, Magara and Kāḍava. (Adiyama Chēra Pāṇḍya Makarōddhata Kāḍavaram Kavartegonḍu Chōla neṭtarakke tandam). Therefore the Makara expedition must be placed in about the year 1217 A.D. when a march on Śrīrangam took place before 24th July.³ Narasimha captured numerous elephants of the Magara King.

Āneyanāyakange neṭadāneya nāyakanalladānanem- |
bīnuḍi yēvudendu Narasimha mahīpati nūrugāvudam |
tāniradetti mūḍaṇa diśāvarduddhataram perolchi nū |
rāneya noḍḍidā Magara nānegalam piḍitandanaśvadim |

Perhaps it is from the capture of the Makara elephants that Ballāḷa assumed the title of *Gajaveṇṭekāra*⁴ like Praudha Dēvarāya II of Vijayanagara.

In 1219 A.D. Vīra Ballāḷa had his camp at Nalluru Koppa.⁵ The next year saw his demise. Since Vīra Narasimha was crowned emperor on Thursday, April 16th (not the 18th) 1220 A.D.⁶ the death of his father must have taken place previous to that date probably in the month of March. The attachment and fidelity that Vīra Ballāḷa evoked in his followers is probably unparalleled in history. Kuvara Lakshmadanḍādhīpa and his wife Suggalādēvi had been brought up by Ballāḷa in his palace like his own children without any distinc-

1. *My. Arch. Rep.* 1924.
2. *My. Arch. Rep.* 1916.
3. *Epi. Ind.* Vol. XIII.
4. *HLK.* 2, *Epi. Car.* XI.
5. *Cn.* 211, *Epi. Car.* V.
6. *Cn.* 172, *Epi. Car.* V.

tion of master and servant. He had honoured them with the "Tōḍara" and a "Gaṇḍapeṇḍēra" of pearls. Suggalā was also permitted to wear the "tōḍara" on her left foot.¹

"Jayasimha Kshitipālakange Jagamellam baṇṇisal pūṇḍu bhā.
sheyaṇā Suggaladēvi koṭṭateradim Ballaḷabhū pōttama
—priyaḍuṭraṇṇige Kumara Lakshmarathinī nāthangekoṭṭalmanah
priyeyā Suggaladēvi bhāsheyaṇiḷā chakram poḷaḷvannnegam."

One thousand of his heroic followers had also vowed to die with him at the death of their lord and sovereign.

Toṇe dāḷḍanoḍane sāyade
peraguḷidam toṇedu sattavanevēḷe dalā |
vaṇevēvaḍ nemba gaṇḍare
toṇedar Kali Kuvāra Lakshmanoḍanati subhaṭar"

"Thinking that he who continued to live even after his master was no more, was as good as a corpse, the heroes followed Kuvāra Lakshma's example and went to heaven."

Thus did the people pay their homage to the qualities of their prince and Master—with their own very lives—a sacrifice befitting a heroic age.

B. ADMINISTRATIVE AND SOCIAL

The administration of the kingdom lay in the hands of the king aided by eight chief ministers and numerous *daṇḍanāyakas*, *sandhivigrahams*, *heggaḍes*, *nālprabhus*, *gaunḍas*, etc. Chief among them were (1) Kēśavarāja Chamūpa, (2) Paṇamapparasu, (3) Gauriyamalla, (4) Mahāpasāyita Basavayya, (5) Baḷlachamūpa, (6) Śrīranga nāyaka, (7) Rāmaṇṇa, (8) Narasimhadēva, (9) Chaṭṭayya, (10) Mēlayya, (11) Māchayya, (12) Nonēbe nāyaka, (13) Kumāra Paṇḍitayya, (14) Amitayya, (15) Mādayya, (16) Jaṭṭayya, (17) Nālprabhu Sanka gāvunḍa, (18) Śrīkaraṇāgraṇi Pārśva, (19) Viṣṇu, (20) Ēcha, (21) Rēvaṇa, (22) Nārāyaṇa, (23) Nāgadēva, (24) Sarvādhikāri Lakshmayya, (25) Mahāsāmanta Tantrapāla Hemmāḍi, (26) Sūji Mādayya, (27) Sandhivigrahi Nāraṇammayya, (28) Virādēva, (29) Mahādeva Arasu, (30) Chōramayya, (31) Sāmanta Sōmayyanāyaka, (32) Jaibhaṭa, (33) Rēcharasa, (34) Iḍayūr Būveyanāyaka, (35) Govinda, (36) Mārayya Nāyaka, (37) Tūḍapiḷḷai Daṇḍanāyaka, (38) Mallayya, (39) Mallidēva, (40) Gangamahāmaṇḍalika Baramarasa, (41) Ekkalarasa, (42) Kādamba Kāmādēva, (43) Raṭṭa Mallikārjuna, (44) Kallayya, (45) Adichchandan, (46) Sikkeyanāyaka, (47) Beṭṭarasa, (48) Dummeyanāyaka, (49) Sāmanta Dēkarasa, (50) Bharatamayya, (51) Bāhubalidaṇḍanātha, (52) Sindēyanāyaka, (53) Malayaṇṇa, (54) Rāmadēva nāyaka, (55) Chikkayya, (56) Pergaḍe Kēśi, (57) Vaijarasa, (58) Kaṇṇegouḍa, (59) Sankaṇṇa, (60) Trilōchana, (61) Sāhiṇi Harihara, (62) Eraga, (63) Bhaṇḍāri Hullā, (64) Amrtavala,

1. Bl. 2, Epi. Car. V, Pt. I.

(65) Pōlāḷvadaṇḍanātha, (66) Sajjevaḷḷa Padmanābha, (67) Chandramauḷi-mantri, (68) Māsaṇa Gāvunḍa, (69) Surige Perumāl daṇḍa nāyaka, (70) Singa Piḷḷai, (71) Pergaḍ Javaramayya, (72) Honnagāvunḍa, (73) Arakere Bonkeyanāyaka, (74) Beḷḷūr Māchayanāyaka, and (75) Kasavayya nāyaka, etc. Vīra Ballāḷa also sometimes appointed his queens to govern the provinces as in the case of Padmalā who governed Māsavāḍi.

Of the generals mentioned above Amṛta, Mantri Kallayya, Masaṇayya and Basava are represented as the four arms of Viṣṇu¹ (Viṣṇuvardhana Ballāḷa). Bāhuvali and Bharatamayya as the descendants of Mariyāne, were related to the Emperor by longstanding family-ties from the days of Vinayāditya.² Daṇḍa-nāyaka Narasimha evidently belonged to the defunct Ganga family as he styles himself *Nanniyaganga*, *Ganga-Gāṅgēya*, etc., the titles assumed by Būtuga and others. In 1202, he was ruling in Āsandi *nelerīḍu*. Mallayya Nāyaka belonged to "*Sambuvarāya Kāḍavarāya Kulānvaya*."

In spite of the continuous war throughout the reign, the country seems to have been peaceful and prosperous. The following taxes are mentioned in the inscriptions :—(1) *Gaḍḍurniballī*, (2) *Niḍiviḍiya siddāya*, (3) *Āneyasēse*, (4) *Kuḍureya sēse*, (5) *Khanava siddāya*, (6) *Bhaṇḍi geḍe dere*, (7) *Kōṭi haḍike*, (8) *Koṭṭigedere*, (9) *Tōḍaragadyāṇa*, (10) *Kuruvaragāṇike*, (11) *Aḍikeya sumka*, and (12) *Maidanāḍa Heggade Kāṇike*. Another tax *Holeyura bālavaṇa* is evidently a poll-tax on the pariahs. Two measuring rods *Bhē-ruṇḍanagaḷe* and *Drōhara malla* are mentioned.

Foreign trade flourished exceedingly during the reign. The inscriptions mention numerous *mahāvādḍavyavahāris* who traded in Arab horses by way of Honāvara and other western ports, in pearls of Ceylon and Malabar, Sandalwood, Silks and other luxuries. The Hoysalas like their political heirs—the emperors of Vijayanagara, were forced to import horses from foreign countries. One secret of the success of the Yādavas was their powerful cavalry. Vīra Ballāḷa felt that proper strengthening of the cavalry would be of advantage to repulse the northern attacks. Some of the merchant-princes mentioned are : (1) Chaṭṭa Seṭṭi, (2) Kavadamayya, (3) Rājaśrēṣṭhi Kammeṭa Śrī Malliyōgappa, (4) Hoysaḷa paṭṭaṇasvāmi (lord-mayor) Šōvi-Seṭṭi, (5) Gaṇḍanārāyaṇasetṭi, (6) Vīra Ballāḷa paṭṭaṇasvāmi Nāga, (7) Māṇikyā Bhaṇḍāri Rāmadēva nāyaka, (8) Bāhubali Seṭṭi, (9) Pārisa Seṭṭi, and (10) Vādḍavyavahāri Dēvi Seṭṭi, etc. The maritime trade-transactions of Chaṭṭa Seṭṭi and Dāsaya are thus eulogised in inscriptions.³

Haridāśābhāṇḍamam Vāruṇigenaḍisuvam Vāruṇivastuvam vis-taradindrāśeyolperchisuvanosedu Kaubēri yim dyumnamam nō-dire yāmyābhāgadōḷ sandi suvaneseva māulyaṅgaḷam Samyadindu-ttaradikkingaṭṭuvam nōḍanupama vaṇijam Dāseyam dōshadūram ||

1. *Epi. Car.* VI.

2. *Ngm.* 32, *Epi. Car.* IV.

3. *Ak.* 22, *Epi. Car.* V.

*Hariyahayakke tōḍenipahēshachayaṁgaḷa nindradantigaṁ |
sariyenisirpa dantigaḷanabhradoḷinde supāṇi muttinōḷ
nereyenisirpa muttugaḷanaide bahitrade tandu māruvam
dharaniparoldu Hanmatada Chaṭṭapa Seṭṭi santatam*

Vīra Ballāla was fond of reclaiming forest-lands and planning out new towns. He beautified the capital and Arasikere which he made a treasure-town (*Bhaṇḍāravāḍi*).¹ In 1171 A.D., he built Pālvarapattaṇa after defeating the Chengāḷva Mahādēva.² In 1186,³ Sachiva Vīradēva cut down the forest in Malaināḍu and founded Vīra Ballālapura. Vīra Ballāla renamed Haḷḷavūr Vijayasamudra and Jayanṇḍa Ballālapura was founded near Arasikere. Hāneyakōṭe was renamed Vijayagiri after its capture.⁴ There is also an old local tradition to the effect that while out hunting, Vīra Ballāla happened to come across a small hamlet which occupied the place of the present city of Bangalore and founded the nucleus of the city.

C. RELIGION AND FINE ARTS

The 12th century in the History of Kārṇāṭaka is of great importance because of the new religions Vīra Śaivism, Viśiṣṭādvaitism of Rāmānuja and Dvaitism of Mādhava that made themselves felt in the lives of the people. Soon after the demise of Basava and Bijjala by 1170 A.D., Vīra Śaivism with all the fervour and enthusiasm of a newly formed creed fulminated over Kārṇāṭaka and all its neighbourhood. The religion of Rāmānuja after the death of Bittiga Viṣṇuvardhana took up its stronghold in Mēlukōte and brought some of the Emperors to lean definitely towards its tenets. By about 1200 A.D. Mādhvaism also clustered round Uḍupi and other places in the South Kanara districts. Besides these there were of course Jainism, with its centre in Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa, Advaitism, Kashmir Śaivism, Lakuliśa Pāśupata at Sthāṇu Rudrapura, Baḷḷigāmve and other places.

Vīra Ballāla is said to have been well-versed in Śaiva tenets and Pālkuṛike Sōma mentions Bhillama and Vīra Ballāla in his *Gaṇa sahasra nāma*.

Vīra Ballāla was a liberal-minded ruler and gave equal patronage and protection to the followers of all faiths. From his own hands he made a grant at the request of Dēvaṇa, the son-in-law of Lakshmayya, to the Agnishtigeyamaṭha at Khāṇḍya.⁵ He visited Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa personally and confirmed all the grants previously made to Gommaṭa.⁶ His queens were free to follow any faith they pleased. His minister Sachivōttama Rēcharasa built *Sahasra-kūṭa Jina Bimbālaya* at Arasiyakere⁷ and the *Śāntināthālaya* at Śravaṇa

1. Ak. 71, *Epi. Car.* V.

2. Hg. 20, *Epi. Car.* IV.

3. Tk. 45, *Epi. Car.* VI.

4. Mlk. 12, *Epi. Car.* XI.

5. My. Ar. Rep. 38 of 1927.

6. *Epi. Car.* II.

7. Ak. 77, *Epi. Car.* V.

Beḷagoḷa. In 1176 A.D., the merchant Dēvi Seṭṭi built *Vīra Ballāḷa Jinālaya* named after the king.¹ Again *Vīra Ballāḷa Pattanaṣvāmi Nāgarasa* made a grant to Gommaṭa and built a dancer's hall to Pārśvanātha at Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa.² The minister Chandramauḷi and his wife Āchambika made grants to Adhyātmi Bālachandra.³ Kammata Malli Seṭṭi who ruled Bandaṇikke under the suzerainty of *Vīra Ballāḷa* and *Amātya Sūrya Daṇḍanāyaka* who are described as the devotees of Nārāyaṇa made a grant to Śāntinātha Basti at Bandaṇikke.⁴ The four brothers Amṛta, Masaṇayya, Kallayya and Basava not only built the Amṛtēśvara temple but also the Ekkōṭi Jinālaya at Vakkalagere.⁵ Ādigāvunḍa built not only a temple to Ādi Mallikārjuna but also a Basadi.⁶ Inscriptions mention that the *Chatussamayās* of Jina, Buddha, Hari and Hara were equally patronised and there was little communal animosity.

The Śaiva *gurus* who figure in the epigraphs of the reign are :

(1) Kētaḷi, Dēvēndra Śakti, Rāmaśakti, Vāmaśakti, Mahādēvaji, Chikka Kāviji.

(2) Nāgarasa Paṇḍita, Śivaśakti, Kalyāṇaśakti.

(3) Bappaji, Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita.

(4) Iśānaśakti, Kalyāṇaśakti, Dēvēndraśakti, Narasimhaśakti.

(5) Baṇḍarāsi.

(6) Sadyōjātāchārya, Rāja rāja guru Kriyāśakti, Vāmaśakti. (The Kriyāśaktis also figure in Vijayanagara history as the hereditary gurus of the first dynasty.)

(7) Sōvarāsipāṇḍita, Vāmaśakti, Amṛtarāsi, Trailōkyaśakti, Lōkābharaṇapaṇḍita.

(8) Bhūpaji, Achalēśvara Paṇḍita, Dēvēndra Paṇḍita, Rudraśakti.

(9) Jnāṇaśakti, Kalyāṇaśakti.

(10) Vāmaśakti, Kalyāṇaśakti.

(11) Rēchaśakti, Śāntiśakti.

(12) Padmidēva, Vāma Śiva, Dēva Śiva.

(13) Mallikārjuna guru.

(14) Chaturānana Paṇḍita and Vāgīśvara Paṇḍita of the Sōmasiddhānta.

(15) Chilukaji, worshipper of Noṇabēśvara in Henjeru, Sōmajī, Pōtajī.

(16) Jnānabhūṣaṇa Nāgarāsi Paṇḍita, Noṇambaji, Ananta Śiva.

(17) Māṇikadēva of Agastyagōtra, Karṇāṭānvaya.

1. *My. Ar. Rep.* 1923, pp. 36-39.

2. *Sr. Bel.* 240, *Epi. Car.* II.

3. *Sr. Bel.* 124, *Epi. Car.* II.

4. *Shik.* 225-235, *Epi. Car.* VII.

5. *Tk.* 45, *Kd.* 30, *Epi. Car.* VI.

6. *Bl.* 137 ; 138, *Epi. Car.* V.

Of the Jaina gurus the chief are :—

(1) Of the *Mūlasamgha*, *Dēśigaṇa* and *Vakragachha*, Bālachandra, Rāmachandra, Kulachandra, Kanakanandi, Śrutakīrti Traividya, Nayakīrti, Abhayachandra, Vīraṇandi, Māghanandi, Vardhamāna, Dēvachandra, Rāmanandi Traividya, Nēmichandra, Śrutakīrti bhaṭṭāraka, Vinayēndu, Bālachandra, Padmasēna, Jayakīrti, Māghanandi siddhānti, Jayakīrti, Bālachandra Paṇḍita, Prabhāchandra, Śrutakīrti, Māghanandi Paṇḍita, the guru of Kamalabhava—author of Śāntipurāṇa.

(2) Of the *Pustaka gachha* of the *Mūla Samgha* :—Guṇbhadrā, Naya-kīrti paṇḍita, Chandra siddhānti, Nayakīrti, Ādhyatmi Bālachandra.

(3) Of the *Tintriṇigachha* of the *Kṛāṇūrgaṇa* :—Padmanandi, Rāmanandi, Munichandra, Sakalabhūṣhaṇa Traividya, Sakalachandra ; Śubhachandra Paṇḍita, Sakalachandra Bhaṭṭāraka ; Bhānukīrti mālādhikāri, Hemanandi-vādibha Vajrāṃkusa.

(4) Of the *Dramiḷa Samgha* established by Pūjyapāda :—Śrīpāla Traividya, Vāsupūjya Siddhānti ; Vajranandi to whom Vīra Ballāla himself gave a grant on December 25th 1192 A.D. Besides, there were (5) Śrutakīrti of Sangītapura, the guru of Aggaḷa, (6) Gaṇḍavimukta Rāmachandra, the guru of Janna, (7) Munichandra the guru of Guṇavarma, (8) Nandiyōgiśvara the guru of Āchaṇṇa.

Of the Architecture of the time we have numerous examples. To mention a few :—(1) Sahasrakūṭa Jinālaya at Arasiyakere built by Rēcharasa, (2) Kaṭṭamēśvara temple at Arasiyakere, (3) Perforated screens of the Chenakēśva temple at Bēlūr, (4) Amṛtēśvara temple at Amṛtapura, (5) Būchēśvara temple at Kōramangala, (6) Porch of Gōvindarāja temple at Kōramangala, (7) Sangamēśvara temple at Sindigaṭṭa, (8) Lakshmī Nārāyaṇa temple at Sindigaṭṭa, (9) Mahālinga temple at Sante-bāchahalli, (10) Pancha Lingēśvara temple at Gōvindana Haḷḷi, (11) Kīrti Nārāyaṇa temple at Heragu, (12) Vīra Nārāyaṇa temple at Beḷavāḍi, (13) Chatṭēśvara temple at Chatṭa-haḷḷi, (14) Śāntinātha Basadi and dancing hall at Śravana Beḷagoḷa, (15) the temple at Bandannikke built by Kammaṭa Mallidēva with the assistance of the senior queen Abhinava Kētaladēvi,¹ and (16) Kedārēśvara temple at Haḷēbīḍu attributed to Vīra Ballāla and Abhinava Kētaladēvi, etc.² An inscription makes mention of an eminent architect named Stōṭakāchārya who had surpassed Mayāsura himself.

Education in the vernacular was especially encouraged by Vīra Ballāla. An inscription of 1174 A.D. makes provision for a school of 120 students who were to be instructed in the vernacular at Narasimhadēvapura evidently named after the king's father.³ Fixed salaries were paid to the teacher Sōvaṇṇa, 20 *Māṇis* (servants) and a cook (*Bāṇisagitti*). The students were given

1. Sk. 247, *Epi. Car.* VI.

2. *Dg.* 105, *Epi. Car.* XI.

3. *Ak.* 138, *Epi. Car.* V.

regular oil-baths and food and clothing. Besides this provision for *Karṇāṭaka Bālaśiksha*, there were centres of higher learning of the Jainas at Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa, of the Śaivas at Sthānakunḍapura, and a great University flourished at Balligāmve under the Lakulīṣa Pāsupatas and Kālāmukhas.

Music was also patronised by Vīra Ballāḷa like his contemporaries Bhīlāma and Singhaṇa in whose court the renowned Śārṅgadeva flourished and wrote his *Saṅgīta Ratnākara (Aṣṭādhyāyī)*. Vīra Ballāḷa possessed the title "*Saṅgīta Prasanga Bhaṅgī Saṅga Bharata*," and "*Sarvajña Chūḍāmaṇi*" which denote his scholastic attainments. The work "*Saṅgīta Chūḍāmaṇi*" attributed to a Pratāpa Chakravartī Jagadēkamalla is probably a work of his period.

D. LITERATURE

The twelfth century is of outstanding importance in the history of Kannaḍa Language and Literature. The new creeds that had risen from the soil of Karṇāṭaka all of them, aimed at democratization of philosophy, religion, literature and every department of knowledge. The patronage of the Hoysaḷas, the Chāḷukyas, the Kaḷachūris, and the Yādavas gave a fresh impetus to the already growing mass of literary creations, that took their origins from religious fervour and the desire to spread the new gospel, 'clad in the light of a thousand stars.' The Vīraśaiva religion brought forth numerous *Vachana-kāras* and others who resorted to simple metres like Tripadi, Sāṅgatyā, Chau-padi, etc., instead of resorting to the artificial *champu* style that was in vogue amongst the Jaina poets. It was Hariśvara who first took to *Ragaḷe* and it was Rāghavāṅka who made the *Shaṭpadi* popular, though strictly he is not entitled to the credit of having invented that form. We hear of numerous poets chief among whom may be mentioned :—(1) Rājāditya, (2) Nāga chandra, (3) Dēvapāchārya, (4) Bāchaṇṇa, (5) Trivikrama Paṇḍita, (6) Aggaḷa, (7) Āchaṇṇa, (8) Nēmichandra, (9) Kanti, (10) Harihara, (11) Rāghavāṅka, (12) Kereya Padmarasa, (13) Harihara sūri, (14) Māḷayya, (15) Janna, (16) Kallayya, (17) Rudrabhaṭṭa, (18) Pōlālva daṇḍanātha, (19) Kēśavarājachamūpa, (20) Saraṇa, (21) *Barevarāchārya* Sūryaṇṇa, (22) Rēchaṇṇa, (23) Madanamahēśvara, (24) Mallikārjuna, (25) Śāntinātha Kavi, (26) Pārśva Paṇḍita, (27) Śīśu māyaṇa, (28) Dēvakavi, (29) Kamalabhava, (30) Guṇavarma, (31) Karṇapārya, (32) Āṇḍayya, (33) Vṛttavilāsa, (34) Bandhuvarma, (35) Jōbaṇa Paṇḍita, and (36) Paśupati. Many of these poets are known to us only from inscriptions they have composed.

The intense religious feeling that underlay the new literary activity could not but be reflected in the works themselves. Thus other faiths came to be criticised rather ruthlessly by the Vīraśaivas and in their turn by Jaina poets like Brahmaśiva and Vṛttavilāsa. But this animosity was rather an exception than a rule. We find that Vīra Ballāḷa patronised all poets without any distinction of caste or creed. Chandramaulī who was a Jaina and made grants to Gommatēśvara yet patronised the Brāhmaṇa poet Rudrabhaṭṭa, the author of *Jagannātha Vijaya*.

Another characteristic of the literature of the period was a general attempt at purity and simplicity of diction ; Grammar and rules of Prosody were made subservient to the contingencies of expression of ideas. Hariśvara expressly discards the meticulous distinctions in the use of *Ra*, *Ṛa*, *Ḍa*, and *ḹa*. In the *Ṣaṭpadi*, *Tripadi* and *Sāṅgatyas* greater liberties were taken in matters of rhyme and even grammar. The attempts at purism even went so far as to use only *tadbhava* and *dēśya* words discarding altogether *Saṁskṛt* equivalents as in the case of *Āṇḍayya* in "Kabbigara Kāva." But it was evidently a failure and no such attempt was ever again made. *Nayasēna* in his *Dharmamṛta* condemns the indiscriminate use of *Saṁskṛt* and compares it to a mixture of oil and ghee.

Posagannaḍadim vyāvar |
nisuvem satkṛtiyanendu Kannaḍamam chin |
tisi kūḍalāḍakkata |
misukada sakkada manikkuvavanum Kaviyē ? ||
Sakkada pēlvoḍe neṛa |
Sakkada mum pēlge sudda Kannaḍa dōḷtan |
dikkuvade Sakkadangaḷa |
Takkude verasalke gḥtamumam tailamumam ||

However, the *Jaina* and *Brāhmaṇa* poets usually follow the old *champu* style but manage at the same time to maintain a remarkable lucidity of thought and ease of expression as in the case of *Nāgachandra* in his *Pampa Rāmāyaṇa* and *Rudrabhaṭṭa* in his *Jagannātha Vijaya*, *Dēva Kavi* in "Kusumāvalī Kāvya" and *Nēmichandra* in his "Lilāvati" instead of resorting for their material to the old *Purāṇic* legends, have woven romances from their own imagination and thus trod a slightly different path.

E. CONCLUSION

Thus, *Vira Ballāla* appears in History not only as a great warrior but also as a cultured sovereign. His titles "*Tarka vidyā viśārada*," "*Sarvajña chakravarti*," and "*Śabdavidyāsamagra lakṣhaṇa suśikṣha*" indicate his vast scholarship in *Tarka* (logic) and *Śabaavidyā* (Grammar and Rhetoric). He seems to have had many wives. His chief queens mentioned in inscriptions are : (1) *Remmādēvi*;¹ (2) *Baichalā*, the daughter of *Mādayya Nāyaka* ; (3) *Mahādēvi Arasi Bammalā* who had the titles "*Savatīgandha vārāṇe*," "*Abhinava Pārvatī*," and "*Savatiyara venna sammatige*";² (4) *Chikka Bammalā* (d. 1185 A.D.); (5) *Chandalā* ; (6) *Kētalā*³ who had the title "*Gandhavārāṇe piriয়ারasi*" ; (7) *Umādēvi* the daughter of *Kēsavayya* ; (8) *Piriয়ারasi Paṭṭamahādēvi Chōlamahādēvi*⁴ evidently a *Chōla* princess whom

1. *Car. Dēs. Ins.* Vol. II, p. 199.

2. *Cn.* 229 ; 254, *Epi. Car.* V

3. *Hg.* 23, *Epi. Car.* IV.

4. *Hg.* 20, *Epi. Car.* IV ; *Cn.* 205, *Epi. Car.* V.

Vīra Ballāḷa married after his Chōḷa conquests ; (9) Piriyaṛasi Padmalā¹ who was the mother of Vīra Narasiṃha and a daughter Sōvalā ; (10) Tuḷuvala-mahādēvi ; (11) Chikkapaṭṭa mahādēvi² and (12) Abhinava Kēṭala.³ The queen Umādēvi bore him a son named Kumāra Paṇḍitayya.⁴

Of the devout attachment which the king and the Royal family evoked in the minds of the subjects, already one instance has been given. Another inscription tells us that when Honnavve, the mother of *Mahāpasāyita* Huli-vanāḍa Sāmanta Sivōdaya Nāyaka, died, her servant Honni voluntarily gave her head to the "hook" and died according to her vow.⁵ Similarly we are also told that when the people of Bēvūr slandered the fair fame of the Queen Chōḷamahādēvi, her servant Kēlāmalla attacked them and gave up his life. The queen touched by remorse made a grant for the merit of his soul.⁶

Vīra Ballāḷa's titles, by the end of his reign, ran as follows:—"*Samastabhuvanāsraya, Śrī prthivīvalabha, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Paramabhātāraka, Pratāpachakravarti, Pratāpadēva, Yuddharanga Triṇētra, Pratāpa Triṇētra, Bhujabala Chakravarti, Giridurgamalla, Śanivārasiddhi, Kīrti Nārāyaṇa, Konkaṇa śulēkāra, Chōḷa Kaṭaka sūrēkāra, Rāja rāja pratishṭhānirata, Pāṇḍyārāja pratishṭhāpanachārya, Kālachūrya Kālānala, Bhillama ḍaḷataḷa prahāra, Sālamanneyabhēṇṭēkāra, Hulirāya gaṇḍa bhēruṇḍa, Gajabhēṇṭēkāra, Sarvajña chūḍamāṇi, Saptārdha lakṣa kṣhīṭiśa, Saṅgīta prasanga bhaṅgī sanga Bharata, Gajarājagaṇḍa, Taitugirāhuta diśāpaṭṭa, Tarkavidyāviśārada-vichāra nirata, Śabda vidyā samagra lakṣhaṇā suśikṣha Dakṣhiṇa Chakravarti, Tuḷuva balajaladhī ḍaḍabānala, Malaparolugaṇḍa, Kadanaprachanḍa, Bhujabla Vīra Ganga Viṣṇuvardhana Hoysaḷa Vīra Ballāḷadēva.*"

It is a pity that hitherto no coin or portrait of this remarkable sovereign has been found to give us an idea of his personality. An inscription of the second year⁷ of his grandson Sōmēśvara tells us that he set up the image of Poysalēśvara (Bhōjēśvara) at Vikramapura or Kanṇanūr. Along with this, he also installed at Jambukēśvaram four images named after his grandfather and grandmother (Ballāḷa and Padmalā), and his father and mother Narasiṃha and Sōmalā. Perhaps these portrait-statues might still be existing somewhere.

Vīra Ballāḷa was a brave and energetic man impatient of his father's control in his youth. Soon, however, he turned his energies to fight the enemies of the Empire than plunge the country in civil war. He regained the prestige of the Hoysaḷas which had suffered an eclipse during the comparatively feeble rule of Narasiṃha I and made himself a foremost power in the South as in

1. Sh. 40, *Epi. Car.* VII.

2. *My Arch. Ref.* 1923.

3. Bl. 115, *Epi. Car.* V.

4. Ak. 40, *Epi. Car.* V.

5. Mlk. 12, *Epi. Car.* XI.

6. Cn. 205, *Epi. Car.* V.

7. *Mad. Epi. Ref.* 509 of 1905. *Mad. Epi. Ref.* 18 of 1891.

Kṛṣṇa against the Yādavas, Kālachūryas and Chālukyās, and in the east as in the days of Viṣṇuvardhana I. He led the Karṇāṭaka army north as far as Kanchi. It was this that enabled his successors, Vīra Narasimha and Sōmēśvara to play with decisive effect with the Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya politics, deposing and reinstating whom they chose. Vīra Ballāḥa was primarily and necessarily a conqueror but at the same time lacked not the superior graces of a cultured man. His outstanding personality among the princes of his day, marked him out as the champion of Karṇāṭaka culture. The influx of Kannadigas into the eastern and southern parts began during his reign and continued even in the days of Vijayanagara empire. Thus his reign is of interest as it provides the necessary link in the continuous history of Karṇāṭaka Culture.

THE AGE OF JAYATIRTHA*

By

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI ŚARMA

1. THE LIFE AND WORKS OF JAYATIRTHA (1365-88 A.D.)

After Madhva, the next loadstar in the firmament of Dvaita Vedānta and its Literature is Jayatīrtha. He is to Madhva even more than what Vācaspati Miśra was to Śaṅkara. Renouncing the world at a very young age, he devoted himself to the service of Madhva's philosophy, and within a brief space of thirty years, he raised it to a position of Śāstraic equality with the Advaita and the Viśiṣṭādvaita by his remarkable industry and depth of scholarship. For beauty of language and brilliance of style, for proportion, keenness of argument and fairness in reasoning, for refreshing boldness, originality of treatment and fineness of critical acumen, Sanskrit philosophical literature has few equals to place beside him. Though designated by the unassuming titles of commentaries, his works are first-rate classics in Philosophy, displaying an extreme orderliness, a masterly elaboration and an unchecked progress towards a predetermined effect. But for them, the works of Madhva would never have made headway into the philosophical world. Jayatīrtha is thus a name to be conjured with in Dvaita Vedānta and its Literature. He stands supremely inimitable and belongs to the class of the great makers of style especially of Sanskrit philosophical prose—like Śabara, Śaṅkara and Vācaspati. In point of all-round brilliance there is not one who could successfully hold a candle to him, in Dvaita literature, except perhaps the great Vyāsārāya. Even he lacks the elegant diction that is Jayatīrtha's by right. Small wonder then, that Jayatīrtha has won for himself, the honoured title of “Ṭikācārya”, *par excellence*. Vyāsārāya pays him a memorable tribute :

Citrāṅḡ padaiśca gambhīrair vākyair mānair akhaṇḍitaiḥ |
Gurubhāvam vyañjayanāṁ bhāti śrī Jayatīrthavāk ||

(*Nyāyāmṛta*, i, 4).

Vādirāja, in his *Tīrthaprabandha*, (iii, 18), pays a similar tribute to the services rendered by Jayatīrtha to the cause of Dvaita Vedānta. So complete has been the domination of Jayatīrtha in Dvaita Literature of the post-Madhva period, that barring a few memorable exceptions, the entire course of its subsequent history has been one of commentaries and super-commentaries on the ṭikās¹ of Jayatīrtha ! He has not only dominated the subsequent history of his faith but has also totally eclipsed the past and thrown into the shade everyone of the works and commentaries of his predecessors on the works of

* This article is part of my History of Dvaita Literature.

1. His comm. have never been designated “Ṭippanis” (minor glosses), as we are led to believe on p. 302 of the *Vij. Sex. Com. Vol.*

Madhva. By his own sheer brilliance, he has driven out of the field the works of Trivikrama Paṇḍitācārya, Padmanābha Tirtha, Narahara and others, and caused their very names to pale into insignificance, before his.

II. LIFE AND CAREER

Several narratives in the form of "Vijayas", have come down to us of the life of Jayatīrtha. We have the *Aṇu-Jayatīrthavijaya* purporting to be from the pen of Vyāsātīrtha who describes himself as a direct disciple of Jayatīrtha and we have also a *Bṛhad-Jayatīrthavijaya*, from the same hand. There is another life of Jayatīrtha by Chalāri Saṅkaraṣaṇācārya (1700 A.D.). The *Satkathā* makes use of some stories from these and other sources. We have no inscriptions or other historical documents relating to Jayatīrtha and it is indeed curious that so remarkable a personality should have been left out historically unrecognised by his contemporaries.

III. TWO ALLEGED EPIGRAPHS EXAMINED

I have with me extracts from a couple of c.p. grants purporting to have been issued to J.¹ by contemporary rulers and alleged to have been published in the *Archæological Survey of India* (1928, iv-v, p. 310, *JRAS*) and *IA*, XVIII, Insc. 1109,² supplied to me by a Pandit of the Uttarādi Mutt, at Bangalore. My informant could not however name the source of his information. Further investigations have shown that certain passages in these extracts answer very closely indeed to parts of the published text of the c.p. grant of King Govindacandradeva of Kanouj dated Vikrama Samvat 1166 (1109 A.D.) [*Indian Antiquary*, XVIII, 1889, p. 15, text edited by KIELHORN]. But dates make it impossible that the same King could have been the donor in both the cases. It is also curious that the donees in both the cases, though belonging to different centuries,—(there is a difference of 280 years between the dates of Exhibits A and B (1)), have more or less the same titles and hail from the same village! It is plain then that the extracts have been "made up" of promiscuous adaptation from the inscription of Govindacandra and from other sources :—

Exhibit No. 1 (Insc. No. 1) A., supplied by S. BHĪMĀCĀR, Pandit, Uttarādi Mutt, Bangalore.

A

- (a) Om Paramātmāne namaḥ

Akuṇṭhotkaṇṭhavaikuṇṭhakaṇṭhapīṭhaluṭhatkaraḥ |

Sanrāmbhaḥ suratārambhe sa śrīyaḥ śrēyase'stu vaḥ ||

* * * * *

- (c) Sajalasthala- soṣara- pāṣāṇa- girinadī- vanavātīkāmramadhūka-
lohalavanākarordhvādhaḥ siddhiyutah Samvat 1354,
(1298 A.D.)³ Pauṣyā vadya ravau (15) adyeha Āṣatikāyām . . .

1. J would in the following pages stand for Jayatīrtha.
2. The mixing up of the two sources is amusing.
3. This date is however too early for Jayatīrtha.

- (1) Pradhvaste sūryasomodbhavaṇḍitamahākṣatravaṇṣādvaṇḍe'smin
Utsatraprāṇavedadhvaṇi jagadakhilam manyamāṇassvaṇḍbhūḥ |
Kṛtvā dehagrahāṇa pravaṇḍam iha maṇaḥ śuddhabuddhir dharitṛyā-
Muddhartum dharmamārgāṇ prathitam iha tathā kṣatravaṇṣā-
dvaṇḍ ca ||

- (2) Śākeṣvabdasahasrake śatayuge pañcottare nāvatau
 Pātindrāyudhanāmni Kṛṣṇanṛpaje Śrīvallabhe dakṣiṇām |
 Pūrvām śrīmad Avantibhūbhṛti nṛpe Śrī Kāmadeve param
 Sauryāṇām adhimaṇḍalam jayayute Bhīme-Varāhe 'vati ||
- (3) Śrīman Madhvamunīndracittajalaruḍ-dhāmasphurat śrīramā-
 Rāmapremasamṛddhaviḥṣaṇa-laharyāmajjamānaḥ sadā
 Dhīmātsantatim utsavāmṛtanidhāvāmajjayan santatam
 Maunīndrodyā virājate hyatitarām Śrīmaj-Jayāryābhidhaḥ ||
- (4) Mimāṃsādāvayapārago Gururasau yaḥ Kāśyapiye naye
 Sāmkye cāpratimallatānayanidhiḥ tryakṣo'kṣapādoktidṛk |
 Yaścārvāka-viśālamānadamano durvāra-Bauddhāmbudheḥ
 Pānānandita-kumbhasambhavamunir Digvāsasām antakaḥ ||
- (5) Yasyātyadbhutavāhavāhanamahāśāstraprayogādiṣu
 Prāviṇyam pravikatthitam prthumati ŚrīKāmadevena ca

The first verse here is found in exactly the same form in the text of Govindacandra's grant, immediately after the verse : "Akuṇṭhotkaṇṭhavaikuṇṭha . . ." The opening line of the second verse obviously refers to the year of a certain grant alleged to have been made to J. The date is given as Śaka 1295 (1373 A.D.) which is otherwise acceptable for him. Lines 2-4, of the second verse mention (1) Prince Indrāyudha, son of Kṛṣṇa, as the Lord of the Southern kingdom ; (2) Kāmadeva ruler of Avanti, as the lord of the Eastern kingdom and (3) Bhīma-Varāha, king of the Sauryamaṇḍala (Saurāstra?). But for a sharp variation in the date, this verse is identical with the 53rd verse in the last and concluding chapter (64) of the *Ariṣṭanemi-purāṇa-saṃgraha* of Jināsena, who gives the date of the composition of his own work, in that very verse as Śaka 705 (783 A.D.), when there were reigning in various directions determined with reference to a town named Vardhamānapura (identified with the modern Wadhvān, in the Jhālāvāḍ dn. of Kathiawar), (1) Indrāyudha in the North ; (2) Śrīvallabha in the south ; (3) Vatsarāja, King of Avanti (Ujjain) in the East and (4) Varāha or Jaya-Varāha in the territory of the Sauryas (Kathiawar) :—

" Śākeṣvabdasāteṣu saptasu diśam pañcottaṛesu (705) uttaram
 Pātindrāyudhanāmni Kṛṣṇanṛpaje, Śrīvallabhe dakṣiṇām |
 Pūrvām Śrīmadavantibhūbhṛti nṛpe Vatsa(ādi)rāje param
 Puryām Sauryāṇām adhimaṇḍalam Jayayute Vire Varāhe 'vanim ||

(Jināsena's *Harivaṃśa* or *Ariṣṭanemipurāṇa-saṃgraha*, Chapter 64, ver. 53, No. 7630, Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākṛt MSS. in the India Office Library, KEITH, Vol. II, p. 1347, col. i).

The only genuine portions of Exhibit II, thus seem to be the verses 3 and 4 (and 5, if we omit the name of Kāmadeva), which extol the merits of Jayatīrtha, his Śāstraic learning, attainments in riding, archery, etc., which are confirmed by tradition.

IV. LIFE

From the various biographical accounts of J. we gather that his former name was Dhoṇḍo Pant Raghunāth. His native village is said to have been Maṅgaḷveḍhe about 12 miles S.E. of Pandharpur. His father—presumed to have been Mahārāṣṭra Brahmin—(others claim him to have been a pucca Kaṛṇāṭaka),¹ was an officer of rank and importance and held the title of Deśpāṇḍe. The *Satkathā* gives the names of J's parents as Raghunāth (father) and Rukmābai (after the consort of Viṭhobā at Paṇḍharpūr). Born as he was with the silver spoon in his mouth, young Dhoṇḍo Pant grew up into a strong and sturdy youth. He was a good rider and an athlete. Early in life he had been married to two wives (cf. *Kāntāyugme kamalavadane saivaloke viraktiḥ*).

At twenty came the great turning-point in his life, which was charged with so much consequence to the future of Realism in Indian Philosophy. It was in the course of one of his hunting expeditions, that young Dhoṇḍo Pant came, one summer noon, to the banks of the Candrabhāgā, to quench his thirst. He did not even trouble to dismount his horse, but strode forth into the water, and bending down from on horse-back, put his mouth to the water, and drank. On the other side of the river, sat an ascetic watching the sight. It was none other than Akṣobhya Tīrtha. He felt drawn towards the cavalier, called him to his side, and put him certain strange questions which at once flashed up before the youth's mental eye, a kaleidoscopic vision of his past. He was strangely affected and sought to be taken over as a disciple. News of his son's escapade reached the ears of the Deśpāṇḍe, who came down to demand restoration of his son. The attractions of family life failed however to turn the mind of the youth, once made up. In the end wiser counsel prevailed and Dhoṇḍo Pant was allowed to go back to his teacher. He was soon ordained a monk under the name of Jayatīrtha, and learnt the śāstras under him.²

We have already seen that Akṣobhya and Vidyāraṇya were contemporaries.³ The *Jayatīrtha-vijaya* of *Samkarṣaṇācārya*, makes J. too a contemporary (younger) of Vidyāraṇya and refers to a meeting between the two. This is supported by the fact that there are no quotations from any of the

1. Paṇḍharpūr was originally within the Kannaḍa country which extended so far as Sholapur. The great Kaṛṇāṭaka poet, Purandara Dāsa, was a native of Paṇḍharpūr. Many old Kannaḍa inscriptions have been found all round the territory, which is now part of Mahārāṣṭra.

2. "Akṣobhyatīrthaguruṇā śukavat śikṣitasya me ||

(J's G. B. *Prameyadīpikā*.)

3. The date of Vidyāraṇya is given as 1302-87. Grants to him have been found dated between 1371-78. If an interval of at least 30 years is assumed between Narahari Tīrtha (d. 1333) and Akṣobhya, we carry the latter as far as 1363 in which case, he could not but be a contemporary of Vidyāraṇya.

writings of J.¹ in the Pūṇaprajña-Darśana section of the *Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha* (SDS.).

Internal evidence in the works of J. clearly establishes him as having come long after Śrīharṣa, Ānandabodha and Citsukha.²

V. THE WORKS OF JAYATĪRTHA

Over twenty-two works are known to have been written by J., almost all of which have been printed.

(1) *Tattvasamkhyāna-Ṭikā* (p)

This is a short com. in 200 granthas, on the first of the ten Prakaraṇas (of Madhva). The contents of the original have already been described in the earlier pages and there is nothing more to be added about the com. The definition of "Tattva" given by the commentator is however of much philosophical interest : "Svarūpa-pramiti-pravṛttilakṣaṇa-sattātraividhye parāṇapekṣam Svatantram. Parāpekṣam asvatantram" |

(2) *Tattvaviveka-Ṭikā* (p)

This runs to 160 granthas and its contents are much the same as of (1).

(3) *Tattvodyota-Ṭikā* (p)

The com. has 1500 granthas and is one of the best-written among the minor works of the author. Under the brilliant exposition of J., the abstruse original assumes a newer light every time. It is a very clever and well-thought-out plea indeed for the dualistic interpretation of "Tattvam asi", that we have, in . तत्त्वमसीति वाक्येन परमात्मसादृश्यविशेषः प्रतिपाद्यते ; अभेदस्य प्रमाणावधारितत्वात् । ननु, वक्तव्यायत्ने गन्दप्रयोगे कस्माद्गणप्रयोगः ? अस्त्यत्र प्रयोजनम् । इह हि महत्त्वादिगुणवन्तं स्वानन्त्यात्मानं मत्वा स्तव्यं श्वेतकेतुं निमित्तीकृत्य स्वातन्त्र्याभिमानिनो जीवजातस्य अहंकारशान्तये तत्त्वमसीत्युच्यते ॥ तत्र यदि विज्ञानानन्दधनस्त्वमसीति ब्रूयात्, तदा नास्य अहंकारशान्तिः स्यात् । अभेदोक्तौ तु मीमांसा जायते - न तावदत्र मुख्यार्थः संभवति, प्रमाणविरोधात् अतः स इव त्वमसीत्यर्थः । न चायमपि संभवति; अप्रसिद्धप्रतिपत्तये खलु प्रसिद्धमुपमानमुपादीयते, यथा गौस्तथा गवय इत्यादौ दृष्टत्वात् । न चैव प्रकृते । उभयोरायप्रसिद्धत्वात् । अतो नास्योपमानमात्रे तात्पर्यमिति पश्यन्, सूर्यसूर्यकयोरिव ईश्वरस्य मम चास्ति सादृश्यविशेष इति पश्यन्, अहंकारं न्यजाति ॥ प्रतिबिम्बे चाग्निनि बिंबसमानधर्मानविरुद्धान् संभावयतीति, अतो लाघवेन बहोरर्थस्य प्रतिपत्तये तत्त्वमसीत्युच्यते ॥ पारतन्त्र्यमात्रोक्तौ, राजपुरुषवदेव प्रतीतिः स्यादिति ॥ (P. 29).

1. The reference to certain comm. on the bhāṣya of Ānandatīrtha, in the SDS is evidently to the pre-J. comm.

2. J. has quoted several passages from the *Tattvapradīpikā* of Cit., both in his c. on the V. T. N. and the Av. C. HAYAVADANA RAU. (QJMS, xxiv, 278-8), places Cit. between 1220-84, on the basis of a couple of inscriptions from Sīmhācalam. There are however, objections to the identification of the donee in these with the Advaitic dialectician. We have not proof that Narasīmhamuni was an alias of Citsukha, even though he was certainly a devotee of Nṛsīmha. The Citsukha Somayājīn of the grant, mentioned as the temple-manager, cannot of course be the ascetic Citsukha. I would however, accept the 1220-87. for Cit. apart from the above epigraphs.

Writing about the untenability of Rāmānuja's interpretation of the "Vācārambhaṇa-text", J. says well that the example of the "Nakha-nikṛntana" entirely gives away the whole case for a Pariṇāma-vāda interpretation :—
इदं तु सर्वथानुपपन्नम् । मृत्पिंडादेर्हि मृष्मयादिकं प्रति कारणत्वमात्रमस्त्येव । नखनिकृन्तनस्य तु, स्वयमपि कार्यस्य कार्णायसं प्रति तदपि नास्ति ! किमुत, एकनखनिकृन्तनविकारः सर्व कार्णायसं न भवतीति ? अतो विज्ञायते—नैते दृष्टान्ताः कार्यकारणत्वविवक्षयेति ॥ (1' 35 b).

(4) *Viṣṇu-tattva-nirṇaya-Ṭikā* (p)¹

This is the biggest of J's comm. on the Prakaraṇas and contains nearly 5120 granthas. He refers to the earlier interpretations of Padmanābha and Narahari (p. 8, lines 16-17), quotes extensively from the *Tattvapradīpikā* of Citsukha, and repels his attacks on the concept of Bheda (difference),² and alludes to certain attempted defences of the Advaitic interpretations in the light of the criticisms of Madhva :—p. 66, 1, 4 ; p. 92, 1.10.

(5) *Māyāvāda-khaṇḍana-Ṭikā* (p)

The number of granthas in this work is 175. The author quotes Śrīharṣa : "Taccādvaitam 'Brahmaivedam sarvam' iti śrutyarthena saha aikyam āpannam, Brahmaiva syāt" (*Khaṇḍanakhāṇḍakhāḍya*, p. 220, Chouk. 1914) iti (p. 12), and from Ānandabodha the verse "Na san nāsanna sadasan nānir-vācyopi tatksayaḥ" etc., referring to the cessation of Avidyā as belonging to a fifth order of predication (pañcama-prakāratā).

(6) *Prapañcamithyātānūmānakhaṇḍana-Ṭikā* (p)
(granthas 275)

The author explains at the outset that it is incumbent upon the realist to expose the untenability of the doctrine of the unreality of the world ; for, unless the world is shown to be real, the definition of the Brahman given in the B.S. i, 1, 2, as the Author, etc., of the Universe, would be a travesty. He quotes from Maṇḍana (p. 5, line 10) the line : "Sarvapratyayavedye ..." (*Brahmasiddhi*, 20).

(7) *Upādhikhaṇḍana-Ṭikā* (p)

This com. (granthas 300) is otherwise known as *Tattvaparakāśikā*.³ It is later than the c. on the VTN. (see reference to Bimbaprati-bimbavāda, pp. 18 and 37b). In the course of his exposition, J. says that the Advaitin must either give up the idea of Ignorance attacking the Brahman, or else account for it in a rational manner. It is foolish to take refuge in the "duṣṭhatva" of Avidyā. He quotes from the *Nyāyamakaranda* of Ānandabodha (under verse i, of UK.) the passage beginning with "Nanu, sarvam hi yo jñāti sa sarvajñaḥ. Tisraścāsyā vidhās sambhavanti pratikṣipatīti".

1. Nirayasagar Press, Bombay, 1898.

2. Cf. J. p. 48, 1. 13 ; p. 49, 2 and Sit. ii, 164 ; J. 51, 9-10 and 36, 3-4, with Cit. p. 83 (Bombay).

3. "Evam samāpita-Tattvaparakāśikā-vyākhyo bhagavān Ṭikākāraḥ.... |"
(Vyāsātīrtha, Com.).

(8) *Pramāṇalakṣaṇa-Ṭikā* (p)

The com. (granthas 1450), goes by the name of *Nyāyakalpalatā*. It is a lucid exposition of the original which has been rendered superfluous by the more exhaustive treatment of the same subject in the *Pramāṇapaddhati*.

(9) *Kathālakṣaṇa-Ṭikā* (p)

[Granthas 354.] The author gives a clear exposition of the subject of dialectic disputation and throws much historical light on various points. He refers at the outset to three different classifications of Kathā adopted by Śāstrakāras :—

- (1) Eka eva kathāmārga iti Bāhyaḥ (i.e. Buddhists).
- (2) Vādavitāṇḍe dve eveti Śrīharṣaḥ
- (3) Vādo jalpaḥ, vādavitāṇḍā, jalpavitāṇḍā ceti catasrah
kathā iti Gauda-Naiyāyikāḥ

(10) *Karmanirṇaya-Ṭikā* (p)

This runs to nearly 920 granthas and was printed in 1900. The most interesting fact here is that interpretations (of the KN) of Narahaṇ Tīrtha are criticised on three occasions : once at the very beginning of his c. on the opening line : Tatraike āhuraguṇam brahmeti. Natat yuktam. Śrutiyuktivirodhāt. Yuktaśabdaḥ śobhanaparyāyah. Yathāha Bhikṣuḥ | Tathā ca Yuktivirodhāt na yuktam iti sādhyāviśiṣṭatā ; for a second time on p. 3-4b, on the statement of a syllogism and lastly in connection with the interpretation of the somewhat inadequately worded text : “ Vedavākyasya tu vācanikārtham vinā naivānyo yujyate.”

SŪTRA PRASTHĀNA

Except the *Aṇu-bhāṣya*, J. has left comm. on all the other works of Madhva on the Sūtraprasthāna. Of these, his com. on the AV is acknowledgedly his *magnum opus*. Next in importance comes his *Tattvapraṇkāśikā*.

(11) *Tattvapraṇkāśikā* (p)

This is the best known and most universally studied com. on Madhva's B.S.B. The extent of the work is nearly 8000 granthas. It has completely superseded other commentaries in the field, both earlier and later. While the earlier ones died a natural death leaving not a trace behind them, the TP. of J. has had the honour of not less than eleven commentaries written on it.

A comparison of the TP. with the *Sattarkaḍipāvali* of Padmanābha Tīrtha would show that the former follows very closely indeed in the footsteps of the latter. He is familiar with the TD¹, but passes over things which have been explained therein at some length.² He keeps strictly to the original avoiding

1. See Rāghavendra's *Bhāvadīpa* on the TP. i, 3, 17, p. 112, 23 : Tattvapradīpādi prācināṭikā-rītya-śamkate : Abhāṣitam iti (before I. 3, 4).

2. See *Bhāvadīpa*, i, 1, 4, p. 30, 21. The Gautamaśāpa episode is described by Trivikrama at great length ; but it is disposed of by J. and Padmanābha in one sentence.

all digressions and criticism of rival interpretations of the Sūtras, reserved for treatment in his subsequent work, the *Nyāyasudhā*.

Anu-Bhāṣya-Ṭikā.

The Catalogue of the Mysore O.L. (1107 Nagari) ascribes to J. a com. on the *Anubhāṣya*. That this is by a later hand is clear from one of the opening stanzas in it :—

Praṇamya Nṛharim Madhvamunim Jayamunim tathā |
Vivṛtim hyanubhāṣyasya kariṣyāmi yathāmati |.

(12) *Nyāyasudhā* (p)

The *Nyāya-Sudhā* (NS) is a first-rate classic, a superb controversial treatise and an illuminating com. on the AV., all in one. It is more familiarly known to Mādhva scholars by the shorter title of 'Sudhā' and runs to 24000 granthas. "Sudhā vā pathanīyā vasudhā vā pālaniyā", is a saying which attests the universal homage paid to it by the traditional scholars. Its original name seems to have been "*Viśamapada-vākyārthavivṛti*", though it is called by the name of "Nyāya-sudhā", in the penultimate verse of the last chapter.

II

The views embodied in the bhāṣyas of Śaṅkara,² Bhāskara, Rāmānuja,³ and Yādavaprakāśa, on the Sūtras, and in the comm. of Vācaspati,⁴ Padmapāda,⁵ and Prakāśātman,⁷ as well as those of the *Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī*,⁸ the *Tattvabindu*,⁹ the *Nyāyakusumāñjali*,¹⁰ the *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍakhāḍya*,¹¹ the *Citsukhī*,¹² the *Mānamanohara*,¹³ the *Nyāyalīlāvatī*,¹⁴ as well as those upheld by Gangeśa Upadhyāya,¹⁵ Ātreya,¹⁶ Sureśa,¹⁷ the Bhūṣaṇakāra,¹⁸

1. Iyam Nyāyasudhā bhaumair vibudhaiḥ, sevayatām sadā .
2. Vol. i, p. 294b ; 195b ; iv, p. 653 , ii, 1, 6 (adhikarana) , p. 295 : iv, i, adh. 2 : pp. 616-17.
3. i, 1, 12 ; Prakṛtyadhikaraṇa, etc., vol. I, p. 197b , ii, 2, p. 428.
4. iv, 2, adh. 5, p. 647.
5. Vol. i, p. 190.
6. i, p. 100 ; p. 112b on i, 1, 3.
7. i, 99, 102.
8. ii, 2, p. 316.
9. p. 89.
10. ii, 1, adh. 4, p. 289, lines 20-6.
11. i, 210 ; i, 1, 31 (p).
12. i, 1, 29p ; p. 40 and 60 (Bhāvarūpājñāna) cf. Cit. p. 82 ; and also cf. i, 1, p. 62 with Cit. p. 58-60 (Bby).
13. i, 4, adh. 6, p. 216.
14. ii, 2, p. 359 ; ii, 4, p. 215.
15. See i, 1, p. 96 (*Parimala*).
16. ii, 2, p. 336, line 9.
17. ii, p. 349 (*Parimala*).
18. P. 406.

Śrīdhara (*Nyāyakandālī*),¹ Praśastapāda,² the author of the *Nyāyavārtikatāt-paryāṭikā*,³ Vyomaśivācārya,⁴ are quoted and refuted where necessary in the course of the *NS*. The doctrines of the Bhāṭṭa and Prābhākara schools of Mīmāṃsā, relating to the philosophy of propositions and the various views of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and Sāṃkhya-Yoga realists, as well as those of the Buddhists, Jains and Pāśupatas, are reviewed and refuted in proper context with a wealth of details. The doctrine of Sphoṭa is criticised in vol. i, 87, seq. The passages of the *AV* are shown to brilliant advantage by making them capable of meeting a variety of objections.⁵ In this respect the *NS* may as well be said to be a marvel at commentary-making.

It would be no exaggeration to say that in the whole range of Sanskrit philosophical literature, there is not one other work like the original *AV* or its epoch-making com. the *NS*. "One does not know what to admire most in this work. So remarkably perfect is it in every way."⁶ The style is throughout marvellously sustained. The eloquence is superb, yet absolutely unsimulated. There is no straining after effect as one finds in the *Bhāmātī* or other works of Vācaspati, and there is a moderation in embellishment. The author shows himself to be a perfect master in all the four Śāstras (see eulogistic verse already quoted from a supposed Insc.). He discourses on the grammatical and linguistic issues called forth by the exigencies of the context, in defending the Un-Pāṇinian usages in the *AV* and on more important occasions of sūtra-interpretation (II. 1, pp. 201-2) and these reveal his penetrating grasp of the subjects concerned. He has laid almost all the leading works of the various systems of thought studied in his days under contribution. His disquisitions on problems of metaphysics, psychology and theory of knowledge show a good deal of insight into things and vast powers of analysis and argument. This will be evident from his masterly treatment of the five "Khyātis" (*Khyātivāda*, i, pp. 41-57b), the doctrine of "Sākṣī" *passim* (p. 213 ff. and 448-50), Difference (*Bheda*); pp. 380-82 and of "Viśeṣas" p. 356.

III.

It is from the *NS*. that we learn that some of Madhva's interpretations in his *AV* had already been called into question by critics owing allegiance probably to the system of Śaṅkara. One of these criticisms,⁷ it would appear, had reference to Madhva's attempt at fixing the import of the term Brahman in

1. i, 4, p. 214.

2. i, 4, p. 214.

3. ii, i, p. 251.

4. i, 4, pp. 215-22.

5. For instance, the phrase "Pratyakṣavacca prāmāṇyam" is pointed against seven different pūrvapakṣas (pp. 76-79); and so is the case with "Gauravam kalpane anyathā" which disarms five different objections. (pp. 87-89.)

6. C. M. PADMANABHACAR, *Life and Teachings of Madhva*, p. 197.

7. See my *Catussūtrībhāṣya* of Madhva, p. 112-13 (Notes).

the first Sūtra by a process of elimination. J. points out that the critic objects to the tediousness involved in this kind of procedure, when the intention of the Sūtrakāra could as well be settled by a reference to the next Sūtra. The critic is, of course, given a suitable reply.¹

The rules of Pāṇini are frequently violated in the *AV* and other works of Madhva. These lapses must have given the critics of the Ācārya many a vulnerable point of attack. Not only in his *NS* but in many other works of his has J. ably defended his master and justified his oddities against all kinds of criticism.² The earlier comm. of Trivikrama, Padmanābha etc., have not paid any attention to these matters, presumably because such criticisms had not been made by the contemporaries of Madhva.

IV.

It appears from certain references in the *NS* that there were *other comm.* also on the *B.S.B.*³ and the *AV*⁴ besides those of Padmanābha, Trivikrama and Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitācārya. Nothing is however known about the commentators. Some of them were perhaps the direct disciples of Madhva himself.

V

As an instance of the lucidity of J.'s exposition, attention may be drawn to the following passage in which is set forth the Dvaita view of the philosophical standpoint and ideology of the Upaniṣads :—

सर्वाण्यपि हि वेदान्तवाक्यानि असङ्ख्येयकल्याणगुणाकरं सकलदोषगन्धविधुरं एकरूपमेव ब्रह्म नारायणाख्यं प्रतिपादयन्ति । किंतु, (१) कानिचित् सर्वज्ञत्वसर्वेश्वरत्वसर्वान्तर्यामित्वसौन्दर्यौदार्य-गुणविशिष्टतया; (२) कानिचित् अपहृतपाप्मत्वनिर्दुःखत्व-प्राकृतभौतिकविग्रहरहितत्वादि-दोषाभाव-विशिष्टतया, (३) कानिचित् अतिगहनताज्ञापनाय बाह्यनसागोचरत्वाकारेण, (४) कानिचित् सर्वपरित्यागेन तस्यैवोपादानाय अद्वितीयत्वेन, (५) कानिचित् सर्वसत्ताप्रतीतिप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तताप्रतिपत्त्यर्थं सर्वात्मकत्वेन, इत्येवमाद्यनेकप्रकारैः परमपुरुषं बोधयन्ति । ततो व्याकुल-बुद्धयो गुरुसंप्रदायविकलाः अश्रुतवेदव्याख्यातारः सर्वत्राप्येकरूपतामनुसंधाना वेदं छिन्दन्ति ॥ (P. 124). This is as against Śaṅkara's account of the ideology of the Upaniṣads, expressed in his com. on i, I. II (introductory) :

1. The critic seems to have taken his stand on the statement in Śaṅkara's bhāṣya : अत एव न ब्रह्मशब्दस्य न जात्याद्यर्थान्तरमाशङ्कितव्यम् ॥

2. See also *NS*. (Bby edn.) p. 129b : अत्र केचिद्व्यभिचारमुद्भावयन्ति etc. (i, 1, adh. 6).

3. Under B. S. i, 1, 23. (TP) J. refers to the view of a certain “सम्प्रदायवित्” and the view is in direct opposition to that expressed by Trivikrama. Padmanābha Tirtha and others are silent on this point.

4. See *NS*. i, i, 1. p. 38, line 9 and 11, 2, p. 392 line 8—9, and *Parimala* i, 4, p. 199, line 22.

द्विरूपं हि ब्रह्मावगम्यते वेदान्तवाक्येषु । नामरूपविकारोपाधिविशिष्टम्, तद्विपरीतं च सर्वोपाधिवर्जितम् । 'यत्र हि द्वैतमिव भवति' 'सर्वाणि रूपाणि विजित्य धीरो' इत्येवं सहस्रशो विद्याविद्याविषयभेदेन ब्रह्मणो द्विरूपां प्रदर्शयन्ति वेदान्तवाक्यानि । तत्राविद्यावस्थायां ब्रह्मण उपास्योपासकलक्षणः सर्वो व्यवहारः । तत्र (१) कानिचित् ब्रह्मण उपासनया अभ्युदयार्थानि । (२) कानिचित्कर्ममुक्त्यर्थानि (३) कानिचित्कर्मसमृद्धयर्थानि । एवमपेक्षितोपाधिविभेदं ब्रह्म उपास्यत्वेन, निरस्तसमस्तोपाधि तु ज्ञेयत्वेनोपदिशति ॥

(13) *Nyāyavivaraṇa Tīkā* (p).

This is an incomplete com. on the first two pādas of the I chapter of the *Nyāyavivaraṇa*, which was completed by Raghūttama Tīrtha, in the 16th century. Both the commentaries have been printed and published from Udupi.

UPANIṢAD-BHĀṢYA-ṬIKĀS.

The catalogue of the Gopala Vilas Library (Kumbakonam) and the Mysore O. L. (C 40), mention a com. on the *Aitareya Upaniṣad bhāṣya*, by J. But this is baseless. The existence of a com. on the *Aitareyabhāṣya* by Vyāsa-tīrtha, a direct disciple of J., may also be taken to be an indirect proof of the fact that no com. on that Up. has been left by the latter—to which there is moreover absolutely no reference whatever in subsequent literature. However that may be, Mysore C 40 has, on examination, turned out to be nothing more than a Ms. of Viśveśvara Tīrtha's com. on the *Aitareya Bhāṣya*.

(14) *Śaṭpraśna Bhāṣya—Tīkā* (p)

(Granthas 500)

This, together with the gloss of Mankāla Ācārya, was printed in 1907. The commentator gives the *akṣarayojanā*, of the text besides giving the *Bhāṣayayojanā* with pratikas. It is a lucid and entertaining com. It is quoted by Rāghavendra in his gloss on the *TP*. II, 4, 13 p ; 233b.

(15) *Īśāvāsyā Upaniṣad—Bhāṣya—Tīkā* (p)

This com. (granthas 450) was printed in 1926 with the gloss of Chalāri Nṛsiṃhācārya, at Kumbakonam. The Advaitic and Viśiṣṭādvaitic interpretations of the text are severely assailed. Objecting to Śaṅkara's interpretation of the first verse, J. says that the fact that everything in the world is "covered" by God, is hardly any reason why man should be advised to give up his activity ! Were it so, it would equally apply to the uninitiated (*ajñāni*). There would then be no point in recommending two different courses of action in verses 1 and 2. It would be difficult to extract a Monism from the passage in question as the *ācchādaka* and the *ācchādya* should obviously be distinct. The use of the root √*bhuj* in the Ātmanepada, is also against the Advaitic and Viśiṣṭādvaitic explanations.

1. The passage is a running quotation from Śaṅkara's bhāṣya, by J.

The Advaita and the Viśiṣṭādvaitic interpretations of mantras 8-14, in terms of *jñāna-karma-samuccaya*, are criticised at length. The *Samuccaya-pakṣa* is dismissed as being opposed to the Śruti : *nānyaḥ panthā vidyate' jyanāya*. The view, moreover, that the mere knower of God has to suffer a greater share of misery in Saṁsāra than a mere performer of acts, is both arbitrary and illogical. The (Advaitins') idea of *Devatājñāna* introduced into *Īśa* 11, is alien to the spirit of the Upaniṣads which is mainly devoted to the science of the Ātman. Pointed reference is made to the arbitrary way in which Śaṅkara explains away verse 14, after prefixing a negative particle before the word *sambhūti* and turning it into *asambhūti*.¹

(16) *Rg-Bhāṣya Tīkā : Sambandhadīpikā* (p)

In this powerful com. on the *Rgbhāṣya* (granthas 3500) J. gives a lucid exposition of the original not only in the light of the authorities cited by Madhva, but of other standard works like those of Yāska. He criticises the interpretations of other commentators (p. 72b and 76) and indicates the Adhyātma interpretation of the ṛks.

(17) *Gītā-bhāṣya-Prameyadīpikā* (p)

This commentary has been printed twice in Southern India and runs to 4000 granthas. It is indispensable to a proper understanding of the original whose terseness and brevity are such as to try even the apotheosis of patience among men. Following Madhva, and sometimes of his own accord, the commentator draws attention to the interpretations of Śaṅkara and Bhāskara and criticises them. These references are thus very valuable to us not only for purposes of Gītā-interpretation but also of text-criticism and problems connected with authorship. Till recently, the Vedāntin Bhāskara was a forgotten commentator on the *Gītā*. Thanks however to the allusions to Bhāskara's commentary on the *Gītā*, in J.'s *Prameyadīpikā*, we are now in a position to say something about his *Gītā*-interpretation. It appears from these references in J.'s commentary, that Bhāskara was (1) a relentless critic of the G. B. of Śaṅkara ; (2) that he had at least one Kashmirian reading in VI, 7, which was unknown to his brother-commentators like Śaṅkara, and (3) that he was probably a *Trimūtyuttīrṇa-brahmavādin*.³

The commentator illumines many a dark and obscure corner of the text and draws out the hidden implications of the all too brief utterances of the Bhāṣyakāra, by breathing into them a soul of wit and formidable array of

1. Those who object to Madhva's splitting up of "Sa ātmā tattvamasi" into "Atat tvam asi" may as well ponder over this *padaccheda*, which is even more "strained".

2. Nirnayasaṅgraha Press, Bombay 1901.

3. For detailed information about Bhāskara and his com. see my papers in the *IHQ*, IX. 1933.

details.¹ He is ready with suitable defences of the grammatical lapses of Madhva.² The com. of Narahari Tīrtha is twice alluded to.

(18) *Gītā-Tātparya Nyāyadīpikā* (p)

This com. (granthas 3267) on the *GT.* was printed at Bombay in 1905 with a gloss called *Kiraṇāvalī*.³ The style of J. is not so felicitous here as in his other work. The com. contains two new allusions to the Bhāṣya of Bhāskara (II, 16 and III, 17) and clarifies many obscure points.⁴

ORIGINAL WORKS

(19) *The Vādāvalī* (p)

This is an independent controversial tract (प्रकरण) of the author in 500 granthas. It is also known as *Vedāntavādāvalī* and designated *Vādamālā* by AUFRECHT (i, 119). The author seems to hint that the arguments used by him are a résumé of those employed by Madhva in his *Khaṇḍanātaya*, *Tā*⁵ and *VTN*.⁶ He attempts a dialectic refutation of the illusionistic hypothesis with all its logical and metaphysical paraphernalia. The famous syllogism : विमत मिथ्या दृश्यत्वात्, जडत्वात्, परिच्छिन्नत्वात् शुक्तिरूपयवत्— is analysed and refuted in minute detail. The familiar theory of monists all the world over that our senses always deceive us, being merely appearance-interpreting, is effectively challenged and the fitness of sense-knowledge to reveal objects as they are, is vindicated. The following are some of the topics dealt with :—

1. Definition of Avidyā and refutation.
2. Proofs in support of Avidyā examined.
3. Definition of Mithyātva.
4. दृश्यत्व, जडत्व and परिच्छिन्नत्व—*hetus*, refuted.
5. The opposition of प्रत्यक्ष to the doctrine of unreality.
6. The opposition of श्रुति to the doctrine of unreality.
7. The self-validity of प्रमाण.
8. Flaws in the doctrine of Āropa.
9. The reality of Dream-Cognitions.
10. सत्यत्वहेतूनां प्रतिकूलतर्कोद्धारः ।

1. Cf. i. 30, p. 59 (Madras edn.) परिहारे पृथक्भोगाभिधानाच्च and ता एवोपाददौ तस्य स ऋषिः and II, p. 147.

2. परिपूर्णं गुरुश्चान्नीतार्थं ... P. 9—10 ; On कृपालु (p. 13) ; कथं चास्य कतु न शक्यते p. 30 ; आदिराज्ञाम् (iii 4) बहवः कर्मकारणा भवन्ति (III, 36).

3. T. P. L. Cat. (XIV. p. 6095) is wrong in saying that this com has not been printed.

4. See the reference to *Viṣṇudharmottara* on p. 200.

5. वाङ्मुखाद्वाङ्मुखं भूयात् (last verse and c. of Rāghavendra on it)

6. Cf. p. 53 of *Vādāvalī* and *VTN*.

11. Monistic texts reinterpreted : नेह नानास्ति; एकमेवाद्वितीयम् ॥
12. भेदस्य प्रत्यक्षाग्राह्यत्वे पूर्वपक्षः । its refutation.
13. Bheda is धर्मस्वरूप.
14. Viśeṣas.

The views expressed in the *Tattvapradīpikā* of Citsuka, the *Vivaraṇa*, the *Nyāyakandalī*, etc. are quoted and criticised. Citsukha is once mentioned by name (P. 27).

The author says well in the course of his work that there is no point in saying that dualistic texts in scripture are concerned with establishing the phenomenal reality of the world, as no philosopher or layman ever disputed the (phenomenal) reality : व्यर्थं च प्रपञ्चे व्यावहारिकत्वप्रतिपादनम् । नहि कश्चिद्वैदिको वैदिको वा व्यावहारिकसत्यतां प्रपञ्चे नाभ्युपैतीति ! Even the Buddhist is no exception to this rule. Elsewhere he remarks that the censure in असत्यमप्रतिग्रं ते (Gītā XVI, 8) cannot but recoil on the Advaitin and apply to his view of मिथ्यात्व as there is really no philosopher worth the name (आहुः) who believes the world to be totally non-existent :—न चात्रासत्यशब्दो अत्यन्तासत्यपरः । अत्यन्तसत्त्वाभ्युपगन्तुर्वादिन एवाभावात् ; आहुरित्यस्यायोगादिति । (P. 46b). Citsukha's argument in respect of नेह नानास्ति that it cannot be interpreted in terms of स्वगतभेदनिषेध as is done by the Dvaitin, on account of the absence of a “त्वग्रन्थ” there, is directly repulsed :—न च ब्रह्मणि नानात्वं प्रसक्तं यन्निषिद्धयत इति चेत् । हन्त तर्हि, त्वयाप्येकमेवाद्वितीयमित्यादेर्नानात्वनिषेधपरत्वमभ्युपगतं कथं स्यात् ? नानागन्दस्य भावप्रत्ययान्तत्वाभावाच्चेति चेन्न “मुक्तोपसृग्यव्यपदेशात्” (B. S. i, 3, 2) इत्यादौ भावप्रत्ययाभावेऽपि तदर्थनादशनात् ॥ (p. 66).

The *Vādāvalī* is thus the earliest large-scale polemical tract of the post-Madhva period, acting in many ways as the forerunner of the *Nyāyāmṛta*. The *Vādāvalī-khaṇḍana* (Mysore O. L. C 755), is presumably a reply to it.

(20) *The Pramāna-Paddhati* (p)

This is the biggest (granthas 750) of J.'s independent works. It has been published with eight comm. including those of Vijayindra, Rāghavendra, Vedeśa Satyanātha etc., from Dharwar. It is the standard work on Dvaita Epistemology and all questions connected with that branch of Metaphysics. It deals with the nature, scope, and definition of Pramāṇas, their ways of functioning, theories of Truth and Error, the question whether the validity of knowledge is to be viewed as innate (स्वतः) or extraneous (परतः) etc. It is modelled on the *Pramāṇalakṣaṇa* but reviews in addition, the epistemological theories in the six systems of Indian philosophy—both orthodox and heretical. It is divided into three Paricchedas or chapters : Pratyakṣa, Anumāna, and Śabda or Āgama.

1. P. 22-23 : Cit. p. 58 ; p. 25 : Cit. p. 60 ; p. 71 : Cit. p. 174.

MINOR WORKS

(21) *Padyamālā* (p)¹

This is a work on daily worship and is in essence a summary of the method of worship enunciated in the *Tantrasārasaṅgraha* (of Madhva). It is a very elementary work.

(22) *Śatāparādha Stotra*

This is a minor *stotra* praying for forgiveness of a hundred sins and delinquencies which a man commits every day.

(23) *Adhyātmāmṛta Taraṅgiṇī*.

A work of this name is ascribed to J. in the *Saṅkathā* (p. 30), and it is described to be a catechism of the principles of Dvaita philosophy. Nothing more is known about it.

1. Belgaum.

A LETTER OF MAHARAJA AJITSINGHJI RELATING THE EMERGENCY ADMINISTRATION OF MARWAR

By

PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH REU

On the death of Maharaja Jaswantsingh I, in 1678 A.D. the emperor Aurangzeb annexed Marwar. But after 28 years of continual fight his son Maharaja Ajitsingh re-captured Jodhpur, the capital of the State, as soon as the Emperor Aurangzeb died, in 1707 A.D., in the Deccan. After this his son and successor Bahadur Shah also invaded Marwar and compelled Maharaja Ajitsingh to leave the state administration in the hands of the Mughal officials and to accompany him against his brother Kambaksh. But as soon as Bahadur Shah crossed the Narbada, Maharaja Ajit returned to his capital and driving away the Mughal garrison took the reins of the administration in his own hands.

In 1713 A.D. Emperor Farrukhsiyar, who ascended the throne of Delhi after Jahandar Shah, sent an army under Sayyad Husainalikhan against Marwar. As soon as this news reached Jodhpur, Maharaja Ajitsingh went towards Tilwara in the western part of Marwar for war preparations and sent his trustworthy and loyal noble Chanpavat Thakur Rao Bhagvandas to Jodhpur with a letter containing a number of detailed instructions to be carried on.

This letter will give an idea of the condition prevailing then and the manner in which the affairs of the state were managed at the time of emergency and will also throw light on the administrative qualities of Maharaja Ajitsingh of Marwar.

SOME NOTEWORTHY THINGS OF THE LETTER

The top lines written in Maharaja Ajitsinghji's own hand-writing run as below :—

“We have sent you as a special favour to serve the country and command you to carry out carefully the detailed instructions issued by us.”

Then there is a royal seal which contains :—

“Glory be to Shri Huzur Chhatrapati, Maharajadhiraj, Maharaja Shri Ajitsinghji Deva.

Hari, Amba, Shiva, Sun and Ganesh—may these five deities always be our guide.”

Then there is a mark of approval in his own calligraphy and another three lines which go as under :—

“ This royal mandate under our own signature and royal seal is issued under the shadow of God.”

Translation of the letter.

“ By order of the—blessed, adorned with many auspicious qualities, protector of Hindus, emperor, sovereign ruler, king of kings, Maharaja Shri Ajitsinghji and his heir-apparent Abhaisinghji Rao Bhagavandas, son of Jogidas, has been sent to Jodhpur, our capital, as a mark of special favour, to look after all the State affairs and act according to our auspicious command.

1. He should remain at Jodhpur.
2. He should watch over the affairs of Ajmer, Merta and Nagaur, and be observant of Brahmans, Mahajans and Kayasths even if they are reliable, and find out the purpose of the people who leave the place openly or secretly.
3. May God forbid, even then, if any thing untoward happens he should write to us and should not depend on others, but send a messenger or trustworthy man with a written report, which will be submitted to us through Mahasingh and its reply too will be communicated through him.
4. He should send his reports of current rumours and matters related to the administration with State messengers and the orders from us will always be communicated to him and Mahasingh jointly.
5. He should always be cautious in his duties.
6. He should, for the safety of the State, keep friendly relations with others, so that when need be they may come to our help from our land and from Godwad, Sirohi and Nagaur.
7. He should stock all necessary things in the fort and mount guns on all strategic points.
8. He should manage the affairs of the fort in such a way that it may stand the siege of the enemy till the time of our arrival. God willing, we hope to reach early on receipt of information, yet it may take at least twenty or twenty-five days.
9. Letters from other officials as well as from you should be sent together.
10. Goyanddas and Dayaldas have been instructed to keep you in touch from time to time and if there will be any objection to their action simultaneous orders will be issued to both of you through them, then you should carry out their fresh instructions.
11. If a Qazi (Law giver), a Mulla (religious preacher) or a news-writer comes from Ajmer on any pretext he should be kept away from the

people of Merta. We shall also issue necessary instructions on such occasions. But such a man should not be allowed to approach nearer and if he comes at all you should not allow him to take possession and refers rations. Moreover if any wicked person dares to approach, you should stealthily get him killed at night by sending twenty or thirty mounted or foot soldiers and then the next morning institute a false search and investigate the matter. Special care should be taken of Bisalpur.

12. Caravans may pass through Gudha but not through Jodhpur. It is our command that it should not come nearer to any town.

13. You should also guard the affairs of Ahmadabad.

14. You should watch the affairs at Udaipur and inform us of the departure and arrival of the people there.

15. If necessary, keep friendly with the people of Ghanerao.

16. Whatever you hear communicate it to the news-writer, so that he may write it to us and whatever you think more important you should write yourself.

17. Take care of customs duty and see whether it has been duly charged on goods imported in Marwar or exported to Delhi. No partiality need be allowed.

18. None should be shown undue favours.

19. If they carry on well, all is for the good, otherwise take them to task according to circumstances.

20. If we censure your work do not lose heart. Whenever we will want to make a necessary change in the policy, we shall send you same instructions through Mahasingh as well as directly, at the same time, and then you should make changes in your management accordingly.

21. Be always confident at heart.

22. You should keep watch on border lands all round the country.

23. You should arrange to send detachments on Deval and Sindhal Rajputs and Raddhara town."

Dated 5th day of the bright half of Bhadaun, Samvat 1771 (3rd September 1714 A.D.) Camp Talwara."

Reading on the cover—"On account of special favour the titles conferred on you are—our devoted, loyal, trusted, premier and faithful noble, Chief Minister, (Jumdutulmulk) centre of important affairs and (Madarul-maham) the best in the country Rao Bhagvandas."

महाराजा अजितसिंगजीके स्वहस्तसे लिखी पत्रके उपरकी पंक्तियाँ.

तथा अजराह नीवाजसँ देसरी खीजमत फरमाय बीदा कीया है नै नसीयत बीगतवार फैरिसत फुरमावै सो फेम राख कामकर्णो हुकम छै सही ।

मुहरका लेख

श्रीहजूर छत्रपती महाराजाधिराज महाराजा श्रीअजीतसिंहजी देव विजयते ।

.....पनी भूप तामरस.....पख.....पर राजत रा.....हरि अंबे शिव मूर विना-
यक, ऐ सुरपंच सदा फलदायक ॥

(महाराज के हस्ताक्षरोंमें)

“हुक्म छै”

फरमाण अलीसान दसकत खास मोहर खास इनायत पातसाही ।

जील सुभानी ॥

(पत्र)

सिद्ध श्री अनेक सकल सुभ ओपमा विराजमानानां श्रीहिंदूपत पातसाह छत्रपती महाराजा-
धिराज महाराजा श्रीअजीतसिंहजी महाराज कंवार श्रीअभैसिंहजी देव वचनात तथा निवाजमरै राह
राव भगवानंदाम जोगीदासोतनुं पायतखत गढ जोधपुरनुं सारी वात रा जावतारै वासतै बीदा कीया
सो श्रीहुक्म ममारक रै माफक जावतो करसी ।

बीगत—

१. जेधपुर हीज रैणै

२. अजमेर मेडनै नागोर खबरदारी राखणी आदमी भावै इतबारी बांभण साह कायथ सो
सावधान रहीजो आदमी चावा कै छाना नीसां होय सो जावतो करणो ।

३. श्रीजी न करै पीण कदाच कांई आधेबणै तो श्रीहजूरनुं अरज लिखणी इणारै भरोसे न
रैहणो ने कासीद तथा मातबर आदमी मेलणों नै श्रीहजूर नें अरज लिखणी सो महासिधरी मारफत
अरज पोहचै जाब इणनुं हीज इनायत होसी ।

४. अरजदासत सीरकार रा कासीद साथे आई करै नै सुणी हकीकत लीखणी नै कांमरी
अरज लिखणी नै श्रीजी हजूरमू पीण फुरमाण मेलो हीज हमेसा इनायत होसी ।

५. कांमकांज में सावधान रैहणो ।

६. कांम मामलै पांच आदमियांसु जोडे राखणो आपणोंसु तथा गोडवाड सीरोही नागोर वाला
तेडीया आवै ।

७. गढ ऊपर संचो राखणो नै तोपां सारै चढावणी ।

८. गढ रो ऐसो जावतो राखणो म्हे आय पोहचां जातरै कायम रहै नै म्हे खबर हुवां
श्रीजी करै तो आवां तो वेगा पीण दीन बीस पचीस तो खरा ।

९. कार्गल थारै नांवरो ने मुतसदीरो सको ने भेलो लीखणो ।

१०. गोयंददास ने दयालदास नें हुक्म हुवो छै सो थानुं इसारो सारो करता रैहसी नें कीणी
बैतै इणा ऊपर अतरौजी 'हीसी तो हुक्म इणानुं नै थानुं इनायत होसी सो इणारो मारफत ऐ कहै
जीण भांत करजो ।

१ बाहर जायँ । २ ऐसाही मौका आ पड़े । ३ जवाब । ४ इसीको । ५ साथही ।
६ मेल । ७ अपनोसे । ८ बुलनेसे । ९ संचय । १० कागज । ११ तुम्हारे
१२ किसीतरह । १३ ऐतराज । १४ होगा ।

११. अजमेर सुं हरकिणी बहानै जोधपुर आदमी आवै काजी तथा मुला वाकानैवेस तो मेडतावालां था जाबतो राखणों ने श्रीहजूर सुं पीण हुकम ईनायत होसी आघो आवणै न "देसी पीणै कदासैं आवै तो दखल बीना हुकम मत देवो ने खाण ने पीण मत देवो ने कदाचीत कोई रीजाँलो होय तो रातरा बीस तीस असवार मेलैणां कै पाँला सो जाय रातरा खंद ने मारने परा जाय नें पछै सुहँरै झट्टी बाहँर चढावजो ने मुलें तो बीसलपुर जाबतो रहै ।

१२. काफँलो गुढा में होय जाय पीण जोधपुरमें नावै हुकम छै कठाहीरो सैहर नजाक नावै ।

१३. ऐहमदाबाद रो ही जाबतो राखणो ।

१४. उदैपुर पीण जाबतो रहै खबर आई करै कुण गयो रँहो

१५. दौय आवै तो घाणोरौ वालां सुं जाबतो रहै ।

१६. हकीकत मुणो सो वाकानवेस ने पोंहचाजो सो लीखसां ने थानै हीज लीखणीं होय सो थे लीखजो ।

१७. टको पैदा होय ने श्रीजी हजूर ने चाले कै दीली नुं चालै सो कै लीयो न लीयो रयायन लागबाजी जीणरो कैम रौखणों

१८. हरकौर किणीरो न करणो ।

१९. ऐ सँलुक सूं चाले तो भली बात छै ने नही तो कैहजो वैंतें माफक ।

२०. श्रीजी हजूर सूं ओलैंभो आवै तो चमकजो मती दलेल थँका काम में रँहजो नै ऐमो कोई जरूर जाणसां तो महामिंघ री मारफत ने श्रीजी दरवार री तरफ दोनुं एक हुकम आवै तां उण माफक जाबतो राखजो ।

२१. दीलमें दलेली^{३८} राखजो ।

२२. सीवां सांढारो^{३९} जाबतो राखणो चोगीरदं कांकड़ छै तँटें ।

२३. कँठिनै फौज मेलणीं देवलैं सीधल राडधरै ।

संवत् १७७१ रा भाद्रवा सुद ५ सुं ॥ तलवाडै

१५ खबरनवीस । १६ आगे आने । १७ दोगे । १८ पर । १९ कभी ।
 २० कमीना=नालायक । २१ भेजने । २२ पैदल । २३ सुबहको । २४ अनुसंधानकारीदल ।
 २५ खाम । २६ यात्रीदल । २७ रहा । २८ मरजी । २९ घाणराव । ३० तुम्हें ।
 ३१ दिल्ली को जानेवाले या नगर में आनेवाले सामान पर चूगी ली या नहीं इसका पूरा ध्यान रखना ।
 ३२ मुलाहिजा । ३३ किसीका । ३४ ठीकतौर । ३५ मौक के । ३६ शिकायत । ३७ दिलासे के साथ ।
 ३८ दिलासा=विश्वास । ३९ सीमांप्रांतका । ४० चारों तरफ । ४१ सीमा । ४२ वहां ।
 ४३ किधर । ४४ भेजनी । ४५ देवल=राजपूतों पर । ४६ सीधल=राजपूतों पर ।
 ४७ राडघडे गांव पर ।

(ऊपर के वेष्टन का मज़मून)

अजराह नीवाजसरै ईलकाब इनायत नीज परमभगत परायणानां सुँकीइषु सदा परधानानां
स्यामधरैमेषु । वजीर आजम जुमदुतुलमुल्क मदारलमहाम रावभगवानदाँसे ।

४८ स्वक्रीयेषु । ४९ स्वामिधर्म में सच्च ।

50. Champa, one of the younger brothers of Rao Jōdhāji the founder of Jodhpur, was a well known warrior. His eighth in descent Rao Bhagvandas, to whom this letter was addressed, served Maharaja Ajitsinghji during the occupation of Marwar by the Mohamedans. His loyal services had been summarised by the Maharaja himself in the following couplet :—

भगवानो जोगातणै, सक सांवत सिरताज ।

कियो बिखो मरुधर मझै लियां भुंजां कुललाज ॥

(i.e.) Bhagvandas, son of Jogidas, who is the leader of all the brave nobles fought the enemies of Marwar and kept the honour of his clan un-tarnished.

His ninth descendant was Rao Bahadur Thakur Mangal Singhji, C.I.E., a noble soul, who served the Jodhpur Darbar loyally and faithfully as a member of the State Council. His eldest son the present Thakur of Pokaran is Rao Bahadur Thakur Chain Singh, M.A., LL.B., (who lately retired from the membership of the Council) and who enjoys the hereditary privilege of occupying the first seat on the right side row of the nobles of Marwar Darbar.

PĀṆINI AND THE RĀK-PRĀTISĀKHYA

By

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The scholastic discussion¹ between Dr. THIEME and Dr. GHOSH on the relation between Pāṇini and the *Rk.-Prātisākhya* has now reached a stage when it would be desirable to examine it and see if the conclusions reached by GHOSH are unavoidable and the relevant facts cannot be explained otherwise. It is for THIEME to controvert comprehensively the charges and statements of GHOSH, for GHOSH "has no doubt that THIEME will again return to the fray and try to defend his position" (p. 399); what I am particularly concerned with here is to weigh and analyse in detail GHOSH's "rational and intelligible interpretation" of Pāṇini's *Pragṛhya-Sūtras* by examining the alleged anomalies inherent in them. Let it be pointed out at first that though in his second article,² GHOSH is 'really grieved' to see that he has been accused of condemning Pāṇini's Grammar and protests that 'nothing was further from his mind than to condemn Pāṇini' (p. 388) the whole tenor of his first article³ indicated nothing but the 'usual' condemnation of the ancient Indian Grammarians. I do not know if such statements as "Pāṇ. (1-1-6) has never been understood even by the ancient Indian commentators" (p. 665) "it would reflect no glory on the author of these sūtras" (p. 668), "it is very unlikely that Pāṇini had personal knowledge of the *Padapāṭha*" (p. 669), "his amazing mistakes, both of omission and commission" (p. 669), "Pāṇini has not only copied the R.P., but he has copied it mechanically, perhaps without even understanding what he was copying (p. 670)", imply anything else. Another point worth noting at the outset is that GHOSH makes explicit statements in his second article to the effect that his chief purpose was not to prove Pāṇini's dependence on the R.P., (p. 399) and that it was not his intention to use the *Pragṛhya-Sūtras* as an instrument with which to prove P.'s posteriority to the R.P., (p. 390); but in his first article, he begins the treatment of the subject with particular reference to the specific problem of the relation between Pāṇini and R.P. and ends with that notorious sentence quoted above "He has copied the R.P. mechanically and perhaps without even understanding."⁴ Thus it is clear

1. See Batakrishna GHOSH : *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. X, pp. 665-670 ; Paul THIEME : Vol. XIII, pp. 329-42 ; K. CHATTOPADHYĀYA : *ibid.*, pp. 343-49 ; A. Berridale KEITH : *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, pp. 742-44 ; Batakrishna GHOSH : *ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 387-99.

Unless stated otherwise, references to GHOSH are from his second article in *Indian Culture*, Vol. IV, pp. 387-99.

2. Published in *Ind. Cult.* Vol. IV. pp. 387-99.

3. Published in *IHQ*, Vol. X, pp. 665-70.

4. *IHQ*, Vol. X, p. 670.

that the controversy has resulted in shifting the ground of discussion from the relation between Pāṇini and Ṛ.P. to the interpretation of the *Pragṛhya-Sūtras* and in mitigating, to a certain extent, the sting of attack made by GHOSH against Pāṇini in his first article.

Before I actually begin the examination in detail of the facts brought forward by GHOSH, it would be advisable to put forth in a concise form his main contentions on the subject. GHOSH concludes (p. 388) that 'Pāṇini's *Pragṛhya-Sūtras* prove beyond doubt that he had actually borrowed these sūtras from the Ṛ.P. and that he has borrowed the first part of the sūtra (8-4-67) from the Ṛ.P. (III-9). I shall take up the latter conclusion first and examine one by one the chain of arguments, which according to GHOSH leads to it.

1. "Pāṇini (8-4-67)—'Nodāttasvaritodayam' shows the unmistakable rhythm of a verse foot." (GHOSH). He 'particularly stresses' this point and thinks that the burden of his 'whole argument hinges on the metrical nature' of the sūtra. (p. 388)

A serious student of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* knows very well that this so-called unmistakable metrical rhythm can be "traced" in many other sūtras of P. The very first two sūtras viz. "*Vṛdhirādaijadenḡuṇaḥ*" may be said to form the 2nd Pāda of an Anuṣṭubh metre. One may suspect the first foot of the Anuṣṭubh metre in P. (1-2-46-*Kṛttaddhitasamāsāśca*) and the second foot in P. (1-1-45-*Igyaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam*; 1-4-100-*Taṇānāvātmanepadam*) and so on. As these instances and many others similar to them cannot be traced to the Ṛ.P., it cannot be said that the metrical rhythm of P. (8-4-67) is a *sure* proof of its having been borrowed from the Ṛ.P. The conclusion of GHOSH appears still more implausible when we remember that this 'metrical' line is not the monopoly of the Ṛ.P. only, but occurs in the *Vāj. Prātisākhya* also.¹ Thus the emphasis and 'stress' on the rhythm of the sūtra is a too insufficient evidence to prove its dependence on the Ṛ.P.

(2) "The Verse-foot, 'Nodāttasvaritodayam,' second in the hemistich, occurs more than once in the Ṛ.P." (GHOSH p. 388). We are glad to see that GHOSH is more accurate in his second article than in the first one, where he made a sweeping remark² that 'this Pāda is repeatedly met in the Ṛ.P.' But this subtle change in the wording does not improve the matter, for 'repeatedly' or 'more than once' amounts to only "twice" in the Ṛ.P. (III-9; III-12). Of these, the second reference (Ṛ.P. III-12),³ being materially *only a re-statement* of Ṛ.P. III-9, cannot be construed to amount to an independent occurrence. Thus practically the solitary use of the phrase loses much of its force of being a conclusive evidence.

1. IV-143, (published by the Madras University).

2. *IHQ*, Vol. X, p. 670.

3. References are from P. SHASTRI's edition published in Calcutta Sanskrit series.

(3) "Pāṇini nowhere else uses the term *Udaya* in the sense of *para*," and "in the R.P. the term *udaya* is regularly used in this sense" (GHOSH p. 38).

Let us consider the latter statement first. The mere employment of the term *udaya* is not a sure argument in deciding chronological sequence, for other Prātiśākhya also use this term.¹ And even in the R.P., it is not "regularly" used; for we have many instances (e.g. I-14; II-10 and many others) where the term *para* is used. Not only that, but in some places (e.g. IV-6; IV-9) we come across both the terms *udaya* and *para* used indiscriminately in an identical sense in the same stanza. In fact, there is much truth in the statement made by GHOSH in his first article that "Both Pāṇini and the Prātiśākhya have largely drawn upon a common grammatical tradition, so that even the most striking similarity between the two texts cannot prove the indebtedness of one to the other."² As regards the use of this term by Pāṇini, it is true that this term is nowhere else used by him in the sense of *para*. It may also be added that in 1-2-40 he uses the phrase '*udāttasvarita-para*' instead of '*Udāta-svaritodaya*'; and this fact should make us think seriously whether the word *Udaya* in '*Udāttasvaritodaya*' in P. VIII-4-67 had been used deliberately with some significance or is merely a 'mechanical copy' from the R.P. That this term is used not only in the R.P., but also in other Prātiśākhya has been shown above. This fact coupled with the consideration that even the R.P. uses this term indiscriminately along with its another synonym '*para*' and does not define it,³ leads to the conclusion that it was a technical term of earlier grammarians and that both Pāṇini and R.P. have adopted it from them. In accordance with the dictum '*Vyākhyānato Viśeṣapratipattih nahi sandehāt alakṣaṇam*', it is for commentators to account for the phrase '*Nodāttasvaritodayam*' in a way more reasonable and convincing than that of Pāṇini's inadvertence' and 'mechanical copying' as supposed by GHOSH. And from this point of view the explanation of *Kāśikā* for Pāṇini's use of the word '*udaya*' as '*Maṅgalārtha*' is more "admirably consistent."⁴

But this is not the main and only objection to the theory propounded by GHOSH, viz. "that Pāṇini borrowed the first part of the sūtra (8-4-67) from the R.P. (III-9)," "which is practically identical in meaning with it." The similarity between P. (8-4-67) and the R.P. (III-9) in meaning and, to an extent, in form is only in the first part of the P. sūtra.

1. See *IHQ*, Vol. XIII, p. 341.

2. *IHQ*, Vol. X, p. 665.

3. CHAṬṬOPĀDHYĀYA : *IHQ*, Vol. XIII, p. 348 : "As Śaunaka has not defined the term in his Prātiśākhya, he too may have taken it from his own predecessors," and "It is interesting to note that Pāṇini has defined the term *Apṛkta*, whereas Śaunaka has not, though he has used it in the same sense. One may conclude from this with greater justification than Dr. GHOSH that Śaunaka was here dependent on Pāṇini."

4. See THIEME : *IHQ*, Vol. XIII, p. 342.

There is in the R.P. no counterpart of the second portion of the P. Sūtra, viz. "*aGārgya-Kāśyapa-Gālavānām.*" The addition of this second part as a qualifying clause reveals at once the comprehensive nature of the sūtra by referring to the opinion of Gārgya, Kāśyapa and Gālava. Pāṇini is dealing here with the problem in a general way and his treatment can, with no stretch of imagination, be regarded as borrowed from R.P. GHOSH, too, is not unmindful of the implications of the qualifying clause, for he confesses (p. 389) that 'there is a real difficulty' as regards the qualifying clause. And it was for this reason (the non-identity of the qualifying clauses) that he particularly "stresses" and regards the metrical form of the first half of the sūtra as the *deciding* factor (p. 389). As I have already shown above, undue emphasis on the evidence of the rhythmical nature of the P. sūtras leads nowhere and no capital should be made out of such an evidence.

(4) GHOSH apparently seems to see in the R.P. something corresponding to Pāṇini's qualifying clause, for he refers to "qualifying clauses on each side" and even has a lurking suspicion that they might be identical in meaning, though he is forced to confess "that it is impossible to prove" (p. 389). And it was due to the impossibility in reconciling the qualifying clauses on each side that he brings in with emphasis the argument of 'rhythm' in the P. Sūtra. But I must confess I fail to see anything in the R.P. which might be regarded as a qualifying clause to '*Na cet udāttasvaritodayam*' (R.P. III-9). On the other hand, Uvvaṭa's comment on the R.P. (III-12),¹ referring to the opinion of 'all the authorities,' clearly shows the absence of any qualifying or conditioning clause in R.P. (III-9). Thus it is clear that the qualifying clause in Pāṇ. (8-4-67) *a-Gārgya-Kāśyapa-Gālavānām* has not even the remotest correspondence in the R.P. and the pious wish entertained by GHOSH to see 'the qualifying clauses on each side' reconciled has no semblance of reality.

(5) "The very grammatical structure of the word *udāttasvaritodayam* is rather anomalous. . . . Should it not have been formally *udāttasvaritodayaḥ* or *udāttasvaritodayau*," (GHOSH p. 389). It is, indeed, not possible to understand what GHOSH means by his proposed second reading of the phrase, *Udāttasvaritodayau* (Nom. Dual). Apparently he has misunderstood the paraphrase of the compound by Bhaṭṭojīdikṣita, '*udāttaparaḥ svaritaparaśca anudāttah*' (quoted by him). The above paraphrase practically amounts to '*udāttasvaritau udayau (parau) yasmāt sah annudāttah*' and Bhaṭṭojīdikṣita following the well-known grammatical rule, '*Dvandvānte śrūyamāṇam padam pratyekam abhisambadhyate*' is quite justified in paraphrasing the compound as above. But GHOSH, not understanding the rationale in the above paraphrase, suggests a form which has no meaning at all in the context, for the compound being of the *Bahuvrīhi* type, is an adjective (*Vīṣeṣyanighna*) and

1. "Sarve eva tu acāryāḥ udāttodayam udattaparam svaritodayaḥ, svaritaparam ca akṣaram....."

there is no substantive here in the dual number to be qualified by it. So the compound should never have been '*udāttasvaritodayau*'. As regards the first suggestion, *udāttasvaritodayaḥ*, it is true that it would have been a bit happier reading, for then it should have, very well, qualified the nom. substantive, *anudāttaḥ*. But we should remember that there is no such word in this or the preceding P. sūtra (8-4-66) and it is only by *Vibhaktivipariṇāma* (*anudāttaḥ* for *anudāttasya*) that the required word, *anudāttaḥ* could have been supplied here. Or by *Vibhaktivipariṇāma* one may construe *udāttasvaritodyam* as a genitive singular qualifying *anudāttasya*. Another plausible solution would be to take the compound as *Kriyā-viśeṣaṇa Bahuvrīhi*. The meaning of the sūtra then, taken in conjunction with the preceding sūtra would be "*udāttasvaritaparaṇi yathā syāt tathā udāttātparasya anudāttasya sthāne svaritaḥ na bhavati.*" This interpretation is no doubt "klīṣṭa" but not off the point. But one fails to see any relevancy at all in the other 'klīṣṭa' (?) interpretation (by GHOSH) as a *dvandva* of the type *Pāṇipādām* (p. 389). To take '*udāttasvaritodayam*' as a *dvandva* compound of *Pāṇipādām* type is as ludicrously absurd as to suggest a reading with dual number, *udāttasvaritodayau*.

The words, *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita*, being originally qualifying words, are used in the neuter gender also. In P. 6-1-158 ; 8-1-18 ; 8-1-3 ; 8-1-67 ; 8-2-100 the word *anudātta* is used in the neuter gender ; in P. 1-2-32, the word *udātta* is in the neuter gender ; in P. 8-2-103, the word *svarita* is in the neuter gender. Hence the use in the neuter gender of a compound qualifying *anudāttam* (*akṣaram*) need not make the form anomalous, and 'drive' the interpreters 'to extremities.' Even if one agrees with GHOSH for a moment that the form should have been '*udāttasvaritodayaḥ*', recourse to the procedure '*Vibhakti-vipariṇāma*' is indispensable, for, as shown above, the substantive qualified is *anudāttasya* (coming from the preceding sūtra) and not *anudāttaḥ*. Thus it is clear that.....*udayaḥ* or. .. *udayam* reading make no material difference and the first suggestion of GHOSH does not improve the situation.

Now coming to the problem of the *pragrhya sūtra* (1-1-16), it is proper to understand first the difference between the traditional interpretation and that offered by GHOSH. The author of the *Kāśikā* explains it as follows : "The *O* of Vocative is *pragrhya* according to Śākalya, when a non-vedic *iti* follows." GHOSH translates it as follows : "The *O* of Vocative is *pragrhya* when Śākalya's non-vedic *iti* follows." "A comparison of the two above interpretations will show that the practical difference between the two interpretations is that while according to GHOSH, this sūtra will apply only in the R.P. Padapāṭha, the traditional interpretation will apply the sūtra in the Padapāṭha as well as in other non-vedic forms. GHOSH says that his interpretation is a 'serious departure from the traditional one' ; but the net result of this 'departure' is that the scope of sūtra has been narrowed down to the Padapāṭha only. It cannot be assumed even for a second that it was

GHOSH who for the first time interpreted the sūtra with reference to Śākalya's Padapāṭha as implied by such assertions of GHOSH as "after many years of thought and study I arrived at the unhappy conclusions" (p. 390) and "the word *anārṣa* has to be interpreted in the way I suggested in my first article" (p. 392). In fact, commentators have always understood the word *anārṣa* in a sense including Padapāṭha (*anārṣa*=*anṛṣidṛṣṭa*=*a-Vaidika*). This is clear from some of the examples given by them of the sūtra, '*Vāyo iti*'; '*viṣṇo iti*'; cf.: '*iti śabdāḥ padakāraprakṣiptatvāt avaidikāḥ*' (*Bālaṃanoramā* on P. 6-1-129): '*upasthitam nāma anārṣa itikaraṇaḥ samudāyādavacchidya padam yena svarūpeṇa avasthāpyate*' (*Kāśikā* on P. 6-1-129). The traditional interpretation extends the scope of the sūtra to all non-vedic forms (including of course Śākalya's Padapāṭha) and seems to imply that Pāṇini took into consideration other Padapāṭhas, which did not follow the usage of *Śākalya*. This conjecture is borne out by the fact that the Padapāṭha of *Sāmaveda* does not observe *pragṛhyatva* in such cases and that of the *Taittirīyasaṃhitā* only under certain specific circumstances.¹ That being so, there is no reason why one should narrow down the scope of the sūtra. But this is actually done by GHOSH merely to show that Pāṇini "had been here borrowing from the Prātiśākhya and borrowing unintelligently." The assumption that Pāṇini had no knowledge of Padapāṭhas and that 'Padapāṭha is no language at all' has led GHOSH to make a rather uncharitable statement that "Pāṇini had absolutely no business to mention a phenomenon peculiar to an artificial text like the Padapāṭha." It is really a surprise that GHOSH still sticks to this opinion despite the fact that CHAṬṬOPĀDHYĀYA has conclusively proved the contrary.² GHOSH's anxiety to equate P. 1-1-16 with R.P. (I-28a) has also led him to overlook the 'real and formal' difference between them. The R.P. makes no mention at all of the condition laid down by Pāṇini, 'when followed by a non-vedic iti.' Not that he does not know this difference, (for he says (p. 392) 'Have I not myself emphasized this formal difference in my first article?'), but in his enthusiasm to make Pāṇini an 'unintelligent borrower', he regards that a "real formal difference" (according to CHAṬṬOPĀDHYĀYA) and 'emphasized by GHOSH in the first article') is the same as 'merely formal' (p. 392). The simple fact is that Pāṇini (1-1-16) in referring to Śākalya's opinion desires to deal with Śākalya's Padapāṭha (for the particular grammatical peculiarity is found in his Padapāṭha) and other non-vedic texts and we need not go for its source to the R.P. which, though recording the teachings of Śākalya and also of his followers,⁴ is ascribed to Śaunaka and not to Śākalya.

But it would be doing injustice to GHOSH if we do not take into consideration 'the difficulties' in his way of accepting the traditional interpretation

1. See CHAṬṬOPĀDHYĀYA : *IHQ*, Vol. XIII, p. 346.

2. See CHAṬṬOPĀDHYĀYA : *IHQ*, Vol. XIII, p. 344.

3. *Ibid.* p. 346.

4. *Ibid.* p. 344.

of the *pragrhya sūtras* which compel him to seek a "rational interpretation" and for pointing which (the difficulties and anomalies) he was "reprimanded by his teachers for irreverence" (p. 390). According to the traditional interpretation, the word *Śākalyasya*, means, in accordance with the usual procedure of Pāṇini, 'in the opinion of Śākalya'. The self-raised difficulty of GHOSH in accepting the above interpretation is that the name of the authority '*Śākalya*', does not occur at the end of the sūtra, for he believes that 'when-ever a *pūrvācārya* is mentioned in a Pāṇinian aphorism to indicate that the rule concerned is *Vaikalpika*, the name of the revered one is mentioned only at the end of that aphorism. In the whole of the Grammar of Pāṇini there is not a single exception to this rule' (p. 391). It is really an ingenious argument which GHOSH has advanced in the course of the controversy. The traditional study of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, which is recognized as most thorough and which discusses each and every syllable of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in a very subtle—almost hair-splitting-manner, has not even dreamt of this methodology in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Let it be stated at first that in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, no such hard and fast arrangement in the order of words is seen.¹ If in "*Iko yaṇ aci*" (6-1-77), *Vidheya* comes in the middle and *nimitta* in the end, we see the order reversed in '*Akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*' (6-1-101); in '*Ādguṇaḥ*' (6-1-87), *Vidheya* comes in the end, but in '*Vṛddhireci*' (6-1-88) it occurs in the beginning; the sūtras '*Nipāta ekajanān*' (1-1-14) and '*Svarādinipātamaryayam*' (1-1-37) have a different order as regards the position of the term defined; and so on. Even the particles of negation and option (e.g. *na*, *Vā*, *Vibhāṣā*), which are used in a good majority of cases in the beginning of the sūtras, admit of a different order in their use (e.g. 4-1-22; 7-1-29; 7-1-91; 7-2-38). Thus it would appear that it is futile to deduce any principle from the order of words in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Even as regards the specific principle propounded by GHOSH, the evidence is not so conclusive as GHOSH thinks it to be, for, besides the exception (Pāṇ. 6-1-127) which GHOSH himself mentions and discusses in the sequel, I may point out for argument's sake the sūtra, '*Lañāḥ Śākaṭāyanasya eva*' (3-4-111) where the name of a *Pūrvācārya* has not been mentioned at the end. That the word, '*eva*' in (3-4-111) is not an integral part of the previous word, *Śākaṭāyanasya*, is obvious from the fact that the word would be otherwise quite insignificant and that Patañjali and Kāśikā-kāra assign a quite different function to it. (See Patañjali on Pāṇ. 3-4-110, and *Kāśikā* on Pāṇ. 3-4-111 and 3-4-116).

As regards the *Yoga-vibhāga*, proposed by GHOSH of the sūtra Pāṇ. 6-1-27, in which the name of the *Pūrvācārya* does not occur at the end, and which is therefore made, by the ingenious device of *Yogavibhāga* to conform to his view, there are two points which might be mentioned in passing. Firstly, GHOSH's device would justify a quite new form '*cakri atra*', which

1. Cf.: *Mahābhāṣya* (I-1-1), "Na iha prayoganiyamaḥ ārabhyate, kim tarhi? Saṃskṛtya saṃskṛtya padāni utsrjyante teṣāṃ yatheṣṭam abhi-sambandho bhavati."

is not recognized by any Indian Grammarian. Strangely enough GHOSH does not attach importance to this objection, for he asserts that 'Pāṇini's not recognizing a particular case of *Praghyā* cannot prove that it was unknown in the language', and at once quotes 'śyetī akuruta' (Tait. Saṁhitā; 5-5-8) and 'Mithunī abhavan' (ibid. 5-3-6) as *known* examples. But GHOSH should wait for a while, before quoting the above forms as *praghyā*-cases, to see whether the forms occur in Śākalya's works, for according to GHOSH's own interpretation, the sūtra enjoins *praghyatva* in Śākalya's opinion. And since Tait. Saṁhitā is not written by Śākalya, the citation of the form from the Tait. Saṁhitā is to say the least, irrelevant. Secondly, it is difficult to see how he 'can easily get rid of an anomaly—the redundancy of *ca* (in the same sūtra)—which was noticed already by Patañjali; for even after the proposed *Yogavibhāga*, Patañjali's argument¹ for dropping *ca*, viz. "*Hrasvavidhi-sāmarthyāt na svara-sandhiḥ kimarthaḥ cakāraḥ*," will still hold good. Thus the *yoga-vibhāga* proposed by GHOSH is too ingenious a device to be accepted and the *only result* achieved by this step is that the sūtra 'falls into line with the so-called usual (?) procedure of Pāṇini (mentioning the name of *Pūrvācāryas* only at the end of his sūtras) and similarly between this sūtra and corresponding rules of the Ṛ.P. turns out to be complete identity." (p. 196). GHOSH is certainly free to expect *such* a result, but he should not force it on others.

The second difficulty or anomaly which prevents GHOSH from accepting the traditional interpretation of the *Praghyā* sūtras is why Pāṇini should deal with the non-contractability of vocative *O* in relation to *iti* only and say nothing as to its behaviour when confronted with initial vowels of other words." (p. 393). He regards the "specific case of *iti* following upon a vocative form in *O* of infinitesimal importance from Pāṇini's point of view" and therefore finds it impossible to resist the conclusion that this is "the most eloquent proof of Pāṇini's direct dependence on the Ṛ.P." (p. 393). But as the facts stand, it is not true that Pāṇini is silent as to the general problem of the final *O* before initial vowels. A reference to the sūtras, *Eco' yavāyāvaḥ* (6-1-78) and *Enaḥ padāntādati* (P. 6-1-109) will clearly show the behaviour of a final *O* before *a* and other vowels. Not only that, Pāṇini goes further, and in the sūtra '*Lopaḥ Śākalyasya*' (8-3-19) he refers to Śākalya's opinion, according to which the final *O* resolves itself to *a* (by 6-1-78 and 8-3-19) before a vowel other than short *a* and is not allowed to be joined with the following vowel (by 8-2-1). Thus the forms resulting from a general treatment of a final *O* before initial vowels are: *Vāya iha* (according to Śākalya), *Vāya-viha* (according to other Grammarians); *Vāyo'tra* (according to all Grammarians when the following vowel is a short *a*). It is only to account for such specific cases of hiatus as of a Vocative *O* before *iti* (which are not covered by the rules mentioned above but are found current e.g. in Śākalya's *Pada-pāṭha*) that Pāṇini gives a particular rule (Pāṇ. 1-1-16). Such being the real situation, it is not "an astonishing error" of omission on the part of

1. On Pāṇini, 6.1, 127.

Pāṇini. On the other hand, his treatment of a final *O* is scrupulously comprehensive, as is seen by his references (Pāṇ. 6-1-122/3) to the condition of *O* in *Go* before a short *a* according to Sphoṭāyana and others. It is really a pity that Pāṇini should be accused of the "error of omission" because he does not give a general rule treating a Vocative *O* before initial vowels and also of the 'grave error of commission,' because he gives rules about the specific cases, which, according to GHOSH, should not have concerned Pāṇini. The former charge—of error of omission—is untenable in view of the sūtras 6-1-78 ; 6-1-109. As regards the latter charge of error of commission, it would be more charitable to judge Pāṇini from his standpoint, before we arbitrarily narrow down the sphere of his work. A complete grammar, as visualized by Pāṇini should not and did not exclude the Padapāṭha of Śākalya.

Now we come to certain misstatements by GHOSH on the *uñāḥ ūm* problem. He states that 'the singular behaviour of the particle *u* in '*aved v indra*' cannot be explained with the help of Pāṇ. sūtras" (p. 394). Relying on WACKERNAGEL (I. 270 a. p. 320) he thinks that in the Saṁhitā, *u* is unchangeable only after a vowel or a *y* out of *i* and quotes '*bhā u amśave*' as an example. And as *u* in '*aved v. Indra*' is neither after a vowel nor after a *y* out of *i*, he, regarding it as a case of singular behaviour, remarks that Pāṇ.'s sūtra cannot explain it. But all his difficulty is due to his misunderstanding (p. 394) the sūtra '*mayāḥ uñāḥ vo vā*' (8-3-33). This sūtra he takes as enjoining *pragrhyatva* of an *u* (from *uñ*) preceded by a *may*. And since there is no *pragrhyatva* of *u* in '*aved v indra*,' despite its following a *may* (*d* in *aved*), he comes to the above conclusion about the insufficiency of Pāṇini's sūtras. The fact is that the sūtra '*mayāḥ uñāḥ vo vā*' lays down the substitution of *v* for *u* and the example given by GHOSH as unaccountable is really an example of this sūtra. Thus there is no difficulty at all. Further GHOSH challenges those who maintain that Pāṇini wrote these sūtras after a direct observation of the R.V. Saṁhitā, to explain in the light of Pāṇini's sūtras those cases : e.g. *bhā u amśave* (R.V. 1-461-10) ; *Praty u adarśi* (R.V. 7-81-1) in which *u* does not undergo sandhi with a following vowel. But he forgets that the sūtra *Nipāta ekāc anān* (1-1-14) does easily account for the hiatus in '*bhā u amśave*' (1-46-10). In this way, both the examples quoted by GHOSH are accounted for by Pāṇ.'s sūtras. Instead of making an uncalled for statement that "Pāṇini could not have formulated his sūtras about the sandhi of *u* after a direct observation of the R.V. Saṁhitā," GHOSH should revise his study of Pāṇ.'s sūtras and give up the wrong notion that Pāṇ. (8-3-3) is 'the only sūtra, which restricts (?) the sandhi of *u* with a following vowel."

As regards the interpretation of the sūtra, '*Idūtau ca sapṭamyarthe*' (1-1-19), GHOSH makes "a new departure" in regarding the *anuṛtti* of Śākalyasya itau anārṣe absolutely necessary. (p. 397). The traditional interpretation regards this sūtra as unconditioned by '*Śākalyasya itau anārṣe*,' and the examples given by the Kāśikākāra are, therefore, from both the Saṁhitā

and Padapāṭha. Technically speaking, it is possible to have examples (of *ī-kārānta* type) from the classical Sanskrit also, as is clear from the following statement in the *Tattva-bodhinī* commentary, “*Vātapramī atra, yayī asakta iti udāharāṇe sati api ūkārāntasya laukikodāharāṇābhāvāt ubhayor api vede eva udāharāṇam uktam.*” The traditional interpretation clearly knows that the examples from the Padapāṭha are within the proper sphere of this sūtra; otherwise it would not quote ‘*priyaḥ sūrye priyo agnā bhavāti*’ as a counter-example, if the word *idūtau*’ is dropped. It is quite immaterial whether *agnā*, in the above is made *pragṛhya* or not, because there is no possibility of its being joined in sandhi with *bhavāti*. So the only significance of giving *agnā* as a counter example lies in the fear that *agnā* will be followed by *iti* in the Padapāṭha (cf : ‘*ihāpi padakāle iti śabda-prayoga-prasaṅgaḥ sa ca amiṣṭaḥ*’; *Tattvabodhinī*). Still the Pāṇinīyas insist on making this sūtra unconditioned by ‘*Sākalyasya itau*’ merely to account for the hiatus in the Saṁhitā examples [*Gaurī adhiśritaḥ* (R.V. 9-12-3); *tanū ṛtvye* (R.V. 10-183-2)]. GHOSH is not justified in taking these examples on a par with other hundred examples ‘non-contraction of vowels in which is determined in the R.V. Saṁhitā wholly by the exigencies of metre.’ He should note that the written Saṁhitā text does not join in Sandhi ‘*Gaurī* and *tanū*’ with the following vowels, as it does in the ‘other hundred’ cases. Unless GHOSH explains the difference in the treatment (in the written Saṁhitā text) of the two types of cases—one, not joined in sandhi and pronounced separately in the Saṁhitāpāṭha, and the other, joined in sandhi but pronounced separately in the Saṁhitāpāṭha, he is not right in assuming that Pāṇini did not take into account the former type as special cases of *pragṛhya*. We should consider the question on the basis of existing facts. And if Pāṇini is later than the redaction of the present Saṁhitā text, there is no reason why Pāṇini should overlook the apparent *pragṛhya* cases in the Saṁhitāpāṭha.

MISCELLANEA

ĀRJUNĀYANAS : PRĀRJUNAS

The Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta (1. 22) refers to a host of tribes—Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Yaudheyas, Mādrakas, Ābhīras, Prārajunas, Sanakānikas, Kākas, Kharaparikas, and other (tribes)—that obeyed the imperial commands and paid all kinds of taxes. It has long been correctly surmised that all these tribal states were located along the north-western, western and south-western fringes of the north-Indian kingdom of Samudragupta. Of these, the Mālavas, Yaudheyas, Mādrakas and Ābhīras are more or less well-known ; but very little is known about the other tribes.

The names of the two tribes, Ārjunāyanas and Prārajunas seem apparently to have some connection with the name of the Epic hero, Arjuna, though it is not certain. The Allahabad Pillar inscription connects the Ārjunāyanas with the Yaudheyas which is significant, inasmuch as the Ādhiparvan (95, 76) of the *Mahābhārata* gives the name of one of the sons of Yudhiṣṭhira as Yaudheya, so that the epic connection of the Yaudheyas and the Ārjunāyanas may not be altogether without foundation.

The author of the *Bṛhat Samhitā* also connects the Ārjunāyanas with the Yaudheyas and locates both the tribes in the northern division of India. Prof. RAY CHAUDHURI locates the Yaudheyas in the Bharatpur State of Rājputānā (*Political History of Ancient India*, 4th edition, p. 458), the Ārjunāyanas may have also occupied a contiguous position. The Ārjunāyanas are also known from coins, but as their provenance is not known, they do not give any clue to their geographical location.

The Prārajunas must have been the same people as the Prārajunakas mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya but it is difficult to locate them with any amount of certainty. Vincent SMITH locates them in the Narasimhapur district of the Central Provinces (*JRAS*, 1897, p. 892), but a more plausible location is Narasimhagarh in Central India (*IHQ*, Vol. I, p. 258), inasmuch as the three other tribes—Sanakānikas, Kākas and Kharaparikas—also seem to have occupied regions more or less within the bounds of Central India. The Udayagiri Cave inscription of G.E.82 mentions a Mahārāja of the Sanakānika tribe. Udayagiri is just two miles to the north-west of Bhilsa, ancient Vidiśā. The Kākas are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (VI, 9, 64) where they are associated with the Vidarbhas who were a well-known people occupying tracts of territory in what is now known as the Central Provinces. The territory of the Kākas is sometimes identified with Kākūpur near Bithur (*Bombay Gazetteer*), while SMITH suggests an identification with Kākanāda near Sāncī (*JRAS*, 1897, p. 892-99). The Kharaparikas are not elsewhere mentioned in inscriptions or literature ; but Prof. D. R. BHANDARKAR finds a probable identification of the tribe with Kharpara mentioned in the Bāṭihāgarh Inscription of the Damoh district of the Central Provinces (*IHQ*, I, p. 258 ; EP. XII, p. 46, v. 5).

B. C. LAW

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MS. No. 623/VIŚRĀM(1) AT THE B. O. R. I. POONA

Having found the several remarkable differences between the text of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* utilized by Ānandabodha Yati for his commentary *Tātparyaprakāśa* and that which appears to have been utilized by Gauḍa Abhinanda for his abridgement called *Yogavāsiṣṭha-sāra* or *Mokṣopāya-sāra* or *Laghuyogavāsiṣṭha*, which have been

noted at considerable length in my paper on "Further Light in the Date of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*,"¹ and come to the conclusion that there must be at least two different recensions of that work, I had been making efforts to get a copy of the one utilized by Gauḍa Abhinanda which must presumably be an earlier one. One of them was to examine the several MSS. at the Government Oriental MSS. Library at the B. O. R. I. Poona, which had some connection or other with that work. One of those which I examined was MS. No. 623 forming part of a collection transferred to that library from the Viśrāmbāg, Poona, where, I believe, the Peshwa's collection of MSS. had been preserved. The label on the wrapper thereof described it as "*Yogavāsiṣṭha-Nirvāṇa-prakarāṇa* with *Ṭikā*" and gave the name of the author of the work itself as "*Vasiṣṭha*" with a query in brackets and that of the commentator as "*Bhāskarakaṇṭha*." This latter name was quite unfamiliar to me till then because it did not appear in AUFRECHT's *Cata. Cata.* as that of one of the persons who had written commentaries on the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. That was the greater reason why I dived into that bulky MS. which contained 207 folio pages each having a size 6" × 10½" and written over within red marginal lines marked on all the four sides. The character used therein was the Devanāgarī and it was written throughout very legibly and was free from any repelling faults. The Sarga-colophons therein were easily distinguishable because they had been written thoughtfully either in red and black ink used for each alternate word occurring therein or in one ink only leaving the space for every alternate word blank as

इ श्री स्क के वि चि यां मो पा टी यां.....सर्गः ॥

I hoped to find this to be a complete MS. of the commentary of Bhāskarakaṇṭha on at least the Nirvāṇa-prakarāṇa of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* but on a cursory glance I found that the very first folio page therein had been marked 694 and commenced with only a portion of the commentary on verse 1 of Sarga 195 of that Prakaraṇa and that the last folio page therein marked 901 ended with an incomplete sentence of the commentary on verse 1 of Sarga 270 of that Prakaraṇa. All the same it was a remarkable MS. and I took some notes on examining it in the hope that they might be useful some day in future. That day has by chance come sooner than could reasonably be expected.

The importance of the MS. was in my eyes considerably heightened when, reading Dr. K. C. PANDEY's recent publication "*Abhinavagupta, An Historical and Philosophical Study*", I came across at p. 153 thereof remarks to the following effect about Bhāskarakaṇṭha, the author of *Bhāskari*, a gloss on the *Īśvarapratya-bhijñānavimarśinī* of Abhinavagupta, namely that besides the above, this writer was the author of (1) a Sanskrit translation of *Lallāvāk*, a Saivite work in the old Kāśmīrī written by a woman in the 14th century; (2) a commentary on the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* consisting of one lac and ten thousand verses (? *granthas*) according to his own statement in the Introduction to the *Bhāskari*. only a few fragments whereof were now left with his present descendant and which presented a Saivite interpretation of the text (as opposed to the Vedāntic interpretation expounded by Ānandabodha) and (3) *Hareśvarastava* and also found on the same page a short genealogy commencing with the commentator, in which the last descendant named Viśveśvara was said to be still living. It is quite likely that the Bhāskarakaṇṭha, the author of the commentary of which MS. No. 623 of Viśrāmbāg (i) collection at the B. O. R. I. forms part is identical with the author of the *Bhāskari* who also wrote an extensive commentary on the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* and whose seventh descendant now living has fragments thereof. True, the said MS. points to the existence of a commentary by that author on a recension of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* in which the Nirvāṇa-prakarāṇa had more than 269 Sargas, not sub-divided into two parts as in the printed edition but

that by itself is proof of there being in the time of this author such a recension of the work in Kāśmīr. That time must be about the middle of the 18th century A.D. as, according to Dr. PANDEY, the author's seventh descendant is still living. My visit to Kāśmīr in the summer of this year has further revealed the existence of such a recension of the work in Kāśmīr even in the middle of the 19th century. In the Prince Pratapsinh Public Library at Srinagar there is a complete MS. of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* in the Śāradā script prepared in S. 1920 (A.D. 1863-64), very well preserved in a strongly bound book-form as all MSS, Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian, usually are at all places in Srinagar where MSS. are preserved. With the kind help of a Kāśmīrī Paṇḍit named Nilakaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa, I was able to ascertain that the work of which that was a copy had in it all the six Prakaraṇas which are found in the printed N.S.P. recension, that the total number of Sargas therein upto the end of the sixth was 704 as against 658 in the printed edition, that it had also a seventh Khila-prakaraṇa made up of 14 Sargas and entitled "Yogavāsiṣṭha-Nānā-praśnāḥ" but that this Prakaraṇa had been added after the final colophon of the work containing a note as to there being 704 Sargas in all, out of which the sixth chapter alone comprised 373 (? 374), that these 374 had not been sub-divided into two parts the Pūrvārḍha and Uttarārḍha as in the printed edition and that they did not contain any corresponding to Sargas 127 and 128 of the Pūrvārḍha in the printed edition which, as noted by me in my said paper on "Further Light on the date of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*" have all the characteristics of a finale. I also noticed during the process of comparison that the said MS. contained several entirely new Sargas in several chapters and several new stanzas in many Sargas. I could therefore conclude that it was evidence of the existence in Kāśmīr of the Devadūtoka Saṁhitā having probably an extent of the full 32,000 stanzas mentioned in the colophons to I, 1, II, III, IV, V, VI/1 & VI/2 and in II, 17 of the printed edition which as a matter of fact contains only 29,289 stanzas including prose passages cut up at intervals to which had been superadded a Khilaprakaraṇa of 14 Sargas at a subsequent stage. When this could have been done could not be ascertained then and cannot be ascertained even now because, so long as the remaining fragments of Bhāskarakaṇṭha's commentary whose existence in the possession of his living descendant has been vouchsafed by Dr. PANDEY, are not examined, it cannot be ascertained whether that prakaraṇa was or was not in existence in the middle of the 18th century and so long as the other separate MSS. thereof namely Hpr. 2, 172 and 10, 2423 and 2442 (Khilā Mokṣopāyāḥ) noticed by AUFRECHT in his *Cata. Cata.* are not examined it cannot be ascertained which could be the earliest date of composition of this superaddition. But this is only by the way. For the present I want to emphasize the importance of the MS. at the B.O.R.I. as likely to lead to the discovery of the full text of a commentary of a Śaivite Kāśmīrī Paṇḍit of the 18th Century on the full text of the Devadūtoka Saṁhitā of 32000 stanzas which Ānandabodha claimed to have obtained and commented upon but had not obtained and commented upon, provided the other existing fragments in the possession of the commentator's living descendant are, as the result of some negotiations carried on through a proper channel, brought over to Poona to take their place with the said MS. and a transcript of the abovementioned MS. (No. 8771) at the S.P.P. Library, Srinagar in the Devanāgarī character prepared by a careful Paṇḍit knowing the Śāradā script thoroughly, is also obtained on approaching the proper authority through the proper channel. Till then the fragment of the MS. of Bhāskarakaṇṭha's commentary on the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* must remain as evidence of the existence in Kashmir in the middle of 18th century of a recension of that work differing in material respects from that commented upon by Ānandabodha Yati, so far as the contents of the *Nirvāṇa prakaraṇa* are concerned.

SĪMHALA IN CENTRAL INDIA

We adduced an evidence in the *ABORI*. (Vol. XIX, pp. 84ff) in support of Mr. KIBE's theory, locating Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā in Central India. We have since lighted upon another evidence in the *Kalki-purāṇa*.

The Kalki *avatāra* was born as a son of a Brāhmaṇa, named Viṣṇuśaśas, in the village of Śambhala. He, with king Viśākhayūpa of Māhismatī and others vanquished in war Kali, the Buddhists at Kikaṭa, the Śakas, the Yavanas, the Barbaras, the Mlecchas, the Kambojas, the Taṅganas, the Khasas, the Cīnas, the Śavaras and others. He married Padmā, daughter of king Brhadratha of Sīmhala. This country is described as an island in the sea, inhabited by Brāhmaṇas, Ksatriyas and others. The capital of the kingdom is named Kārumatī. Princess Padmā obtained a boon from god Śiva that she would get Viṣṇu as her husband, and anybody other than her husband looking at her with lustful eyes would be turned into a woman. Owing to this boon to her, which was but a curse to others, all the princes who attended her *svayamvara* were turned into women and lived with her as her attendants.

The princess heard about Kalkī from his favourite parrot and fell in love with him. She was everyday expecting the arrival of Kalkī. One day she became very disconsolate. She could find pleasure in nothing. She was finding fault even with the cool and pleasant breeze from the Revā (Narmadā), pregnant with water particles and scented with pollens, as :—

Revā-vāri-parisnātām parāg-āsyām samāgatam |

• Dhṛta-nīram rasagatām nīdantīm parvanam priyam || 6

Kalki-purāṇa II, ch. 2.

This clearly shows that the capital Kārumatī of this island of Sīmhala must have been somewhere in Central India, in the vicinity of the river Narmadā. It is worth noting here that this Sīmhala was inhabited by the four *Vaṇas*. Can the same thing be said of Ceylon?

It is further said that after the marriage of Kalkī with Padmā, Kalkī directed the princes, who were turned into women and served Padmā as her attendants, to bathe in the Revā and they at once got back their former state, as :—

Tāh striyo'pi tam-ālokya saṁspṛśya caraṇ-āmbujam |

Punah puṁstvaṁ samāpannā Revā-snānāt tad-āñayā || 18 || Ibid. Ch. 3.

The village of Śambhala, the home of Kalkī, seems also to have been in Central India.¹ The name of Śambhala occurs in an inscription found in the district of Dāmoh in C.P. It says that one Vijayasīmha of Viśvāmītra-gotra, son of Harisarāya, fought with Chitoḍa and Delhi, drove away the Gurjjaras and the Gonds and founded Śambhala, as :—

Jo Cittoḍaha jujhi (jjhi) au jin Dhili (lli) dalu jitta |

So supasaṁsahi rabhahakai Harisarāa tia sutta ||

Khedīa Guja(jja)ra Gomdahai kiya adhī(dhi) am māra |

Vijayasīmha kita SAMBHALA hu paurisa kaha saṁsāra ||

Dāmoha-dīpaka, p. 11.

We have seen that the island of Sīmhala is described as surrounded by *sāgara* (sea). It is not uncommon to describe lakes as sāgaras. In Bengal big *Bils* are sometimes called as *samudra* and *sāgara*, such as Dhol-samudra, Hurā-sāgara. In the district of Sylhet there are many *Hāors*. It is a corrupt form of the word *sāgara*. In the rainy season these *Hāors* look like so many seas. The name Saugor of the district of Saugor may have something to do with *sāgara*. The name of the capital of this Sīmhala is given as Kārumatī. It is worth looking into if any such place exists or existed in Central India.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

1. Śambhala is generally identified with Sambhal of the Moradabad district, U.P. The *Pag Sam Jon Zan* places both Sambhala and Laṅkāpuri in the country of Uddi-yāna, containing 500,000 towns. (WADDLE, *Lamaism*, p. 182; *IHQ.*, Vol. III, p. 745).

NOTES OF THE MONTH

The History Week at Kamshet to be held in honour of Rao Bahadur G. S. SARDESAI between the 2nd and 6th of this month is an informal meeting of advanced research workers and younger scholars for a discussion of problems, exchange of ideas and organising a co-ordinate plan of research. We take this opportunity of wishing R. B. SARDESAI a very useful and long life of further activities in the field of Marāthā and Indian History where he was one of the pioneer workers.

Before the commencement of this History Week two volumes of papers, one in English and the other in Marāthī, will be presented to Rao Bahadur SARDESAI at the hands of Dr. M. R. JAYAKAR, Federal Judge, on the 1st of October 1938 in commemoration of the distinguished services of Rao Bahadur SARDESAI to the cause of Indian History for over forty years. This function will take place at Bombay on behalf of the Sardesai Memorial Committee with Mr. B. V. JADHAV ex-minister of Education, Bombay, as chairman, and Mr. S. R. TIKEKAR as Secretary. On behalf of the *New Indian Antiquary* we convey our heartfelt greetings to Rao Bahadur G. S. SARDESAI and all organizers of the proposed functions. Eminent scholars like Sir Jadunath SARKAR are expected to attend and take active part in the deliberations.

With the advance in research in any particular branch of Indic studies it becomes necessary to bring together from time to time all scholars working in the same field, and of recent years the growth of such conferences, whether formal or informal, augurs well for Indology in India. The present organisation is the first of its kind, being a purely informal meeting, held for the purpose of honouring R. B. SARDESAI and designing ways and means for the continuation of the good work which he started and to which he has devoted the greatest part of his life. Apart from the different discussions arranged at this gathering in the shape of *Comptes rendus* of the actual work so far done in Indian History but not yet published--in itself a very useful guide to the problems of further research on a *planned* basis--there will be a discussion on the evolving of a *practical* scheme of collaboration in historical research, apportionment of work among individual scholars and learned bodies in order to avoid overlapping and such other wastage, and creation of a permanent central exchange house for historical research workers in India. The last day of the Conference will be devoted to the discussion of finding ways and means and evolving a detailed plan for (i) co-ordinating historical research in the Bombay Presidency, (ii) foundation of a modest historical library as the centre of a "Summer School" at Kamshet, for advanced workers, (iii) creation of an endowment fund for assisting the publication of approved fruits of research or original sources, selected by an expert committee, and (iv) drawing up a list of helpers and workers and the lines in which they will respectively render aid to others and conduct researches themselves.

Among the many things needed for a proper research in Marāthā history for which R. B. SARDESAI has himself edited the voluminous selections known as *Peshwa Daftar*, an index of all proper names with reference to the printed volumes should be emphasised. These modern instruments of research should be supplied with every volume published giving us the original or primary sources of history, and this indexing should be done on the most up-to-date lines, giving every aspect of research requirements.

We have no Dictionary of Place Names in India on historical basis with reference to Indian literature, inscriptions or other sources of history. This is also a badly needed work which should be attempted on such a co-ordinate basis for the whole

length and breadth of the country, taking all languages and all sources into consideration, and every place, small or great, which has had a name. The existing geographical dictionaries are absolutely insufficient from this point of view.

Work of the type suggested above can only be a *national* work and should figure prominently in an All-India Conference like the History Congress or the All-India Oriental Conference. With the increasing research in every domain of Indian History these primary instruments of further research should be within the reach of all scholars in a short space of time.

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The second session of the Indian History Congress will be held at Allahabad this month on the 8th, 9th and 10th. The value of these Congresses and Conferences cannot be over-estimated. Scientific historiography in India is only of recent growth, and the mass of primary sources is so great that unless a co-ordinated effort on *national* lines is organised the full value of these sources cannot be realised. The first Congress was held at Poona in June, 1935. Now after three years the second session has been organised at Allahabad under the very able general President Prof. Dr. D. R. BHANDARKAR, assisted by Sectional Presidents like Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT, Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. KRISHNASWAMY IYENGAR, Prof. D. V. POTDAR, Dr. BALKRISHNA, Dr. SURENDRA NATH SEN, Mr. R. P. KHOSLA and Mr. SITA RAM KHOLI.

The objects of such conferences should be two-fold : (a) to give the necessary stimulus to all research scholars by exchange of thoughts, ideas and frank discussions of problems and difficulties for further research work on an *organised* basis, and (b) to bring within the reach of the educated masses the results of such researches in a *popular* and *easily digestible* form. The main difficulty in India and abroad connected with research is the absence of a central organisation which is the depository of all research plans, programmes and actual work done from time to time in the different parts of the country or even other countries. Much waste results in this fashion. It is in order to eliminate all such waste and offer sage advice to all interested scholars that these Congresses and Conferences should co-operate to build up a central body of co-ordinating officers, representing the different branches of Indology. The *New Indian Antiquary* offers a medium for such organisation with the willing co-operation of all scholars truly interested in Indology.

The popularisation of serious research in history may best be done by intelligent organising of museums, exhibitions and popular excursions by scientific societies, inviting the intelligentsia to collaborate with them in these excursions. Although each Conference or Congress arranges its own excursions they do not filter through and excite the interest of the general body of the intelligentsia. Our Museums need re-organisation on a scientific basis ; we have, for instance, no museum giving us the evolution through the centuries of the various items of dress or ornaments. Each of these has its own interest, not only for the accredited scholar, but also for the man in the street. In these days when we are thinking in terms of the usefulness of cultural studies for the nation as a whole on a *productive basis*, it is necessary that results of these painstaking researches should be presented to all people who are not scholars in an interesting manner. We have no doubt that these Congresses and Conferences will achieve these results in a short while by organising such co-ordinated efforts.

The Second Session of the History Congress is organising a Historical Exhibition dealing with the historical evolution of painting and sculpture, archæological discoveries, old manuscripts, historical documents and other articles of historical importance such as letters, wearing apparel, etc. Excursions have been arranged to Kausambi, Bhita and Allahabad Fort, Khusru Bagh, Museum and Jhusi. We wish the Congress every success in its noble efforts.

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With the recent appearance of the first part of the critical edition of the *Udyogapāvan* under the able editorship of Prof. S. K. DE of Dacca University, the ninth fasciculus of the magnificent Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* opens out. The last 20 years have marked a silent but effective organisation at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona under the direct supervision of the General Editor, Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, for critically editing for the first time the greatest epic in the world from all available MSS sources which are of a significant character. This stupendous work has now been in progress for two decades, and we have already with us the first volume, *Ādiparvan*, edited by Dr. SUKTHANKAR himself, the *Virāṭaparvan* by Dr. RAGHU VIRA of Lahore, and this first part of the *Udyogapāvan* by Dr. DE. With the completion of the second part now in press, we shall have more than a quarter of the entire work in print in the critical edition. Other volumes in the series are either completed or under completion by different gifted scholars. The *Sabhāparvan* was to have been edited by the late Prof. WINTERNITZ of Prague, but his death cut short the hope of all Indologists of associating his name actively with this great achievement for the institution of which he was indirectly responsible.

We are glad, however, that the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute secured the co-operation of a very gifted American Indologist, Prof. Franklin EDGERTON, now in Poona, working on the final points of his edition of the *Sabhāparvan*. Prof. EDGERTON is Professor of Sanskrit in Yale University and has numerous works to his credit, from the text-critical to the linguistic fields. He has under preparation a lexicon and grammar of what he calls "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit" which will be one of his major contributions to Indian Linguistics. Under his able editorship we can be sure of maintaining a high level of scholarship and international co-operation for this Critical Edition, thus fulfilling in part at least the original hope of the European Committee which first gave definite shape to this idea of a Critical Edition.

As a recognition of this greatest of all achievements, in the Indological field, of this century so ably realised by the General Editor Dr. SUKTHANKAR, firstly by his unrivalled edition of the *Ādiparvan* and secondly by the exercise of such wonderful control on the subsequent volumes of this series, the American Oriental Society, at a meeting held in Philadelphia on April 19 this year, elected Dr. SUKTHANKAR as one of its honorary members. This is the second time that an Indian Scholar has been thus honoured, and it is a matter for gratification that one so intimately connected with the illustrious name of the late Prof. Sir Rāmakṛṣṇa Gopāla BHANDARKAR should now succeed him to this honour.

The editorial work on the *Sabhā-* and the *Vana-parvans* is now completed, bringing the entire project to more than half its extent, but the greatest handicap appears to be the absence of funds for printing the text. We appeal to all Indian princes, merchants, scholars and private individuals or public institutions to aid this huge undertaking with ample funds for printing individual volumes. Subventions towards the cost of printing, subscriptions to a number of sets or donations are required to bring this work to completion, marking India's greatest achievement in the whole field of Indology.

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The first report of the Bombay Field Club since its inception on the 25th September, 1936, is now ready and indicates a very promising beginning in the right direction. The aim of the Club is to bring into cultural contact people interested in the study of Art, History and Archaeology and to endeavour to promote the study of India's national cultural heritage. The Club is also endeavouring to provide opportunities for training in observation and description of historical remains and other works of Art on a scientific basis so that records may be intelligently kept by

members pursuing investigations in their homes and districts. To fulfil these objects the Club organised excursions to Elephanta Caves, the ancient Temple at Parel near Vajreśvari, the Historical Forts of Cheul, Korlai and of the Angrias, and to the Maṇḍapeśvara Caves and Memorial Stones-Palais at Eksar. A committee has been appointed each for (i) examining the possibilities of carrying on excavation at the ancient Buddhist centre Sopārā near Bassein, (ii) to prepare an up-to-date photographic record of the sculptures and inscriptions at the Kanheri Caves near Borivli, and (iii) to conduct exhibitions of photographs, etc., of places of Historical or Archæological interest.

Already the third committee organised a well attended and highly interesting exhibition of photographs of archæological and historical remains on novel lines in the Town Hall, Bombay, between 10th and 25th September, in aid of the King Emperor's Anti-Tuberculosis Fund. Such exhibitions, apart from the humanitarian views encouraged by the sponsors, create genuine interest in the minds of the people by bringing home to them "the glory that was Ind" and reminding them of the past achievements as a spur to future action and present organisation.

The Bombay Field Club is working at present as part of the University School of Economics and Sociology activities. The fourth aim of the Club is to "establish similar Field Clubs in other parts of the country which would work in co-operation and co-ordination with the Bombay Field Club." It is hoped that these activities of the Bombay Field Club may spur the other centres of learning in India to organise similar activities in this field. Archæology in India is greatly handicapped for lack of funds, but we think the greatest handicap is the ignorance of the people themselves. If all India realised the greatness of her past cultural achievements and particularly the remains of archæological and historical importance the Government would not have difficulty in properly equipping their Archæological Department with the needed funds and the impetus to work. Archæology should not become a specialised branch, for its interest is more universal than that of any other branch of research.

As to the publication of the results of such research as is carried on by such Field Clubs or is proposed to be carried out, the *New Indian Antiquary* offers its pages to all alike without any distinction.

The Membership fee of the Bombay Field Club is limited to Rs. 3 only per annum; it can be compounded by paying a Life Subscription of Rs. 100 or more. Donors and Patrons have to contribute a sum not less than Rs. 250 or Rs. 500 respectively. Students become members by paying an annual subscription of Re. 1 only. All donations and subscriptions have to be paid in advance.

REVIEWS

Hymnes et Prières du Veda, textes traduits du sanskrit par Louis RENOU, Professeur à la Sorbonne. Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient ADRIEN-MAISONNEUVE, 11, rue Saint-Sulpice, Paris (VI^e), 1938. Pp. viii + 164.

The product of the French Indologists in the field of Vedic studies has been surprisingly small hitherto in comparison with their work in the other fields. The author of this small translation is the first of a band of scholars belonging to a new generation whose research in the Vedic field needs no introduction to any Vedic scholar. It is therefore all the more interesting that this short work is an indication of the progress that is now likely to be realised in the French speaking countries within the Vedic field, linguistic as well philological, with a thoroughness that is characteristic of German scholars. The net result of such a procedure is a happy combination of French clarity with German thoroughness, giving us perhaps a higher approach to the many problems of Vedic scholarship.

Prof. RENOU has given us here 44 hymns from the *Rgveda*, 24 hymns from the *Atharvaveda*, four citations from the *Kauśikasūtra*, two hymns from the *Vājasaneyisaṃhitā*, one each from *Maitrāyanisaṃhitā* and *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa*. Each hymn is preceded by a short introduction to the subject of the poem or prayer. In the brief introduction the translator has given general ideas of Vedic literature and their subsequent effect on Hindu thought from the earliest to the modern times. The work is addressed to the intelligent Frenchman who wishes to understand the literary and philosophical contributions of the Vedas to Hindu and World thought. The author is in the happy position of eschewing linguistic and philological problems connected with the hymns, though himself an accredited linguist, and the result is very readable and accurate. The get up of the book leaves nothing to be desired. It is one of the best introductions to Vedic literature that have appeared within recent years.

S. M. K.

Wörter und Sachen, Zeitschrift für Indo-Germansiche Sprachwissenschaft, Volksforschung und Kulturgeschichte, herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. Hermann GÜNTERT, Carl Winter's Universitäts-buch-handlung, Heidelberg, 1938. Neue Folge, Band I, Heft 1. RM. 10/- half yearly. 4 Hefts per year.

The present series of a well-known journal deserves every encouragement from all lovers of Indo-European culture. The inaugural number of the New Series opens out with an editorial from Prof. GÜNTERT entitled *Neue Zeit - neues Ziel*, wherein he explains the full significance of the objects of the new series. The second paper is of an archæological interest dealing with stone figures from Val Camonica. The third is by E. WINKLER on the Linguistic Thought of the French scholars, and the fourth deals with the problem of research connected with linguistic minorities on a statistical basis. There follow short notes and Book Reviews. The journal is bound to exercise great influence in the furtherance of research in the field of I-E. culture from all points of view. The Editorial Board consists of Prof. GÜNTERT, supported by R. von KLENLE, H. KUEN, W. PORZIG, K. STEGMANN von PRITZWALD, L. WEISGERBER and W. WÜST, ensuring a steady conducting of the journal. We wish the New Series every success under such able editors.

S. M. KATRE.

Die Lehre der Jainas nach den alten quellen dargestellt von WALTHER SCHUBRING. Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde, Band III. heft 7. Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin and Leipzig, 1935, pp. 251.

The present work requires more than a passing notice. It differs from all the earlier attempts to deal with Jainism and its philosophy, both popular and scholarly, in that the author uses a method differing from them all in treating his subject. As the title itself indicates, he has confined himself to the old sources of Jainism which, from the perusal of the book, appear to include the *Ardha-Māgadhi* canon and the early works dealing with it and probably ending with the compendium of *Umāsvāti*, even though later works in Sanskrit and Prakrits are occasionally used and mentioned. In the field thus chosen, the author has made an attempt to be exhaustive so far as it is feasible. Naturally no detail is left out as being insignificant in order to deal with the general problems in greater details. All the facts the books afford are painstakingly collected and properly arranged, making the work a storehouse of facts and naturally in its exhaustiveness the work stands unique and unsurpassed. One is simply amazed to imagine the labour spent by the author in arriving at this result which shows the present state of Jain studies and their results in the most systematic manner, particularly when we consider the facts like the imperfect nature of the editions of the canonical books, absence of concordances, lack of monographs on individual works and other similar helps. Another healthy feature of the book is the greater attention paid to the sources themselves than to later discussions about them, though they are not unduly neglected.

The collecting and co-ordinating of facts thus culled out from the canon is obviously on the model of *Umāsvāti*, his predecessor in this systematisation of the canonical doctrines. There is, however, some amount of doubt as regards the historical implications of this method followed by him. It cannot be said that the author has neglected to take note of the heterogeneous nature of the sources and the diversity displayed by them. In fact the author is one of the best workers and critics in this field. But putting facts from different books of the canon and later works on a given topic often produces the impression that the whole system was so full and complete from the very beginning.

Besides the treatment of Jain philosophy in all its branches the author has also dealt with many other topics connected with Jainism with more or less fulness. He devotes his introductory chapter to a brief history of Jain studies, a welcome feature of which is due notice taken by him of Indian workers in the field. The concluding sections of the chapter deal briefly with the different languages used by the Jain writers, and he appears to favour the view that their Sanskrit should be admitted as a peculiar dialect not to be judged by the classical standard. More exhaustive and of greater importance is the problem of Jain History dealt with in the second chapter, where the author begins with a description of their mythical history up to *Mahāvira* and then a historical account of the founder and his successors. The concluding portion of this account is necessarily brief and the whole of the chapter appears to leave in the background the history of the *Digambaras*. Then follows a detailed description of the canon, much of which is schematic and uninteresting to read. The author himself is conscious of the sketchy nature of the bibliographical account of the non-canonical works at the end and expressly states that it is to be regarded as anything but the history of the literature. But in spite of the fact that it falls out of the topic of the book it will be of great use to those who are working upon the history of Jain literature.

The scope of the book does not allow the author to go into discussion of all the problems that he has touched, and in some cases he has given us the results dogmatically stated. The relation of the *Pinḍa Nijjuttī* to the *Āyāramijjuttī* is not very accurate and the alternative tradition is neglected. The statement of the dates of the

early Digambara writers like Samantabhadra and others will not be easily accepted. In spite of some limitations, which are all more in the nature of the subject-matter, the work stands out as a unique production in the whole range of the Jain studies and speaks volumes about the author's command of the subject and the years of labour spent on it. It is certainly a thing of satisfaction that the work in the series originally standing on the name of LEUMANN should be brought out by his pupil, and the long delay after which it has appeared has only enriched it.

A. M. GHATAGE.

Founders of Vijayanagara by S. SRIKANTAYA ; Mythic Society, Bangalore City. 1938, pp. vi + 174. Price Rs. 5 or 10s. Size $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$.

Vijayanagara, that 'forgotten empire' is now being remembered with all zest by Indian Scholars. Numerous books and critical articles, written by competent scholars like Dr. SALETORÉ, Dr. VENKATASUBBIAH, Prof. RAMANAYYA, Rev. Father HERAS and others, have thrown abundant light on the past glory and unique history of that Hindu Empire which stood as a bulwark of Hindu Culture and Civilization for about three centuries.

A bewildering mass of data bearing on the history of the Vijayanagara Empire now made available needs to be properly synthesised for the use of people who live, move and have their being in the culture fostered and preserved by the rulers of the Vijayanagara Empire and for this purpose the book under notice is admirably suited as it is an outcome of the author's special lectures delivered before the Annamalai University in 1930. For those who have no patience to read the ponderous volumes of specialized research Mr. SRIKANTAYA's manual will give a bird's-eye-view of the problems that agitate the minds of the researchers in the Vijayanagar history at present.

The study of ancient Indian Polity has been latterly engaging the attention of Indologists. The springs of political action that brought forth into existence and prominent relief this glorious empire need to be studied minutely not only by historical scholars but by students of political science who are likely to give a new orientation to the lifeless mass of facts dug out from inscriptional and other sources pertaining to this bright patch in the panorama of Indian history.

According to Mr. SRIKANTAYA Hindu faith underlying the origin and establishment of the Vijayanagara Empire was not born of any attachment to any particular form of Hinduism. It was a comprehensive movement embracing all forms of Hindu faith including the prevalent forms of Jainism and other religious faiths of a nondescript character. The combined weight of this faith preserved the independence of the Hindu *dharma* against the onrush of the proselytising Muhammadan and provided it a peaceful home. The old Hindu temples and Muths provided powerful social and economic centres, fostering a spirit of love for country and religion in the people of the Karnāṭak country in the fourteenth century long prior to the development of national idea in Europe.

The reasons that led to the rise and fall of the Vijayanagara Empire have a lesson of their own for all future empire-builders and present empire-holders. MACAULAY's defence of the Church in his History of England has an analogy for the defence of the Hindu faith that moved the whole framework of the Vijayanagara Empire in the Middle Ages but we must grow wiser by experience and guard against pit-falls by not allowing our religion to get the better of our duties to our fellowmen, which alone can tend towards national unity, if not world unity, the dream of all political philosophers.

P. K. GODE.

Concepts of Rīti and Guṇa in Sanskrit Poetics in their historical development. By P. C. LAHIRI. University of Dacca, Ramna, Dacca, 1937. Pp. vii + 310.

The concepts of Rīti and Guṇa in Sanskrit Alamkāra literature have never before been treated so systematically or exhaustively as in the present work, approved for the degree of Ph.D. of the Dacca University. The concept of Rasa drew the greatest attention of the students of Poetics and it came to be regarded rightly as the very soul of Poetry. Bharata, the oldest writer on Dramaturgy, used this prominently in his treatise. But it took centuries after him to be admitted in the realm of Poetics. Before the literary critics realised the importance of Rasa they busied themselves with the concepts of Rīti and Guṇa. It is therefore very interesting to read in the pages of this book the historical development of these ideas.

It is noteworthy that the first concept that came to be formulated was not that of Guṇas or excellences but of Doṣas or defects. Bharata first treats of Doṣas and then defines Guṇas as the *viparyayas* of the former. Whether we interpret *viparyayatva* as *viruddhatva* or *abhāvatva* the Guṇas do not stand prominent, as they deserve to, as independent entities. The early writers Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin occupied themselves with Alamkāra and Rīti and treated of Guṇas as subservient to Rīti. Nor did they define clearly the boundaries of Guṇa and Alamkāra. In Daṇḍin's scheme Guṇas are also called *Alamkāriyās* while the poetic figures of speech proper are described as *Sādhāraṇa-alamkāra-jātam*. These early writers had collected together a number of peculiarities in poetry which made or marred its beauty and were struggling hard to classify and co-ordinate them. No unanimity of opinion was to be looked for in this nebulous state. Thus what was denounced by Bhāmaha as *sasandeha doṣa* came later on to be greeted by Mammaṭa as *Śleṣālamkāra*. The famous opening verse of *Kumārasambhava*, viz. *astuttarasyām dīṣi devatātmā* provides a telling instance regarding the confusion of classification that prevailed. This verse has been cited as an instance of no less than four guṇas, *Śleṣa*, *Mādhurya*, *Arthavyakti* and *Saukumārya*. Vāmana regarded the guṇas as of dual character pertaining to word as well as its sense, thus increasing their number which in the hands of Bhoja rose up to twenty-four. Confusion was worse confounded when Bhoja, besides regarding the twenty-four guṇas as belonging to word and sense added to the number a set of new guṇas which though originally defects are transmuted into excellences under certain circumstances. That defects cease to be defects under certain circumstances was apprehended as early as Bhāmaha who showed that repetition lost its character as a defect when the speaker was swayed by emotions of fear and sorrow. Here was the germ of the idea that defects and excellences become what they are only in connection with emotions or sentiments. That excellences are more important than figures of speech had been made clear by Vāmana who declared that the former were constants while the latter variables. But it was left for the writers of *Dhvanyāloka* to weave the different elements into a harmonious whole and assign to each its proper place in the body poetic. In their scheme the sentiment occupied the position of the soul and excellences were intimately connected with them. This aspect of the excellences rendered feeble their connection with word and sense and the corrective came from Jagannātha who maintained that the excellences were properties of *Śabda*, *Artha*, *Rasa* and *Racanā*.

The concept that arrested greater attention was the concept of *rīti*. When and how the different *mārgas* or *rītis* came to be formulated and how they came to be identified with certain localities is a subject on which, in the absence of material, no opinion can be hazarded. It is unfortunate that no works prior to Bhāmaha have as yet come to light. We are left with the curious phenomenon that the first writer Bhāmaha who refers to *rītis* starts by roundly condemning their distinction between Vaidarbhi and Gauḍi; says he :

गौडीयमिदमेतत्तु वैदर्भमिति किं पृथक् ।

गतानुगतिकन्यायान्नानाख्येयममेधसाम् ॥

But the territorial names not only continued to be used but were added to. This Vāmana recognized a third *rīti Pāñcālī* while Bhoja added no less than three more : *Lāṭiyā*, *Āvantikā* and *Māgadhi*. This multiplicity of number made it increasingly difficult to define their boundaries. Nor did the territorial nomenclature pass unchallenged. Kuntaka in particular takes cudgels against the practice of regarding the *rītis* as rooted in the soil of different territories. Literary style, he protests, can never be chained to a locality even as a social custom like marriage with a cousin is :

न च विशिष्टरीतियुक्तत्वेन काव्यकरणं मातुलेयभगिनिविवाहवत् देशधर्मतया व्यवस्थापयितुं शक्यम्

Hence he repudiates the old nomenclature *Vaidarbhī*, *Gaudī*, etc., and styles his *rītis*, *Sukumāra*, *Vicitra* and *Madhyama*, the elegant, the ornate and the mixed. According to Daṇḍin and Vāmana the styles were differentiated from one another by the presence or absence of excellences. In the opinion of Rudraṭa the differentiating criterion consisted in the presence or absence of compounds. As a result of the two views the excellences came to be closely associated with compounds, *ojas* in particular being regarded as dependent on long compounds. The writers of *Dhvanīlōka* cleared the issue by showing that the excellences depended entirely on *Rasa* and were independent of compounds as also of choice of letters. These latter made for what they called *Samghaṭanā* or arrangement of words and letters which should not be confused with excellences. Thus the different concepts came to be disentangled and defined and we feel obliged to Dr. LAHIRI for the detailed account he has given us of the vicissitudes of these concepts through long centuries from Bharata to Jagannātha.

D. K. KELKAR.

CORRECTIONS

P. 280, read *epi Indikēn* for *epi Indikēen*

P. 344, (middle of page) read In 1923 for In 1918

THE FIRST SERMON OF THE BUDDHA

By

N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI

The Wheel of Law, Dharmacakra, is considered to be the first Sermon delivered at Benares by the Buddha just after obtaining the perfect Enlightenment, *samyaksambodhi*. There have been several versions of the Sermon in different languages, Pāli, Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese, etc. The Pāli version is found in the Sutta-piṭaka (*Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, Vol. V, pp. 420-424) as an independent Sūtra and in the Vinaya-piṭaka, (Vol. I, pp. 10-12) as a part of the *Mahāvagga*. There are two versions of it in Sanskrit, one forming part of the *Mahāvastu* (ed. E. SENART, Vol. III, pp. 330-335) and the other of the *Lalitavistara* (ed. S. LEFMAN, pp. 416-418). It has, at least, five versions in Tibetan ; 1, Dulva IV, ff. 64-67 ; 2, Dul. XI, 69-72 ; 3, Mdo. XXVI, 88-91, 4, Mdo. XXVI, 431-434 ; 5, Mdo. XXX, 427-432. We have, at present, two translations in Chinese, one made by Anshukao of the Eastern Han dynasty, A.D. 25-220 (NANJIO No. 657), and the other by I-tsiñ, A.D. 710 of the Thaṅ dynasty, A.D. 618-907 (NANJIO No. 658). The Tibetan version contained in Mdo. XXX, 427-432, Dharmacakrapravartanasūtra, according to its colophon, is a direct translation of the Pāli version ; whereas the version in Mdo. XXVI, 431-434, Dharmacakrasūtra is a translation of some independent Indian treatise of that name. The translation found in Mdo. XXVI, 88-91, is a part of the Abhinīṣkramaṇasūtra and other two versions contained in Dul. IV, 64-67, and XI, 69-72 are also parts of some other treatises of the Vinaya class.

A careful and critical study of all these versions enables us to classify them into three main classes :—

- I. The Tibetan version in Mdo. XXVI, 431-434, Dharmacakrasūtra together with that in Dul. XI, and the Chinese version of I-tsiñ.
- II. The version in Mdo. XXVI, 88-91, Abhinīṣkramaṇasūtra together with that in Dul. IV.
- III. The Pāli version and its Tibetan translation. All other versions in Sanskrit and Chinese may be brought under this class.

The following parallel analysis of their contents will show the main differences that have been found in each class of the versions :

CLASS I	CLASS II	CLASS III
....	I. Two Extremes and a Middle Path.	I. Ditto.
...	II. The necessity for delivering the sermon twice by the Buddha.	....
....	(See VIII below.)	II. Description of the nature of the Four Truths.
I. 12 Aspects of the Four Truths.	III. Ditto.	III. Ditto.
II. Buddha's advertising of his Enlightenment.	IV. Ditto.	IV. Ditto.
III. a. Kauṇḍinya's awakening of the Spiritual Eye. —b. Naming of Kauṇḍinya as Ājñāta-kauṇḍinya.	V. Ditto.	V. a. Only (b. in VII).
IV. Deva's exclamation at hearing the Sermon.	VI. Ditto.	VI. Ditto.
V. Naming of the Sermon. (III. b.)	VII. Ditto. (V. b.)	.... VII. Naming of Kauṇḍinya as Ājñāta-kauṇḍinya. (Omitted in the Chinese). (II.)
....	VIII. Description of the nature of the Four Truths. (As a separate Dharmaparyāya).	
....	IX. Awakening of the Spiritual Eye.	....

It is clear from the above analysis that in Class I, the Sermon, in words of the Buddha, contains mere enumeration of the Four Truths into twelve aspects and declaration of Kaundinya's awakening and nothing else. In Class II we find besides the above, the Buddha speaking of the two extremes to be avoided and a middle course to be resorted to, and also describing the nature of the Four Truths in a separate Dharmaparyāya as though he was pressed to do so by his disciples ; while in Class III we see that even that description has been incorporated in the Sermon itself.

It is very difficult to answer the question how such differences arose out of the one version of the Sermon which has been supposed to be delivered by the Buddha. I assume, however, that those differences might have been in vogue from the time of the Buddha himself and formed three modes of preaching the Sermon by the Buddha on different occasions. There is no lack of evidence to show the possibility of the above assumption. For, the Buddha is said, in the *Mahāvastu*, to have preached the Sermon four times ; while in the *Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra* he is reported to have delivered it twice.¹ Is it not possible, therefore, that he did so not on one occasion only, but on different occasions ? If we take it for granted, it is equally possible that the forms of preaching of the Sermon have been at variation on different occasions. I, therefore, consider it probable that the three different versions, in main, have been in vogue from the time of the Buddha himself, though they have been modified in later periods, with some additions and omissions.

But M. FEER, on the other hand, who has translated the Tibetan versions into French and also compared them with the Pāli and Sanskrit versions, has given expression to the opinion that the *Dharmacakrasūtra* is only an extract from, and mutilation of, the Pāli version. This opinion seems to be based on the assumption that the originals of the Buddhist Canon were in Pāli and all similar treatises in Sanskrit, etc. were only reductions of the Pāli works. Recent discoveries and researches have proved it certain that such an assumption is no more valid and the Sanskrit and other Buddhist works may also be of independent origin and equal antiquity.

In the following pages I have made an attempt to render into Sanskrit the five Tibetan versions which I have grouped into three main classes as above described, and published them in order together with the English translations of the two Chinese versions. As there does not exist much difference between the versions in Mdo. XXVI, 431-434 and Dul. XI, 69-72, only the former is rendered into Sanskrit in full, minor differences contained in the latter being noted in the footnotes together with the Tibetan equivalents of the important technical terms. Similarly in the case of Mdo. XXVI, 88-91 and Dul. IV, 64-67, only the former is rendered in full and small variations of Dul. are given in the footnotes. With regard to the Tibetan translation of the Pāli version, I have translated it into Sanskrit, not into Pāli,

1. See below and ROCKHILL, *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 37.

because Pāli is not so familiar as Sanskrit to the Orientalists in general. I have added to my Sanskrit translation of this version comparative notes showing all the differences between the Pāli and Tibetan versions. The Pāli and Chinese versions differ widely from each other almost in every respect and I have noted in the footnotes only very important differences between them.

For the originals of the Tibetan translations, I have made use of the Xylographs of Narthān Edition of the Kanjur preserved in the Adyar Library and for the Chinese translations, the Tripiṭaka in Chinese of the Taisho Edition.

धर्मचक्रसूत्रम्*

॥ नमः सर्वज्ञाय ॥

I. एवं मया श्रुतम् । एकस्मिन् समये भगवान् बुद्धो वाराणस्यां विहरति स्म ऋषिवदने¹ मृगदावे² । अथ भगवान् पञ्चवर्गीयान्³ भिक्षुनाह ।

(२) इदं दुःखमार्यसत्यमिति मे⁴ भिक्षवः पूर्वमाश्रुतेषु धर्मेषु योनिशो⁵ मनसिकाराच्चक्षुरुदपादि । ज्ञानं विद्या, बुद्धिः⁶ बोधिरुदपादि ॥ (२) अयं दुःखसमुदयः (३) अयं दुःखनिरोधः (४) इयं दुःखनिरोधगमिनी⁷ प्रतिपद् इति मे भिक्षवः पूर्वमाश्रुतेषु धर्मेषु योनिशो मनसिकाराच्चक्षुरुदपादि । ज्ञानं, विद्या, बुद्धिः बोधिरुदपादि ॥

(५) तत् खलु दुःखमार्यसत्यं परिज्ञेयमभिजानामि⁸ इति मे भिक्षवः पूर्वमाश्रुतेषु धर्मेषु योनिशो मनसिकाराच्चक्षुरुदपादि, ज्ञानं, विद्या, बुद्धिः बोधिरुदपादि । (६) तत् खलु दुःखसमुदय आर्यसत्यं प्रहातव्यमभिजानामि इति मे भिक्षवः पूर्वमाश्रुतेषु धर्मेषु योनिशो मनसिकाराच्चक्षुरुदपादि । ज्ञानं, विद्या, बुद्धिः, बोधिरुदपादि । (७) तत् खलु दुःखनिरोध⁹ आर्यसत्यं साक्षात्कृतव्यमभिजानामि

* Kanjur, Mdo. XXVI, ff. 431b, 4-434a4. The beginning of this translation runs as follows : Rgya gar skad du | Dharmacakrasūtra · Bod skad du | Chos kyi hkhor loi mdo | This translation agrees with that found in the Dulva XI, ff. 69b, 3-72a, 3, where it simply begins : भगवान् बुद्धो वाराणस्यामृषिवदने मृगदावे विहरति स्म ।

1. *drañ sroñ smra bai* = *ṛṣvacana*. So also Dul. XI. M. FEER says that *smrava* is a translation of *vadana*. See JA. 1870, p. 392. The *Mahāvastu* has both °*vadana* (Vols. I, 322, 324, 330 ; III, 330, 333, 337) and °*patana* (Vol. III, 323, 328) *Rṣipātana* is explained there thus : ऋषयोऽत्र पतिता ऋषिपत्तनम् । (Vol. I, 357).

2. *ri dags kyi nags* = *mṛgavaṇa*. So also D. XI. Its alternative form is *mṛgadāya*. The *Mahāvastu* has both. *Mṛgadāya* is explained there thus : मृगाणां दाशो दिशो मृगदायोति ऋषिपत्तनम् (Vol. I, p. 366).

3. = *lña sdei*. D. XI, *bhikṣupañcaka- dge sloñ lña po dag la*.

4. D. omits *me*.

5. *tshul bshin yid la pyas pa na* = °*sikāre*, or °*kurvatah*.

6. = *rtogs pa*.

7. = *sdug bsgñal hgog par hgro bai lam*. D. XI, °*gāmyāryamārgah*. ' *hgyur pa hphags pai lam*.

8. = *ñas mñon par śes pas*. D. XI omits *ñas*.

9. D. XI reads *kun hbyuñ ba*. Read *hgog pa* for it.

इति मे भिक्षवः पूर्वमाश्रुतेषु धर्मेषु योनिशो मनसिकाराच्चक्षुरुदपादि । ज्ञानं, विद्या, बुद्धिः, बोधिरुदपादि ॥ (८) तत् खलु दुःखनिरोधगामिनी¹⁰ प्रतिपद् आर्यसत्यं भावयितव्यमभिजानामि इति मे भिक्षवः पूर्वमाश्रुतेषु धर्मेषु योनिशो मनसिकाराच्चक्षुरुदपादि, ज्ञानं, विद्या, बुद्धिः, बोधिरुदपादि ।

(९) तत् खलु दुःखमार्यसत्यं परिज्ञातमभिजानामि इति मे भिक्षवः पूर्वमाश्रुतेषु धर्मेषु योनिशो मनसिकारात् चक्षुरुदपादि, ज्ञानं, विद्या, बुद्धिः बोधिरुदपादि । (१०) तत् खलु दुःखसमुदय आर्यसत्यं प्रहीणमभिजानामि इति मे भिक्षवः पूर्वमाश्रुतेषु धर्मेषु योनिशो मनसिकारात् चक्षुरुदपादि । ज्ञानं, विद्या, बुद्धिः बोधिरुदपादि । (११) तत् खलु दुःखनिरोध आर्यसत्यं साक्षात्कृतमभिजानामि इति मे भिक्षवः पूर्वमाश्रुतेषु धर्मेषु योनिशो मनसिकारात् चक्षुरुदपादि । ज्ञानं, विद्या, बुद्धिः, बोधिरुदपादि । (१२) तत् खलु दुःखनिरोधगामिनी⁷ प्रतिपद् आर्यसत्यं भावितमभिजानामि इति मे भिक्षवः पूर्वमाश्रुतेषु धर्मेषु योनिशो मनसिकारात् चक्षुरुदपादि, ज्ञानं, विद्या, बुद्धिः बोधिरुदपादि ॥

II यावन्मे भिक्षवः एषु चतृषु आर्यसत्येषु एवं त्रिपरिवर्तं द्वादशाकारं¹¹ चक्षुर्नोदपादि, न ज्ञानं, न विद्या, न बुद्धिः न बोधिरुदपादि । न तावदहं सदेवकालोकात् समारकात् सब्रह्मकात् सश्रमण-ब्राम्हणप्रजाकात्¹² सदेवमनुष्यकादस्मात्¹³ मुक्तः निःसृतः¹⁴ वियुक्तः¹⁵ प्रमुक्तः¹⁶ अविपर्ययचित्तविशिष्टः ।¹⁷ न चाहं भिक्षवः अनुत्तरां सम्यक्संबोधिमभिसंबुद्ध इति प्रत्यज्ञासिषम् । यतो¹⁸ मे भिक्षवः एषु चतृषु आर्यसत्येषु एवं त्रिपरिवर्तं द्वादशाकारं¹¹ चक्षुरुदपादि, ज्ञानं, विद्या, बुद्धिः बोधिरुदपादि । ततोऽहं¹⁸ सदेवकालोकान् समारकात् सब्रह्मकात् सश्रमणब्रह्मणप्रजायाः सदेवमनुष्यकादस्मात्⁹ मुक्तः निःसृतः¹⁴ वियुक्तः¹⁹ प्रमुक्तः अविपर्ययचित्तविशिष्टः¹⁶ । अथाहं¹⁸ भिक्षवः अनुत्तरां सम्यक्संबोधिमभिसंबुद्ध इति प्रज्ञासिषम् ॥

III तस्मिन् धर्मपर्याये उक्ते आयुष्मतः कौण्डिन्यस्य अष्टानां देवकोटीनां च,²⁰ विरजं वीतमलं धर्मचक्षुरुदपादि । अथ भगवान् आयुष्मन्तं कौण्डिन्यमाह । आजानासि धर्मं ननु भो कौण्डिन्य²¹ । सर्वं भगवन्²² । आजानामि धर्मं ननु भो कौण्डिन्य आजानासि ननु²³ । सर्वं सुगत सर्वम्²⁴ । आयुष्मता कौण्डिन्येन धर्मस्य आज्ञातत्वात् आयुष्मतः कौण्डिन्यस्य आज्ञातकौण्डिन्य इत्यधि-वचनं²⁵ प्रज्ञाप्यते ॥

10. D. XI °hgyur pai lam.

11. = lan gsum du bzlas te rnam pa bcu gñis su bskor bai. D. XI, °rnam pa bcu gñis pai.

12. D. XI, °brāhmaṇaprajāt (?) °bram jei skye dgu dan bcas.

13. These words may also be put in the locative case.

14. = ñes par hbyun ba. D. XI, °byun ba.

15. = mi ldan pa. D. XI, bral ba.

16. = phyin ci log dan bral bai sems kyis man du gnas pa.

17. D. XI adds tāvat.

18. Ibid., added, bzuñ ste- agñham.

19. Ibid., omitted viyukta.

20. lha brgyad khri = aṣṭadevāyutānām.

21. -kau nñi nya khyod kyis chos kun śes sam. D. XI, Ko hu din nya.

22. -bcom ldan hñas kun hihsal lags so.

23. D XI omits ājānāsi nanu.

24. Ibid., omitted sarvam.

25. tshig. bla dags. This etymology of the word ājñāta kauṇḍinya is not mentioned in the Mahāvastu and Lalitavistara. D. XI, 'iti nama āsaktam = miñ- śes par bya bar chags so.

IV आयुष्मान् कौण्डिन्यो धर्माज्ञाता²⁶ इति ²⁷अन्तरिक्षयक्षा शब्दमनुश्रावयन्ति स्म । घोषमुदीरयन्ति स्म²⁸ । मारिषाः भगवता वाराणस्यां²⁹ ऋषिवदने मृगदावे त्रिपरिवर्तं द्वादशाकारं धर्मचक्रं ³⁰प्रवर्तितमप्रवर्तितं धार्मिकेण श्रमणेन वा ब्राह्मणेन वा देवेन वा मारेण वा ब्रह्मणा वा केनचित् लोके सहधर्मेण³¹ बहुजनहिताय बहुजनसुखाय लोकानुकम्पायै देवानां मनुष्याणाञ्चार्थाय हिताय सुखाय । देवकायः अभिवर्धिष्यते असुरकायः हास्यते इति । अन्तरिक्षयक्षाणां शब्दं श्रुत्वा नभश्चराः³² यक्षाः चतुर्महाराजिककायाः³³ त्रयस्तिशाः देवाः³⁴ यामा³⁵स्तुषिता³⁶ निर्माणरताः³⁷ परनिर्मितवशवर्तिनो देवाः³⁸ तेन क्षणेन³⁹ तेन लयेन⁴⁰ तेन मुहूर्तेन⁴¹ तेन क्षणेन³⁹, तेन लयेन⁴⁰ तेन मुहूर्तेन⁴¹ यावत् ब्रह्मलोकं शब्दमनुश्रावयन्ति स्म । ब्रह्मकायिकाः⁴² देवा अपि⁴³ शब्दमनुश्रावयन्ति स्म घोषमुदीरयन्ति स्म । मारिषाः ! भगवता वाराणस्यामृषिवदने मृगदावे त्रिपरिवर्तं द्वादशाकारं धर्मचक्रं प्रवर्तितं कदाप्यप्रवर्तितं धार्मिकेण श्रमणेन वा ब्राह्मणेन वा देवेन वा मारेण वा ब्रह्मणा वा केनचित् लोके सह धर्मेण बहुजनहिताय बहुजनसुखाय लोकानुकम्पायै देवानां मनुष्याणाञ्चार्थाय हिताय सुखाय । देवकायः अभिवर्धिष्यते असुरकायः हास्यते इति ॥

V भगवता वाराणस्यां ऋषिवदने मृगदावे त्रिपरिवर्तं⁴⁴ द्वादशाकारं धर्मचक्रं ⁴⁵सहधर्मं प्रवर्तितम् । अतोऽस्य धर्मपर्यायस्य धर्मचक्रप्रवर्तनमिति अधिवचनं⁴⁶ प्रज्ञायते ॥

धर्मचक्रसूत्रं संपूर्णम्

26. D. XI, आयुष्मता कौण्डिन्येन धर्मे आज्ञाते ।
27. = *sa blai gnod sbyin rnam*.
28. = *sgra sgrogs par byed de | ... shes pa dbyaṅs sgrags so | D. XI, शब्दमुदीरयन्ति स्म । घोषमनुश्रावयन्ति स्म । = sgra phyuṅ shin dbyaṅs rjes su brgrags pa.*
29. D. XI, अस्यां वाराणस्याम् ।
30. *Ibid.*, added *anudharma- chos daṅ hthun pa.*
31. *chos daṅ hthun par*, lit. *dharmānulomyena.*
32. = *nam (m)khah la rgyu bai gnod sbyin.* D. XI, *bar snan la spyod pai* |
33. = *rgyal chen bshi poi rigs | D. XI. चतुर्महाराजिका देवाः = rgyal chen bshi pai lha rnam* |
34. = *sum cu rtsa gsum poi lha | D. XI omits deva = ... gsum pa rnam.*
35. = *hthab bral* D. XI,*ba rnam.*
36. = *dgah lden.* D. XI omits *tuṣita.*
37. = *hphrul dgah.* D. XI,*ba rnam.*
38. = *gshan hphrul dbaṅ byed kyi lha rnam.* D. XI omits *deva-byed kyi.*
39. = *skad cig de.*
40. (?)*-thaṅ cig de.*
41. (?)*-yun tsam de | D. XI? ... yud tsam de.*
42. = *tshaṅs rigs kyi lha rnam.* D. XI*rigs pai*.....
43. D. XI omits *api.*
44. *Ibid.*, *lan gsum gyi bar du bzlas te.*
45. *-chos daṅ ldan.* D. XI, *chos daṅ hthun pa.*
46. D. XI omits अधिवचनं प्रज्ञायते ।

THE WHEEL OF LAW*

thrice-repeated and spoken by the Buddha

(*Buddhabhāṣita triparivarta dharmacakrasūtra.*)

I. Thus have I heard. The Blessed One (*Bhagavān, Po chia fan*) once stayed in the Dear park in the Rṣipatana at Benares (*po lo ni*). Then the Blessed One addressed five Bhikṣus (*pi ch'u*) saying :

O Bhikṣus, the concentration of the mind in conformity with the principle (*yoniso manasikāra*) upon dharma that have been heard, that this is a misery, a Truth of Saints (*dukkham āryasatyam*) can give rise to the eye, knowledge, illumination and Enlightenment. (*bodhi*).

O Bhikṣus, the concentration of the mind in conformity with the principle that this is the cause of misery, a Truth of Saints (*dukkhasamudaya āryasatyadharma*), putting an end to the misery (*dukkhanirodha āryasatyadharma*) and Path leading to put an end to the misery (*dukkhanirodhagāmini pratipat āryasatyadharma*), can give rise to the eye, knowledge, illumination and Enlightenment.

O Bhikṣus, the concentration of the mind in conformity with the principle upon dharma that have been heard, that this misery, a Truth of Saints is a dharma which I understand as "to be known" (*evam pariññeyam*) can give rise to the eye, knowledge, illumination and enlightenment.

O Bhikṣus, the concentration of the mind, that this cause of misery, a Truth of Saints, is a dharma which I understand as 'to be removed' (*evam prahātavyam*) can give rise to the eye,

O Bhikṣus, the concentration of the mind, that this putting an end to the misery, a Truth of Saints, is a dharma which I understand as "to be realised" (*evam sākṣātkartavyam*) can give rise to the eye

O Bhikṣus, the concentration of the mind, that this Path leading to put an end to the misery, a Truth of Saints, is a dharma which I understand as "to be practised" (*evam abhyasitavyam*) can give rise to the eye

O Bhikṣus, the concentration of the mind, that this misery, a Truth of Saints, is a dharma which I understand as "it has been known to me" (*evam jñātam*) can give rise to the eye

O Bhikṣus, the concentration of the mind, that this cause of misery, a Truth of Saints, is a dharma which I understand as "it has been removed by me" (*evam prahīṇam*) can give rise to the eye

O Bhikṣus, the concentration of the mind, that this putting an end to the misery, a Truth of Saints, is a dharma which I understand as "it

* This translation is based on the Tripiṭaka in Chinese, Taisho Ed Vol. II, No. 110.

has been realised by me" (*evam sākṣātkṛtam*) can give rise to the eye
.....

O Bhikṣus, the concentration of the mind, that this Path leading to put an end to the misery, a Truth of Saints, is a dharma which I understand as "it has been practised by me" (*evam abhyasitam*) can give rise to the eye

II. If, O Bhikṣus, I did not understand the thrice-repeated twelve aspects of the Four Truths of Saints, and I could not obtain the eye, knowledge, illumination and Enlightenment; then I could not part from the gods, demons, Brahman, śramaṇas (*sha-men*), brāhmaṇas and all other worlds, my mind not being separated from defilements and obtaining deliverance; and I could not claim that I obtained the Supreme Enlightenment (*anuttamabodhi*).

Because, O Bhikṣus, I understood the thrice-repeated 12 aspects of the Four Truths of Saints, and was able to obtain the eye, knowledge, illumination and Enlightenment, I am parted from the gods, demons, Brahman, śramaṇas, brāhmaṇas and all other worlds, my mind being separated from defilements and obtaining deliverance; and I am able to proclaim that I obtained the Supreme Enlightenment.

III. When the Blessed One was speaking this Dharma, the Āyusmān Kauṇḍinya (*Kiao ch'en ju*) and 80 millions of gods received the Spiritual Eye (*dharma cakṣus*) free from passions and defilements (*virajam vīta-malam*). The Buddha addressed Kauṇḍinya: Have you realised this Dharma or not? He replied, I have realised, O Blessed One. Have you realised or not? I have realised, O Sugata. Because Kauṇḍinya has well realised the Dharma, his name will be Ājñāta Kauṇḍinya (*Ājo-Kiao ch'en-ju*). *Ājñāta* is one who well realises the objects (*artha*).

IV. At that time Yakṣas (*yao ch'a*) dwelling on earth, having heard the Buddha's preaching, voiced a great voice, addressing men and gods, O Benevolents, you should know that the Blessed One stays in the Dear park in the Rṣipatana at Benares and widely preaches the Wheel of Law, thrice-repeated and into 12 aspects; hence gods, demons, Brahman, śramaṇas, brāhmaṇas and other world will greatly flourish and all those who move in the plane of Brahman (*brahmacāriṇas*) will quickly reach the peaceful and deep plane, Nirvāṇa; and men and gods will flourish and asuras will perish. All the gods of heaven (*antarikṣa*) and four Mahārājikas heard and knew the address made thus by those Yakṣas. So also (did) mutually the gods of the six kārma world within a moment and also made their voices heard within a moment up to the gods, brahmins. All the brahmins having heard it, again uttered the words widely spread as before.

V. Therefore this Sūtra is called a Wheel of Law thrice-repeated (*triparivarta-dharmacakrasūtra*).

Then five Bhikṣus, men and gods, having heard the preaching of the Buddha, were rejoiced and revered (it).

[अभिनिष्क्रमणसूत्रे धर्मचक्रप्रवर्तनम्]*

I. अथ भगवान् पञ्चवर्गीयान्¹ भिक्षूनाह । द्वाविमावन्तौ भिक्षवः प्रव्रजितेन न सेवितव्यौ² न निषेवितव्यौ³ नोपासितव्यौ⁴ । कतमौ द्वौ । यः कामेषु कामकुशलानुयोगः⁵ हीनः ग्राम्यः⁶ अनार्यः⁷ पृथग्जनिकः⁸ । यश्चात्मह्मथानुयोगः⁹ दुःखः अनार्यः अनर्थसंहितः¹⁰ । इमौ द्वावन्तौ युष्माभिर्नोपक्रमणीयौ¹¹ । [किन्तु] मध्यमा प्रतिपद् चक्षुष्करणी¹² ज्ञानकरणी¹³ उपशमनी¹⁴ अभिज्ञासंबोधिनिर्वाणभूता¹⁵ । कतमा मध्यमा प्रतिपद् । आर्यः अष्टाङ्गिको मार्गः । (१) सम्यक् दृष्टिः (२) सम्यक् संकल्पः (३) सम्यक् वाक् (४) सम्यक् कर्मान्तः (५) सम्यगाजीवः (६) सम्यगव्यायामः (७) सम्यक् स्मृतिः (८) सम्यक् समाधिः¹⁶ ॥

II. भगवान् पञ्चवर्गीयाणां भिक्षूणां प्रतिज्ञाप्येनानेन प्रतिज्ञापनमकरोत् । पञ्चवर्गीयेषु भिक्षुषु द्वयोर्भगवता पूर्वाह्ने¹⁷ उपदेशे¹⁸ वितीर्णे त्रयः पिण्डाय नगरं प्राविशन् । यन्निर्मिलब्धम् । तत् षण्णां जीवनमकरोत् । पञ्चवर्गीयाणां¹⁹ त्रयाणां भिक्षूणां भगवता अपराह्णे²⁰ उपदेशे¹⁸ वितीर्णे द्वौ पिण्डाय नगरं प्राविशताम् । यत् द्वाभ्यां लब्धं तत् पञ्चानां जीवनमकरोत् । तथागतस्तु पूर्वाह्णे एवाभुङ्क्त ॥

* Kanjur, Mdo. XXVI, ff. 88b-91b, 4. This translation agrees with that found in the Dulva IV, ff. 64a, 5-67a, 7.

1. = *lña sdei*.
2. = *basten par mi bva* | D. IV, *rtēn* |
3. = *bsñen par mi bya*.
4. = *bsñen bskur mi bya* |
5. = *hdod paḥ bsod nams kyi rjes su brtson pa* | D. IV, *kāmapiṇḍānuyoga*(?)
...bsod sñoms...
6. = *ñan pa*.
7. = *tha chad*.
8. = *ma rabs* = *so so skye ba*.
9. = *bdag ñid dub pa la rjes su brtson pa* ;
10. (?) - *gnod pa dan ldan pa*.
11. = *mi rten par* | this sentence may also read—युष्माभिरनुपक्रम्य मध्यमा प्रतिपत् ।
12. = *mig byed pa*.
13. = *ye śes byed pa*.
14. = *ñe bar shi bar hgyur ba*.
15. = *mñon par śes pa dan* | *rdsoḡs par byaṇ chub pa dan* | *mya ñan nas hdaḥ par hgyur ba yod de*.
16. The following are the Tib. equivalents of the 8 āṅgas : 1, *yaṇ dag pai lta ba*. 2, *yaṇ dag pai rtog pa*. 3, *yaṇ dag pai ñag*. 4, *yaṇ dag pai las kyi mthah*. 5, *yaṇ dag pai htsho ba*. 6, *yaṇ dag pai rtsol ba*. 7, *yaṇ dag pai dran pa*. 8, *yaṇ dag pai tin ñe hdsin*.
17. = *sña dro*.
18. = *gdams ñag*.
19. Xyl. reads, *lña sdei mñams kyi*. Read..... *kyi* for *kyis* in conformity with D. IV.
20. = *phyi dro*.

III. अथ भगवान् पञ्चवर्गीयान् भिक्षुनाह ।

(१) इदं दुःखमार्यसत्यमिति मे भिक्षवः पूर्वमाश्रुतेषु धर्मेषु योनिशो मनसिकारात्²¹ चक्षु-
रुदपादि । ज्ञानं, विद्या, बुद्धिः बोधिरुदपादि ॥ (२) अयं दुःखसमुदयः (३) अयं दुःखनिरोधः
(४) इयं दुःखनिरोधगामिनी प्रतिपद्²² इति मे भिक्षवः पूर्वमाश्रुतेषु धर्मेषु योनिशो मनसिकारात्
चक्षुर्दपादि । ज्ञानं विद्या बुद्धिः बोधिरुदपादि ॥ (५) तत् खलु दुःखमार्यसत्यं परिज्ञेयमभिजानामि²³
इति मे भिक्षवः... । (६) तत् खलु दुःखसमुदय आर्यसत्यं प्रहातव्यमभिजानामि इति मे भिक्षवः... ।
(७) तत् खलु दुःखनिरोध आर्यसत्यं साक्षात्कर्तव्यमभिजानामि इति मे भिक्षवः ... ।
(८) तत् खलु दुःखनिरोधगामिनी प्रतिपद् आर्यसत्यं भावयितव्यमभिजानामि इति मे भिक्षवः... ।
(९) तत् खलु दुःखमार्यसत्यं परिज्ञातमभिजानामि इति मे भिक्षवः ... । (१०) तत् खलु
दुःखसमुदय आर्यसत्यं प्रहीणमभिजानामि इति मे भिक्षवः ... । (११) तत् खलु दुःखनिरोध
आर्यसत्यं साक्षात्कृतमभिजानामि इति मे भिक्षवः ... । (१२) तत् खलु दुःखनिरोधगामिनी
प्रतिपद् आर्यसत्यं भावितमभिजानामि इति मे भिक्षवः ... ।

IV. यावन्मे भिक्षवः एषु चतृषु आर्यसत्येषु एवं त्रिपरिवर्तं द्वादशाकारं चक्षुर्नोदपादि । न
ज्ञानं, न विद्या न बुद्धिः न बोधिरुदपादि । न तावदहं सदेवकालोकात् समारब्रह्मकात्²⁴ मश्रमणब्राह्मण-
प्रजायाः सदेवमनुष्यकादस्मान्मुक्तो निस्मृतो वियुक्तः प्रमुक्तः अविपर्ययचित्तविशिष्टः । न चाहं भिक्षवः
अनुत्तरां सम्यक् संबोधिमभिसंबुद्ध इति प्रत्यज्ञासिषम् । यतो मे भिक्षवः एषु चतृषु आर्यसत्येषु
एवं त्रिपरिवर्तं द्वादशाकारं चक्षुर्दपादि । ज्ञानं, विद्या, बुद्धिः बोधिरुदपादि । ततोऽहं सदेवकालोकात्
समारब्रह्मकात्²⁵ मश्रमणब्राह्मणप्रजायाः सदेवमनुष्यकादस्मान्मुक्तो निस्सरणयुक्तः²⁶ प्रमुक्तः अविपर्यय-
चित्तविशिष्टः । अथाहं भिक्षवः अनुत्तरां सम्यक् संबोधिमभिसंबुद्ध इति प्रत्यज्ञासिषम् ।

V. तस्मिन् धर्मपर्याये उक्ते आयुष्मतः कौण्डिन्यस्य²⁷ अष्टानां देवकोटीनां च विरजं वीतमलं
धर्मचक्षुर्दपादि । अथ भगवान् आयुष्मन्तं कौण्डिन्यमाह । आजानासि धर्मं ननु भो कौण्डिन्य । सर्वं
भगवन् । आजानासि धर्मं²⁸ ननु भो कौण्डिन्य आजानासि ननु । सर्वं मुगत सर्वम् । आयुष्मता
कौण्डिन्येन धर्माज्ञातत्वात् आयुष्मान् आज्ञातकौण्डिन्य²⁹ इत्यधिवचनं प्राज्ञाप्यते ।

VI. आयुष्मान् कौण्डिन्यो धर्माज्ञाता इति अन्तरिक्षयक्षाः ³⁰शब्दमनुश्रावयन्ति स्म ।
घोषमुदीरयन्ति स्म । मारिषाः भगवता वाराणस्यां ऋषिवदनं मृगदावे त्रिपरिवर्तं द्वादशाकारं धर्मचक्रं
प्रवर्तितमप्रवर्तितं धार्मिकेण श्रमणेन वा ब्राह्मणेन वा देवेन वा मारेण वा ब्रह्मणा वा केनचित् लोके
सह धर्मेण, बहुजनहिताय बहुजनसुखाय लोकानुकम्पार्थं देवमनुष्याणामर्थाय हिताय सुखाय ।

21. Lit. °sikāre. or °kurvatah.

22. = *sdug bsñal hgog par hgro bai lam.*

23. = *ñas mñon par šes pas.*

24. D. IV reads *sabrahmakād* omitting the word *māra*.

25. *Ibid.*, समारकात् सव्रह्मकात् ।

26. = *ñes par byuñ ba dan ldan pa* | D. IV, निस्मृतः वियुक्तः

27. = *Kau nñi nya* | D. IV, *Ko hu di nya.*

28. *Ibid.*, *dharma* is omitted.

29. *Ibid.*, आयुष्मान् कौण्डिन्य इति कौण्डिन्य इति etc.

30. = *sgra sgrogs par byed do* | *shes dbyañs bsgrags so.*

देवकायः³¹ अभिवर्धय्यते आसुरकायः परिहास्यते इति । अन्तरिक्षयक्षाणां शब्दं श्रुत्वा नमश्चरा यक्षाः चतुर्म्हाराजिककायाः त्रयस्त्रिंशः देवाः यामास्तुषिताः निर्माणरताः परनिर्मितवशवार्तनो देवास्तेन³² क्षणेन तेन लयेन तेन मुहूर्तेन यावत् ब्रह्मलोके शब्दमनुश्रावयन्ति स्म । ब्रह्मकायिकाः देवा अपि शब्दमनुश्रावयन्ति स्म । घोषमुदीरयन्ति स्म । मारिषाः भगवता वाराणस्यामृषिवदने मृगदावे... ॥

VII. भगवता वाराणस्यामृषिवदने मृगदावे त्रिपरिवर्तं द्वादशाकारं धर्मचक्रं सहधर्मं प्रवर्तितम् । अतोऽस्य धर्मपर्यायस्य धर्मचक्रप्रवर्तनमिति अधिवचनं प्रज्ञाप्यते ॥

VIII. अथ भगवान् द्वितीयं³³ पुनः पञ्चवर्गीयान् भिक्षूनाह । इमानि भिक्षवः चत्वार्याय-सत्यानि । कतमानि चत्वारि । दुःखमार्यसत्यम् । दुःखसमुदयः दुःखनिरोधः दुःखनिरोधगामिनी च प्रति-पद् आर्यसत्यम् । दुःखमार्यसत्यं कतमत् । जातिर्दुःखम् । जरा दुःखम् । व्याधिर्दुःखम् । मरण दुःखम् । प्रियैर्वियोगो³⁴ दुःखम् । अप्रियैस्संयोगो³⁵ दुःखम् । यदिष्टं प्रार्थितं न लभ्यते³⁶ तदपि³⁷ दुःखम् । संक्षेपेण³⁸ पञ्चोपादानस्कन्धा दुःखम् । तस्य परिज्ञेयत्वात् आर्योऽष्टाङ्गिको मार्गो भावयितव्यः ॥ कतमदुःखसमुदय आर्यसत्यम् । तृष्णा पौनर्भविकी नन्दिरागसहगता तत्र तत्राभिनन्दिनी³⁹ । तस्य प्रहेयत्वात्⁴⁰ आर्योऽष्टाङ्गिको मार्गो भावयितव्यः ॥ कतमदुःखनिरोध आर्यसत्यम् । या तृष्णा पौनर्भविकी नन्दिरागसहगता तत्र तत्राभिनन्दिनी⁴¹ । तस्या एवाशेषायाः प्रहाणं, त्यागः⁴² प्रत्याख्यानं⁴³ क्षयः⁴⁴ विरागः⁴⁵ निरोध उपशमः शमः⁴⁶ । तस्य साक्षात्कर्तव्यत्वात् आर्योऽष्टाङ्गिको मार्गो भावयितव्यः ॥ कतमदुःखनिरोधगामिनीं प्रतिपद् आर्यसत्यम् । तद्यथा आर्योऽष्टाङ्गिको मार्गः । सम्यग्दृष्टिः । सम्यक् सङ्कल्पः सम्यग्वाक् सम्यक्कर्मन्तः सम्यगजीवः सम्यग्व्यायामः सम्यक् स्मृतिः सम्यक् समाधिः । अयमेव भावयितव्यः ॥

IX. अस्मिन् धर्मपर्याये उक्ते आयुष्मतः आज्ञातकौण्डिन्यस्य⁴⁷ अनुपादानमास्रवच्चित्तं विमुक्तम् । पञ्चवर्गीयाणां भिक्षूणामशेषाणां धर्मेषु⁴⁸ विरजं वीतमलं धर्मचक्षुरुद्भूत् ॥

31. Read *lhai ris* for—*rīgs* in the Xyl. with D. IV.

32. This phrase is repeated thrice. D. IV repeats twice.

33. (?)—*lan gñis su yañ*.

34. = *sdug pa dan bral ba*.

35. = *mi sdug pa dan phrad pa*.

36. = *gañ hdod pa btsal te ma rñet pa*.

37. D. IV omits *tat*.

38. = *mdor na*.

39. = *yañ srid pai sred pa dgah bai hdod chags dan ldan pa de dan de la mñon par haod pa ste*.

40. Read *span bya bai phyir* for *span bai phyir*.

41. D. IV, *mñon par dgah ba* = *abhinandini*.

42. = *bor ba*.

43. = *bsal*.

44. = *zad pa*.

45. = *hdod chags dan bral ba*.

46. (?) = *nub pa*.

47. = *len pa med par*.

48. D. IV omits *dhar-meṣu*.

धर्मचक्रप्रवर्तनसूत्रम्*

॥ नम आर्यरत्नत्रयाय ॥

I. 1. एवं मया श्रुतम् । एकस्मिन् समये भगवान् वाराणस्यां विहरति स्म ऋषिपत्तने¹ मृगदावे² ॥

2. अथ भगवान् पञ्चवर्गीयान्³ भिक्षूनामन्याह⁴ । द्वाविमावन्तौ भिक्षवः प्रव्रजितेन न⁵ सेवितव्यौ ॥

3. योऽत्र कामसुखानुयोगो⁶ मानुषो⁷ हीनः । पृथग्जनानामनर्थसंहितत्वात् । य आत्मकमथानु-योगो⁸ दुःखोऽनार्याणामनर्थसंहितः⁹ । एतौ भिक्षवः अन्तौ द्वावन्तौ । तौ नोपक्रमणीयौ¹⁰ । मध्यमा प्रतिपत् तथागतेनामिसंबुद्धेनोक्ता चक्षुष्करणी ज्ञानकरणी उपशमनी अग्निज्ञासंबोधिनी निर्वाणाय संवर्तते¹¹ ॥

4. कतमा भिक्षवः प्रतिपत् तथागतेनामिसंबुद्धेनोक्ता चक्षुष्करणी...संवर्तते । मध्यमा प्रतिपद् आर्योऽष्टाङ्गिको मार्गः । तद्यथा अष्टौ । (१) सम्यक् दृष्टिः (२) सम्यक् संकल्पः (३) सम्यक् वाक् (४) सम्यक् कर्मान्तः (५) सम्यगाजीवः (६) सम्यक् व्यायामः (७) सम्यक् स्मृतिः (८) सम्यक् समाधिः । इयं मध्यमा प्रतिपत् तथागतेनामिसंबुद्धेनोक्ता चक्षुष्करणी...संवर्तते ॥

II. 5. इदं खलु पुनर्भिक्षवो दुःखमार्यसत्यम् । जातिदुःखम् । जरा दुःखम् । व्याधिदुःखम् । मरणं दुःखम् । अप्रियैः¹² संयोगो दुःखम् । प्रियविप्रयोगो¹³ दुःखम् । यदिष्टं¹⁴ प्रार्थितं न लभ्यते तदपि दुःखम् । संक्षेपेण पद्मोपादानस्कन्धा दुःखम् ॥

* Kanjur Mdo. Vol. XXX, ff. 427a, 5- 432a, 3. The beginning of this translation runs as follows :—

Rgya gar shad du | Dharma tsa kra pra bartana Sūtra | Bod. skad du | chos kyi hkhor lo rab tu bskor bai mdo

In the colophon it is said that this translation was prepared from the Pāli version of the Sūtra. This Sūtra is edited in the *Samyutta Nikāya* by L. FEER and in the *Vinayapitaka* by OLDENBERG.

1. = drañ sroñ lhuñ ba.
2. = ri dags rgyu bai gnas.
3. = lña sde.
4. = bos te bkah stsal pa.
5. = नाश्रयणीयौ = gnas par mi byao.
6. = hdod pa rnams dañ | bde ba la shen pa.
7. = mi rigs.
8. = lus dub pa dañ | hbrel ba.
9. = bsñags par bya ba ma yin pa, lit. अप्रशस्य.
10. = hjug par mi byao.
11. = yañ dag par hjug go.
12. = mi sdug pa dañ phrad pai sdug bsñal.
13. = sdug. pa dañ bral bai sdug. bsñal.
14. = gañ hdod pa btsal ste ma rñed pa.

6. इदं खलु पुनर्भिक्षवो दुःखसमुदय आर्यसत्यम् । या¹⁵ तृष्णा पौनर्भेविकी नन्दरागसह-
गता तत्र तत्रामिनन्दिनी । तद्यथा कामतृष्णा¹⁶ भवतृष्णा विभवतृष्णा ॥

7. इदं खलु पुनर्भिक्षवो दुःखनिरोध आर्यसत्यम् । यस्तथाविधायाः अशेषतृष्णायाः विरागः
निरोधः त्यागः प्रतिपरिवृत्तिः¹⁷ मुक्तिः मुक्तावनालयः¹⁸ ॥

8. इदं खलु पुनर्भिक्षवो दुःखनिरोधगामिनी प्रतिपद् आर्यसत्यम् । अयमेवार्थोऽष्टाङ्गिको
मार्गः । तद्यथा सम्यक् दृष्टिः...सम्यक् समाधिः ॥

III. 9. इदं दुःखमार्यसत्य [मिति] भिक्षवः पूर्वमाश्रुते धर्मे चक्षुरुदपादि । ज्ञानमुदपादि ।
प्रज्ञोदपादि । विद्योदपादि । आलोक उदपादि । तत्खलु पुनर्दुःखमार्यसत्यमिदं परिज्ञेय [मिति] भिक्षवः
पूर्वमाश्रुते धर्मे चक्षुरुदपादि ।...आलोक उदपादि ॥

10. इदं दुःखसमुदय आर्यसत्य [मिति] भिक्षवः पूर्वमाश्रुते धर्मे चक्षुरुदपादि ।...आलोक
उदपादि । इदं खलु पुनर्दुःखसमुदय आर्यसत्यं प्रहातव्य [मिति] इदं भिक्षवः पूर्वमाश्रुते धर्मे चक्षुरुद-
पादि ।...आलोक उदपादि ॥

11. इदं दुःखनिरोध आर्यसत्य [मिति] भिक्षवः पूर्वमाश्रुते धर्मे चक्षुरुदपादि ।...आलोक
उदपादि । इदं खलु पुनर्दुःखनिरोध आर्यसत्यं साक्षात्कर्तव्य [मिति] इदं भिक्षवः पूर्वमाश्रुते धर्मे चक्षु-
रुदपादि ।...आलोक उदपादि ॥

12. इदं दुःखनिरोधगामिनी प्रतिपद् आर्यसत्य [मिति] इदं भिक्षवः पूर्वमाश्रुते धर्मे चक्षु-
रुदपादि ।...आलोक उदपादि । इदं खलु दुःखनिरोधगामिनी प्रतिपद् आर्यसत्यं भावयितव्य [मिति]
इदं भिक्षवः पूर्वमाश्रुते धर्मे चक्षुरुदपादि ।...आलोक उदपादि ॥

IV. 13. एवमिमानि भिक्षव उच्यन्ते चतुर्विधानि आर्यसत्यानि । एवं त्रिपरिवर्तं
द्वादशाकारं¹⁹ यथाभूतं²⁰ ज्ञानदर्शनं सुविशुद्धं [यावत्] भिक्षव अत्यजम्²¹ । न [तावत्] सदेवकालो-
कात् समारकात् सन्नहकात् सश्रमणकात् सप्रजापतेः सदेवमनुष्येभ्योऽनुत्तरां सम्यक् संबोधिमभि-
संबुद्धोऽन्योऽभूवम्²² ।

14. यत्खलु पुनर्भिक्षव एषु चतृषु आर्यसत्येषु एवं त्रिपरिवर्तं द्वादशाकारं यथाभूतं ज्ञानदर्शनं
सुविशुद्धं यावत्²³ [अभूत्] । ततो भिक्षवः सदेवके लोके समारके सन्नहके सश्रमणके सप्रजापतौ
सदेवमनुष्ये अनुत्तरां सम्यक् संबोधिमभिसंबुद्ध [इति] प्रत्यबोधयम् । इदञ्च ज्ञानमात्मदर्शनभूतमपूर्व-
विमुक्तिः आत्मानवशेषमपुनर्भवोपादानं²⁴ निर्वाणम् ॥

15. = gañ sred pa hbyuñ ba can dañ | dgah bai hdod chags dañ ldan pa dañ |
de dañ de la mñon par dgah ba na (ni?) |

16. = hdod pai sred pa dañ | hkhör ba la srod pa dañ | hkhör ba dañ bral ba
la sred pao |

17. = so sor bsgyur ba

18. = grol ba shum po med pa = मुक्तावनवलीनता ।

19. = rnam pa bcu gñis po.

20. lit. यथाभूता = ji ltar gyur pa rnam.

21. = ña spañs te.

22. (?) = gshan med do ||

23. Read *ji srid* for *ji ltar*.

24. = yañ srid pa len pa med pa.

V. 15. एवमवोचद्भगवान् । पञ्चवर्गीया शिक्षवो भगवतो भाषितमभ्यनन्दन् । एवं तस्मिन् व्याकरणेऽवतीर्णे²⁵ आयुःमतः कौण्डिन्यस्य²⁶ विरजं वीतमलं धर्मचक्षुरुदपादि । यत्किञ्चित्समुद-
यधर्मं तत्सर्वं निरोधधर्म इति ।

VI. 16. [एवं] प्रवर्तितं धर्मचक्रं भगवता । प्रवर्तिते च भूम्या देवाः ²⁷स्तुतिशब्दमन्त्र-
शुश्रुवन् । इदं भगवता वाराणस्यामृषिपतने मृगदावे विहरता अनुत्तरमप्रवर्तितं धर्मचक्रं प्रवर्तित-
मप्रवत्यं श्रमणेन वा ब्राह्मणेन वा देवेन वा मारेण वा ब्रह्मणा वा अन्येन केनचिल्लोके ।

17. ततो भूम्यानां देवानां शब्दं श्रुत्वा चतुर्महाराजिका²⁸ देवाः स्तुतिशब्दमन्त्रशुश्रुवन् । इदं
भगवता लोके ।

18. चतुर्महाराजिकानां देवानां स्तुतिशब्दं श्रुत्वा त्रयस्त्रिंश²⁹ देवाः स्तुतिशब्दमन्त्रशुश्रुवन् ।
इदं भगवता लोके ।

19. त्रयस्त्रिंशानां देवानां स्तुतिशब्दं श्रुत्वा यामा³⁰ देवाः स्तुतिशब्दमन्त्रशुश्रुवन् । इदं
भगवता लोके ।

20. यामानां देवानां स्तुतिशब्दं श्रुत्वा तुषिता³¹ देवाः स्तुतिशब्दमन्त्रशुश्रुवन् । इदं
भगवता.....लोके ।

21. तुषितानां देवानां स्तुतिशब्दं श्रुत्वा निर्माणरता³² देवाः स्तुतिशब्दमन्त्रशुश्रुवन् । इदं
भगवता.....लोके ।

22. निर्माणरतानां देवानां स्तुतिशब्दं श्रुत्वा परनिर्मितवशवर्तिनी³³ देवाः स्तुतिशब्दमन्त्रशुश्रु-
वन् । इदं भगवता.....लोके ।

23. परनिर्मितवशवर्तिनां देवानां स्तुतिशब्दं श्रुत्वा ब्रह्मकायिका³⁴ देवाः स्तुतिशब्दमन्त्रशुश्रु-
वन् । इदं भगवता.....लोके ।

24. अथ तेन क्षणेन तेन मुहूर्तेन³⁵ यावत् ब्रह्मलोकं शब्दोऽभ्युदगच्छत्³⁶ । अथ दशसहस्र-
लोकधातुः समकम्पत्³⁷ । संप्राकम्पत्³⁸ । संप्राविध्यत्³⁹ । अप्रमादभूत्⁴⁰ आश्चर्यभूतो⁴¹ स्वभासभूतो⁴²
लोकेषु एवमभूत् । लोकेष्वेवं भूतेषु ब्रह्मणो⁴³ धर्मदेशनां श्रुत्वा स्वस्वावासमगमन् ॥

25. (?) = tshun tshod.

26. = kau qi nya.

27. = bstod pai sgra.

28. = rgyal chen ris bshii lha rnams.

29. = sum cu rtsa gsum gyi lha rnams.

30. = hthab bral gyi lha rnams.

31. = dgah ldan gyi lha rnams.

32. = hphrul dgai lha rnams.

33. = gshan lphrul dba'ñ byed kyi lha rnams.

34. = tshañs ris kyi lha rnams.

35. = yud. tsam.

36. = khyab par gyur te.

37. = yañ dag par gyos so.

38. = yañ dag par rab tu gyos so.

39. = yañ dag par rab tu ldeg go.

40. = bag yod par gyur.

41. = ya mtshen du gyur.

42. = snañ bar gyur.

43. = tshañs pas chos bstan pa thos nas lha rnams rañ gnas su soñ ño |

VII. 25. अथ खलु भगवानुदानमुदानैषीत्⁴⁴ । आज्ञातत्वाकौण्डिन्य⁴⁵ ! आज्ञातानां⁴⁶ कौण्डिन्य ! तस्मादायुष्मान् कौण्डिन्य आज्ञातकौण्डिन्य इति नामालभत ॥

॥ धर्मचक्रप्रवर्तनसूत्रं संपूर्णम्⁴⁷ ॥

COMPARATIVE NOTES

In this section, I propose to note all the differences between the Pāli version (= P.) of the *Samyutta-Nikāya* and its Tibetan version (= T.) of the Kanjur Mdo, XXX.

Para. 2. P. begins this para: तत्र खो भगवा. P. has आमन्तेसि for T. आमन्त्याह. P. reads मे in the place of T., इमौ. P. adds कतमे द्वे after न सेवित्त्वा.

Para. 3. The first Extreme in P. is कामेसु कामसुखल्लिकानुयोगो for कामसुखानुयोगः of T. P. has गम्भो for T. मानुष, and पृथुज्जनिकोऽनरियो अनत्थसंहितो for T. पृथग्जनानामनर्थ-संहितत्वान् ।

P.: अनरियो अनत्थसंहितो for T. अनायाणामनर्थसंहितः ।

P.: एते ते भिखवे उभो अन्ते अनुपक्कम्म for T. एतां भिक्षवः अन्तौ द्वावन्तौ । तौ नोप-कमणीयौ ।

P.: अभिसंबुद्धा for T. अभिसंबुद्धेनोक्ता, and उपसमाय अभिज्ञाय संबोधाय for T. उपशमनी अभिज्ञासंबोधिनी.

Para. 4. The same difference with regard to Madhyamā pratipad noted in the para 3.

P. has सेय्यथीदम् for T. तद्यथा अष्टौ.

Para 5. P. adds पि after जातिः जरा, व्याधिः मरणम् and पञ्चोपादनस्कन्धाः and also adds after मरणं पि दुख्वम्, सोकपरिदेवदुख्ख दौमनस्सुपायासा पि दुख्खा which is omitted in T. This omission is also corroborated by some Singhalese and Burmese Mss.

44. = ched du brjod pa ched du brjod de.

45. = kun śes pai phyir kau ḍi nyao ।

46. = kun śes pa rnam kyis kau ḍi ryao, lit. आज्ञातैः कौण्डिन्य ।

47. The colophon of this translation runs as follows :

बुद्धशासने स्थिरश्रद्धयोः^a पिटकद्वयोः^b सुनिपुणचित्तयोः समृद्धपरमैश्वर्ययोः शुक्लपक्षवृद्धचन्द्र-
लेपलितं^c यशोध्वजचारु^d वर्णयोराज्ञया बोधिगर्भवज्रासने दक्षिणस्यां दिशि षट्शतयोजने^e दूरे^f
सिंहलद्वीपे ब्राह्मणकुलात् सुप्रव्रजितस्य उपसंपन्नस्य^g त्रिपिटके^h सुनिपुणचित्तस्य महापण्डितस्या-
नन्दश्रियः संनिधौ बहुश्रुतेन लोत्सवशाक्यभिष्णुणा सूर्यध्वजश्रीभद्रेणⁱ द्विभाषिणामावासे^j महाविहारे
श्रीमोक्षद्वीपे^k [इदं सूत्रं] परिवर्त्य प्रश्नं^l पृष्ठ्य निर्णीतम् । भूमितले चन्द्रसूर्यवत् भवतु ॥

a = mi phyed pai | b = gtsug lag gñis la | c = dkar phyogs kyi zla ba hphel
bai shal la (Xyl. lu) bsku | d = grags pa rgyal mtshan du dpen śa | e = dpag
tshad | f = bgrod pai gnas, lit. pracāra deśe | g = bsñen par rdsogs pa | h = sde
sdod gsum | i = ñi ma rgyal mtshan dpal bzah po | j = gad, lit. śilā | k = dpal thar
pa gliñ du | l = shus te gtan la phab pao |

Para 7. The explanation of the third truth is somewhat different in P. It runs thus : यो तस्सा येव तद्धाय असेसविरागनिरोधो चागो पटिनिस्सग्गो मुत्ति अनाल्लयो. T. has : यस्तथाविधाय अशेषतृष्णायाः विरागः निरोधः त्यागः प्रतिपरिवृत्तिः मुक्तिः मुक्तावनालयः । For the last word P. has simply अनाल्लयो which means doing away with (the desire, *trṣṇā*). But T. has instead मुक्तावनालय which means ' not having indolence in regard to doing away with the desire '. Therefore according to T. the energetic activity preliminary to doing away with the desire is also a part of this truth.

Para 9. P. has अननुस्सुतेसु धम्मेषु for T. अध्रुते धर्मे wherever this phrase occurs.

At the end of this para P. adds : परिज्ञातं न्ति मे भिक्खवे पुब्बे अननुस्सुतेसु धम्मेषु चल्खुम् उदपादि ॥ पे ॥ आलोको उदपादि ॥

Para 10. Similarly at the end of this Para P. adds : पहीनं न्ति मे भिक्खवे पुब्बे etc.

So also at the end of Para 11, P. has. सच्छिक्तं न्ति मे भिक्खवे पुब्बे etc. and also at the end of para 12 P. adds : भावितन्ति मे भिक्खवे पुब्बे etc.

The four additions in P. at the end of paras 9-12 above noted are very important and to be taken into account in making 12 aspects (*ākāras*) of Dharmacakra complete. It is curious how T. has omitted those portions without which the aspects (*ākāras*) will be only 8.

Para 13. This and the following sections in T. seem to be defective. Yet I have put them into Sanskrit as amendable as possible. P. begins this para : याव कोवच्च मे भिक्खवे इमेसु चतसु अरियसत्त्वेसु instead of T. एवमिमानि भिक्षव उच्यन्ते चतुर्विधान्यार्यसत्यानि । P. has अहोसि for T. अत्यजम् na spans te. The sentence नेव तावाहं etc. of P. is differently represented in T. In P. it runs : नेव तावाहं भिक्खवे सदेवके लोके समारके सब्रह्मके सस्समण ब्राह्मणीय पजाय सदेवमनुस्साय अनुत्तरं सम्मासंबोधिमभिसंबुद्धो ति पच्चज्ञासिम् । In T. : न [तावत्] सदेवकात्...सधम्मणात् प्रजापतेः सदेवमनुष्येभ्यः अनुत्तरां सम्यक्संबोधिमभिसंबुद्धोऽन्योऽभूवम् ।

So the meaning of this sentence according to T. would be like this : When I have not acquired (lit. left) the real and pure insight [into the four truths] thrice repeated and into the 12 aspects I am not a saintly person who realised the highest wisdom and became differentiated from the ordinary world of gods, etc., but in P. the sense is quite different : When I have not acquired the real and pure insight, etc., I do not proclaim to the world of gods, etc that I realised the Highest Wisdom.

Para 14. It is better to read यत् for यत् in T. with P.; the word अहं is omitted in T. P. and T. agree in putting the words, सदेवक, etc. into locative case with same variation as noted above in para 13. The last sentence of this para in P. differs widely from the same in T. as follows : याणञ्च पन मे दस्सन्म उदपादि अकुप्पा मे चेतोविमुत्ति अयं अन्तिमा जाति नत्थिदानी पुनम्भवो ति ।

Para 15. अत्तमना of P. is omitted in T. P. has भजमाने for T. अवतीर्णे. This word is tentatively suggested for Tib. word *tshun tshod* which means literally 'measured this side' (tshun = tshur = this side, tshod = to measure, estimate, etc.)

Para 16. P. begins : एवं पवत्तिते च पन भगवता धम्मचक्रे etc.

P. omits the following words in this and subsequent similar sentences, paras 17 and 18 : स्तुति, विहरता, अप्रवर्तितं and अन्येन.

Paras 18-23 = 18 in P. These sections in P. are in an abbreviated form thus : चातुम्महाराजिकानां देवानां सद्ं सुत्वा तावत्तिंसा देवा यामा देवा तुसिता देवा निम्माणरता देवा परनिमित्तवसवत्तिनो देवा ब्रह्मकायिका देवा सद्मनुस्सावेसुम् etc.

Para 24. = 19 in P. P. adds तेन लयेन after तेन क्षणेन, the last sentence of this para in P. runs as follows : अप्पमाणो च उद्धरो ओभासो लोके पातुरहोसि अतिकम्म देवानं देवानुभावन्ति । But T. has it : अप्रमादभूत आश्चर्यभूत अवभासभूतो लोकेषु एवमभूत । लोकेष्वेवं भूते ब्रह्मणो धर्मदेशनां ध्रुत्वा स्वस्वावासमगमन् ॥ Thus, according to T. the sūtra is spoken of in this sentence as delivered by God Brahman and his audience were gods ; there is no such statement in P. Both in P. and T. the sūtra is said at the outset to be spoken of by the lord Buddha.

Para 25 = 20 in P. The udāna in T. seems to be defective. It has simply आज्ञातत्वात्कौण्डिन्य । आज्ञातानां कौण्डिन्य । Whereas P has a better reading : अज्ञासि वत भो कोण्डज्ञो आज्ञासि वत भो कोण्डज्ञो ति । But the other Tibetan versions have represented a similar statement fairly. See para 3 in the Dharmacakrasūtra and para 5 in the Abhiniskramanasūtra.

The last sentence in P. goes इति हिदं आयस्मतो कोण्डज्ञस्य आज्ञातकोण्डज्ञो त्वेव नाममहोसीति ।

TURNING OF THE WHEEL OF LAW*

(Dharmacakrapravartanasūtra.)

I. Thus have I heard. The Buddha once was sitting under a tree in the Dear park at Benares [pololai]. At that time there were a thousand Bhikṣus and many gods of heaven, and the entire assembly stood around Him filling up in the sky. Then the Wheel of Law of Nature came up flying and was revolving just in front of the Buddha.¹ He, putting his hand upon the Wheel, said : Stop ! Formerly I traversed numberless births and deaths (*lit.* going and coming), had names and shapes (*nāmarūpa*) transformed and was put into immeasurable miseries. Now my greedy mind has stopped,

* This translation is based on the Tripiṭaka in Chinese, Taisho Ed. Vol. II, No. 109.

1. Cp. *Lalitavistara*, ed. S. LEFMAN, p. 415, where it is said that the Wheel of Law was presented by Bodhisattva Sahacitopādacakra~~artin~~. Pāli and Tib. entirely ignore this legend.

defiling passions are removed, organs are made motionless, life and death are arrested and there is no more the transformation in the five paths of life. Then the Wheel stopped.

Thereupon the Buddha said : O Bhikṣus in the world there are two kinds of falling on extreme actions (*antacaryāpatana*). Those pupils who practise the path and depart from the family ought not, to the end of their life time, perform them. What are those two? I.—To care for worldly enjoyments (*kāmarāga*) without pure purpose. II.—To have an attachment for personal loving affairs (*ātmakāmābhinivēśa*) and not to be able to advance spiritually.¹ Therefore give up extreme actions which may not lead to the Buddhahood and Arhanthood. If they, O Bhikṣus, do not care for worldly enjoyments and have attachment for the personal loving affair; they may take to the middle way. The Tathāgata well awakened and possessed of the insight (*cakṣus*) and wisdom, and passing away from the two Extremes attained Nirvāṇa. What is the middle way? It is to practise the path of eight right actions, viz., right belief (*samyak dṛṣṭi*), right resolve (*samyak saṅkalpa*), right speech (*samyak vacana*), right conduct (*samyak caryā*), right living (*samyak ājīva*), right effort (*samyak vyāyāma*), right mindfulness (*samyak smṛti*) and right concentration (*samyak samādhi*).

II.—When,² O Bhikṣus, I had not originally heard the Path, then I understood that the misery is a Truth, and received in single thought the eye (*cakṣus*), contemplation of the mind, insight into a real knowledge (*prajñādarśana*) and Enlightenment making my mind free from what is cherished.

And understanding that the cause of misery, and putting an end to misery (*duḥkhasamudāyanirodha*) are Truths, I received the eye, etc. So also the Path,³ a Truth (*mārgasatya*).

III.—What is called misery? Birth and death are called miseries, disease, misery, to lament for or to get angry for a sadness (*śoka-parideva-pratiṅgha*), misery, association with what is disliked, misery, separation from

1. The second Extreme, according to the Pāli and Tib. 'is habitual practice of self-mortification'. But the Chinese has instead 'attachment for the personal loving affairs (*ātmakāmābhinivēśa*)' which hardly differs in substance from the first Extreme, 'to care for worldly enjoyments.' If we, however, take the word, *ai* in the sense 'to hate' etc. as it is sometimes used in that sense in the phrase like *ai shen* meaning *pratigha* in Sanskrit; we may have it something like *ātmapratighābhinivēśa*. But *ai* is not used usually in that sense.

2. Pāli and its Tib. after describing the two Extremes and a middle course, speak of the nature of the Four Truths and then explain their twelve aspects; but the Chinese here, unlike the Pāli, tells us that the Buddha obtained the eye, etc. on clearly understanding the dharmas. And then it describes the nature of the four truths and then again gives some details in somewhat different manner how the Buddha gained the eye, etc. But in neither place does it describe the twelve aspects of the Four Truths in clear terms, as the Pāli and other versions do.

3. Read in the text *tao*, *mārga* for *chīn*, *nirodha*.

what is beloved, misery, to long for a thing which is not obtained, misery and in main, to take five skandhas and enjoy luxuries is also misery.

What is called the cause of misery? Because of following desire (*tṛṣṇā*) there is again happiness. To remain in greed and joy without separation and to cherish desire for matter and non-matter (*rūpatṛṣṇā arūpatṛṣṇāprārthanā*), these are causes of misery.

What is called stopping of the cause of misery? To know that from desire there appears again what is happy; no sexual pleasure should be thought of; not to ponder over all (pleasures) other than sexual; to give them up and not to brood over them again; such is the stopping of the cause of misery.

What is called the Path fit for fetching the stop of the cause of misery? It is to practise the Path of eight right actions, viz. right belief, right resolve, right speech, right conduct, right living, right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration. This is the Path fit for fetching the stop of the cause of misery, a Truth.

IV.—Again, O Bhikṣus, this misery is Truth, cause of misery is Truth, stopping the cause of misery is Truth and the Path fit for fetching the stop of cause of misery is Truth. When ancestors of the old¹ had not heard these Dharmas, then I obtained the eye, vision, meditation, insight into the real knowledge and Enlightenment making my mind free from cares. When teachers² living here had not heard these Four Truths, then I obtained an eye for Path, meditation of the mind, real knowledge (*prajñā*) and Enlightenment making my mind free (from cares). When those³ living yonder could not have heard these Four Truths, even then I obtained the eye, meditation, real knowledge and Enlightenment making my mind free (from cares).

V.—These are the Four Truths which being thrice-repeated will make up twelve aspects. Acquiring a knowledge thereof but impure, I would not give it to the whole world, gods and men, (even) if Brahma or demon or śramaṇas and brāhmaṇas wished. Having cognised for myself the inner realisation, I practised moral acts and concentration, obtained deliverance by means of the real knowledge (*prajñāvimukti*) and succeeded in obtaining the vision of knowledge (*jñānadṛṣṭi*) that these are four final (Truths), this birth is last one and there would be no more birth, and having gone beyond the world for ever there would be no more grief (*śoka*).

VI.—When the Buddha said this, the talented Ajñāta Kaundinya (? ājochu lin) and others, and 8 crores of gods⁴ gave rise to the Spiritual Eye which is free from passion and defilements. Those thousand Bhikṣus having removed their defilements (*āsrava*) and freed their minds, all became Arihans

1. *pen tsai hsi* = *pūrvastha*?

2. *ling tsai szu* = *atrastha śāstṛ*.

3. *tsai pi* = *tatrastha*.

4. According to Suñ ed. 80 crores of gods.

(*Alohan*) and understood that whatever things have an origin, they all turn out to be liable to the destruction.

VII.—The voice of the Wheel of Law, presided over by the body (of the Buddha) and thrice-repeated—, all divine world living on earth heard it spread throughout. It proceeded at first to the 4 divine kings, then to *tao li* gods (*trayastrimśā devā*), *tou shu* gods (*tuṣitā devā*), gods of unselfish joy (*paranirmitavaśavartidevā*) and *nirmāṇaruta* gods.¹ The voice was heard within a moment everywhere upto the sphere of Brahman.

Then the sphere of the Buddha, three thousand millions of suns and moons and two thousands of heaven and earth all greatly trembled.

This (Wheel) presided over the body of the Buddha was commenced at Benares and hence the Supreme Wheel that has never been preached before, was preached.

Accordingly gods and men immeasurable in number followed this and obtained the Path. The Buddha having spoken this, all gods were rejoiced.

1. Note that the Chinese has *nirmāṇaruta* for *nirmāṇrata* of the Pāli.

INFERENCE IN DVAITA VEDĀNTA

By

P. NAGARAJ RAO

SECTION I.

Inference (*anumāna*) is the second instrument of valid knowledge. The word '*anumāna*' etymologically means 'secondary proof'. The data for inference are derived from perception and verbal testimony. The whole of the dialectics of Indian philosophy is based on inference. No other instrument of knowledge has been more elaborately discussed in Indian epistemology than '*anumāna*'. Jayatīrtha meets the criticism levelled against the necessity of inference. The commentators of Jayatīrtha, particularly Janārdhana, answer the criticism levelled by the Cārvākas against inference.¹ The answer is not different from the one put forward by the Nyāya school.

"The materialist (Cārvāka) explains our faith in the validity of inference as due to the established associations we observe, which are purely psychological, and have no logical certitude." We cognise a pervasion, and on the basis of its truth arrive at an inference. Pervasion and its validity are basic to inference. Pervasion depends upon observation, and is necessarily restricted to a few particular facts. Such limited observation does not entail us to reach a universal conclusion. "Granting that observation can comprehend all present instances, even then it should be admitted that there are others which are remote in time, and therefore lie beyond the possibility of investigation." A general pervasion is only tenable as far as investigated cases are concerned and it does not hold good of the uninvestigated. Thus pervasion is vitiated. This, in short, is the criticism put forward by the Cārvāka. His criticism stultifies his own position. The conclusion that inference is not valid is itself the result of inference, and points to a conviction that in this particular case at least the relation of *vyāpti* holds true. Hence the necessity for the recognition of inference as an independant means of valid knowledge.

Further, inference is criticised on the ground that it has no specific function to discharge. The cognition of the pervasion includes the knowledge of the thing to be inferred. Thus the thing to be inferred is known prior to the inferential activity. Hence the futility of inference.

Jayatīrtha criticises this view as follows: Pervasion gives only in a general way the relation between the *probans* and the *probandum*. The cogni-

1. *Pramāṇapaddhati*, p. 181; Cf. *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, pp. 189-90, by HIRIYANNA.

tion of the pervasion of the smoke by fire does not exactly and specifically tell us the appropriate place in which the pervasion is present. Inference specifies it. It helps us to establish the *probandum* in a suitable place. Hence inference is not futile.¹

Inference is 'defectless reasoning'.² It results from the cognition of pervasion and the knowledge of the presence of *probans* in a place, time, etc., appropriate to the mode of pervasion.

Madhva accepts that the knowledge of pervasion (*vyāpti-jñāna*) and of the presence of the *probans* in the subject (*pakṣadharmatā-jñāna*) are necessary for '*anumāna*', but his definitions of these two terms differ from those of the Nyāya school. The ancient Nyāya school defined *vyāpti* as '*sādhyā-bhāvavadaṣṭitvam*', i.e., pervasion consists in the non-existence of the *probandum* in every place where the *probans* does not exist; e.g., in the inference of fire from smoke, the lake is the place where we see the *vyāpti*; there is the non-existence of the *probandum* (fire) in the lake, and there is also the non-existence of the *probans* (smoke).

This definition of *vyāpti* is negative, and it is an amplification of the concept of '*avinābhāva*'. This view of *vyāpti* is called the '*pūrvapakṣavyāpti*'. The later Nyāya school found that this view of *vyāpti* is not applicable to all valid inferences; e.g., quality (*guṇa*), existence (*sattā*), because it has generic attribute (*jāti*). The non-existence of the probandum, viz., *sattā*, is inconceivable anywhere. So the later Nyāya school abandoned the first definition of *vyāpti*, and redefined the concept of *vyāpti* as the 'existence of the probandum and the probans in the same locus.' This definition of *vyāpti* is called '*siddhāntalakṣaṇa*'. It is objected to by Jayatīrtha on the same ground, namely inapplicability. The *siddhāntalakṣaṇa-vyāpti*, is not applicable to certain valid types of inference. For example let us take the following inference: "There is the flight of a bird in the sky, because we perceive the shadow below." The above inference is valid. In the inference the probandum, i.e., "the flight of the bird" is in the sky, and the probans, i.e., "shadow" is down on the earth. Hence the final definition of *vyāpti* is as follows: 'pervasion is the relation between a probandum and a probans; the probandum (characterised by a particular space and time) cannot be known without the probans (characterised by a particular space and time); and pervasion is not the presence of the probans and the probandum in the same locus.'

Pakṣadharmatā is defined by the Nyāya school as 'presence of the probans in the subject (*Pakṣaṣṭitvam*)'. This definition of *pakṣadharmatā* is non-pervasive with reference to certain valid inferences. For example in the following inference 'in the uplands there is rain, because there is the flow of water in the river of the lowland', upland is the subject (*pakṣa*) and the

1. *Pramāṇapaddhati*, Chap. II, Sec. 3, p. 171. [Belgaum edition.]

2. *Ibid.*, Chap. II, Sec. 1, p. 157.

probans, i.e., 'the flow of water in the lowland rivers' is not present in the subject. Hence the Nyāya definition of *pakṣadharmatā* is non-pervasive with reference to the valid inference instanced. So Madhva defines the term *pakṣadharmatā* in such a manner as to make it applicable to all valid inferences. The definition is as follows : 'the presence of the probans in an appropriate place (i.e., *ucitadeśavṛttitvam*). This appropriate place is sometimes the subject and at other times it is other than the subject. There is no restriction to the effect that it should always be in the subject (*pakṣa*).

The Nyāya definition of *vyāpti* is not to be interpreted so narrowly as Madhva does. The 'unity' that we have to conceive in inference is a 'logical unity'. It is a 'pervasive unity'. All the suitable places are to be considered as the subject (*pakṣa*). The presence of the probans and the probandum in the same locus is not to be literally understood. There is no case in which the probandum and the probans are absolutely in the same locus. In the well-known inference of fire from smoke, smoke is found above the surface of the mountain, and fire is found on the surface. The only possible objection we can raise against the second definition of *vyāpti* of the Nyāya school is that the word '*samānādhikaraṇa*' (existence in the same locus) does not obtain in any place.

Madhva's definition of *vyāpti* is not in any way a great advance on the Nyāya view. It is merely an elaboration of the Nyāya view with some technical safeguards.

Pervasion depends upon the nature of the attributes that enter it as relata. (1) There are some attributes that have reciprocal pervasion, e.g., things that are prohibited by the Vedas are sins, and sins are those things that are prohibited by the Vedas ; (2) there are certain attributes that have no reciprocal pervasion, e.g., wherever there is smoke there is fire ; but there may be no smoke wherever there is fire ; (3) there are certain other attributes that are never found together, e.g., 'wherever there is horseness, there is no cowness.' There can be no pervasion between such attributes as there is no relation between them. (4) There are certain other attributes that are found sometimes together with an object, and at other times found elsewhere, e.g., the capacity to cook is found in men. The capacity to cook is found in women also. Manhood is found in non-cooks. There can be no pervasion between such attributes.¹

Pervasion by its mere existence cannot give us inference. Pervasion has to be cognised. The cognition of the probans and the mode of the pervasion are the essentials of inference.

The modes of pervasion are nine-fold : (1) The pervasion that exists between two relata that are in the same place and time, e.g., the pervasion between taste and colour ; (2) the pervasion between two relata in the same locus, but at different times, e.g., the pervasion between smoke and

1. *Pramāṇapaddhati*, Chap. II, Sec. 2, p. 177.

fire ; (3) the pervasion that exists between two relata that are at the same time but in different loci, e.g., the pervasion between the rise of the star *Kṛttikā* and the appearance of *Rohiṇī* ; (4) the pervasion that exists between two relata that are in different times and different places, e.g., the pervasion that exists between the flood in a river and in the lowlands and the rain in the uplands ; (5) the pervasion that exists between two relata that are in the same place the first of which is occasional while the other is permanent, e.g., the pervasion that exists between gravity and weight ; (6) the pervasion that exists between two relata in the same place one of them being permanent and the other occasional, e.g., the pervasion between body and death ; (7) the pervasion that exists between two relata where one of them is present only in a particular area and the other is present all over, e.g., the pervasion of 'conjunction' by 'substances' ; (8) the reverse of the previous mode and (9) the pervasion that exists between two relata which are limbs of one whole, e.g., the pervasion between the two pans in a balance.

All the three instruments of knowledge (perception, inference and verbal testimony) give rise to the cognition of *vyāpti*. The pervasion of smoke by fire is perceptual. A certain individual sees smoke and fire together in a kitchen and begins to deliberate as follows : Are smoke and fire together in the kitchen alone, or do they exist together in all places at all times ? Does either of them exist without the other ? With such doubts he sets forth to investigate the pervasion of smoke and fire. He repeatedly observes the pervasion of smoke by fire. He also observes the non-existence of fire always going together with the non-existence of smoke. There are some places where there is fire without smoke. The relation of smoke with fire is conditioned by an adjunct (*upādhi*), namely, wet fuel. The contact of wet fuel with fire is co-extensive with the presence of smoke, but is not co-extensive with fire. The presence of wet fuel and its contact with fire causes smoke.

The investigator then questions as follows : Is there any adjunct that is responsible for the presence of fire where there is smoke as in the above case ? It cannot be an uncaused relation. The investigator examines the kitchen to find out if there is any adjunct responsible for presence of fire where there is smoke.

He then examines the attributes that pervade both fire and smoke. The attribute (knowability) is common to fire and smoke. This quality cannot separate fire from smoke. There are certain other attributes that are absent from both. The quality of being a kitchen is absent from both. This quality too cannot separate fire from smoke. The wet fuel in contact with fire can separate smoke from fire and not fire from smoke. It cannot do this, because it is not as pervasive as fire.

If we are to adduce the non-existence of fire where there is smoke, we want such an adjunct which pervades fire and does not pervade smoke. Such an adjunct is not seen because it does not exist. So the investigator

comes to the definite conclusion that there is no external adjunct which could prove the non-existence of fire where there is smoke. The cognition of the relation between smoke and fire is perceptual, and it is determined by three factors : (1) Repeated observation of the co-existence of the probans and the probandum, (2) the non-cognition of the inconsistency of the probans, and (3) the certain knowledge of the non-existence of any external adjunct. After certain cognition that the pervasion of the cognised smoke by fire is natural we are able to infer even in other places where we see smoke. This in short is the manner of pervasion.¹

SECTION II.

Jayatīrtha classifies inferences as follows :

I. (1) Inference from effect (*kāryānumāna*) e.g., the inference of fire from smoke ; (2) inference from cause (*kāraṇānumāna*) e.g., the inference of rain from the dense clouds that gather above us ; (3) inference from something other than cause and effect (*akāryakāraṇānumāna*) e.g., the inference of colour from taste.

II. (1) inference of perceptual objects (*dṛṣṭānumāna*) e.g. the inference of fire from smoke ; (2) inference of non-perceptual objects (*sāmānyato-dṛṣṭānumāna*) e.g., the inference of the existence of the sense organ of sight from the cognition of colour.²

III. (1) Inference that helps us to prove our argument (*sādhānānumāna*) e.g., the inference of fire from the cognition of smoke ; (2) inference that helps us to refute an argument (*dūṣaṇānumāna*) ; (a) the inference that helps us to cognise the defects in arguments and (b) hypothetical argument (*tarka*).³ Hypothetical argument is used as an auxiliary to valid inference. The Nyāya school brings it under invalid knowledge (*anyathāhārthajñāna*), but still regards it as aiding valid inference. When we state a particular inference, if the opponent argues that the probans used in the inference is ineffective to establish the probandum, we make use of the hypothetical argument to establish the pervasion ; e.g., when we state the familiar inference of fire and smoke, the opponent argues that the probans smoke exists, but it does not prove the probandum fire. Such a doubt is called '*aprayojaka śaṅkā*'. It takes the following form : in the above inference 'let there be smoke (probans), there need be no fire (probandum).' We make use of the hypothetical argument to refute such a question. The hypothetical argument takes the following form : If there were no fire then there could be no smoke.' The hypothetical argument takes up the deduction of the opponent, namely, the non-existence of fire, and from it is deduced the non-existence of smoke which is not acceptable to the opponent.

1. *Pramāṇapaddhati* ; Chap. II, Sec. 4, p. 176.

2. *Pramāṇapaddhati*, Chap. II, Sec. 8, p. 199.

3. *Ibid.*, Chap. II, Sec. 9, p. 203.

The characteristics of the hypothetical syllogism :¹

(1) The pervasion of the deducer (*āpādaka*) by the deduced (*āpādyā*). In the above hypothetical argument the non-existence of fire is the deducer. It is the pervaded (*vyāpya*) and the non-existence of smoke is deduced. The non-existence of fire is pervaded by the non-existence of smoke. In an hypothetical argument the pervasion of the deducer by the deduced must be a settled factor. If it were not so the same old doubt about the ineffective nature of the probans to prove the probandum would arise. It is only to answer such a charge that the hypothetical argument is stated, and hence the necessity for the established nature of the pervasion in the hypothetical argument.

(2) It should not be liable to be refuted by any counter hypothetical argument.

(3) The deduced must be unacceptable to the opponent ; e.g., the non-existence of smoke is not acceptable to the opponent, because he perceives it.

(4) The hypothetical argument must culminate in the contrary of that against which the argument is directed. This is technically called '*Viparyaya paryavasāna*' : e.g., there is the smoke, then there is fire. Without this step the hypothetical argument is not complete.

(5) The argument must be of no help to the opponent. It must not be favourable to him.

Hypothetical argument is valid, according to Jayatīrtha, and it is treated as a type of inference in Madhva's epistemology.

The third trait of an hypothetical argument, i.e., 'occasioning the unacceptable' is of two kinds.²

OCCASIONING THE UNACCEPTABLE

A	B
(1) <i>Abandoning the valid.</i>	1. Self-dependence : when we say that a particular object is created by its own self, e.g. pot A gives rise to its own self. The cognition of A results from the cognition of A.
(2) <i>Abandoning the perceptually valid.</i>	2. Reciprocal dependence : where we say that A is the cause of B, and B is the cause of A.
(3) <i>Abandoning the inferentially valid.</i>	3. Arguing in a circle ; when we say A is established by B and B is established by C and C is established by A.

1. *Pramāṇapaddhati*, Chap. I, Sec. 10, p. 205.

2. *Pramāṇapaddhati*, Chap. II, Sec. 10, p. 206.

A	B
(4) Abandoning the argument established by verbal testimony.	4. Infinite regress ; when we have an unsettled non-established cause ; e.g. A is caused by B, B by C, C by D and so on.
(5) <i>Assuming the invalid.</i>	5. The mere occasioning of the unacceptable :
(6) Assuming the perceptually invalid.	(i) Occasioning the abandonment of the perceptually valid.
(7) Assuming the inferentially invalid.	(ii) Occasioning the abandonment of inferentially valid.
(8) Assuming the argument that is opposed to verbal testimony.	(iii) Occasioning the abandonment of the argument which is proved by verbal testimony.

Jayatīrtha, after classifying inference, examines the two types of pervasion put forward by the Nyāya school, viz., (1) positive pervasion (*anvayavyāpti*), the pervasion of the probans by the probandum, and (2) negative pervasion (*vyatireka vyāpti*), the pervasion of the non-existence of the probandum by the non-existence of the probans. The example of a positive pervasion is 'what is knowable is nameable, like the pot.' There is no negative form for the above inference, because we do not have an example for the negative pervasion, namely, 'that which is not nameable is not knowable.' Everything in the world is nameable, so we cannot have an example which is not nameable.

The negative pervasion is pervasive of the subject term and it has no positive instance ; e.g., all living bodies have souls, because they have life, negatively like the pot. The pervasion is as follows : 'Wherever there is the non-existence of souls there is the non-existence of life as in the pot.' There is no positive pervasion for the above inference, because all living bodies are taken as constituting the subject term. Such a subject term exhausts all soulful beings. There are certain inferences which admit of both the types of pervasions, e.g., 'this mountain has fire, because it has smoke (positive instance), like the kitchen, and (negative instance) like the lake. The negative pervasion is stated as follows : 'Wherever there is no fire, there is no smoke, as in the lake.'

Jayatīrtha is of opinion that there is no need for the negative pervasion, and he admits only the positive pervasion.¹ The inference wherein negative pervasion is made use of can be proved on the basis of positive pervasion itself. Then how is it that there is acceptance for it found in the Śāstras ? Even

1. *Pramāṇapaddhati*, Chap. II, Sec. 17, p. 226.

according to the Nyāya school the negative pervasion is of no use in the establishment of a positive factor. Further, in the negative pervasion the pervaded and the *Pakṣadharmatā* occupy different loci. In a negative pervasion the pervasion is present in fire, and the smoke is the *nirūpaka* i.e. the pervader, and the *pakṣadharmatā* is found in smoke. The Nyāya school establishes the validity of the negative pervasion through a series of links. The examples cited above for the negative pervasion can be established by a positive pervasion itself. It takes the following form ; 'wherever there is life, there is soul'. If the place where we point out the pervasion cannot be known by perception, then we establish the pervasion by the inference, which takes the following form : 'Being alive is pervaded by being soulful, because it is the counter correlate of the non-existence of (that) e.g., the pervasion of smokeness by fire.' The pervasion is as follows : 'Wherever is the counter correlate of the non-existence which pervades the non-existence (of that) (probandum) is pervaded by that (probans).'

Madhva's criticism of the negative pervasion is not profound. It is too formalistic. It would be more natural and scientific to accept the negative pervasion than to express two really negative ideas in the garb of a rigid and tortuous positive pervasion. It is in such places we see the extreme formalism of the syllogism in Indian logic.

Inference is further divided into two kinds : (1) inference for one's self and (2) inference for others.' (1) Without any teaching from another, if one cognises the probans with the help of the memory of the pervasion it is an instance of inference for oneself. (2) If our cognition of the pervasion depends on another's teaching, it is an instance of inference for others. Inference for others is put in the form of a syllogism. The Nyāya syllogism has five members. They are (1) the thesis set down in a proposition i.e., *pratijñā* e.g., 'this mountain has fire'; (2) the probans, i.e., *hetu*. It is the sentence that states the probans, and ends in ablative case e.g., 'because it has smoke' (*dhūmāt*); (3) the example (*udāharāṇa*). The example is sometimes positive, and sometimes negative. If the pervasion is positive, we have a positive example, and if the pervasion is negative, the example is negative ; e.g., in the familiar inference of fire from smoke, we have both the pervasions, so we have both types of examples, (i) the kitchen, (ii) the lake. (4) The fourth member is called '*upanaya*.' The probans which is made out to be invariably concomitant with the probandum should be specifically known to be present in the subject. Such a cognition '*upanaya*' gives e.g., 'like the kitchen this mountain fire pervades smoke.' (5) The re-statement of the *pratijñā* (thesis) asserting a reason is called *nigama* i.e., conclusion, e.g., 'therefore the mountain has fire.'

The Bhāṭṭa school recognises only three members : (1) *pratijñā*, (2) *hetu*, (3) *udāharāṇa* or (1) *udāharāṇa*, (2) *upanaya* and (3) *nigama*. The Buddhist accepts only two members, *udāharāṇa* and *upanaya*.

Madhva finds no intelligibility in restricting the number of members that should go into a syllogism. He is of opinion that there should be no restriction or artificial specification that there should be three or five members only. The syllogism is used to convince and make the opponent understand our argument. The number of members depends on the understanding capacity of the opponent. If the opponent understands the inference by the statement of the mere probans, other members are then not necessary. Why then the rule that there should be five members? Hence the restriction is meaningless.

SECTION III

Defects of Inference with special reference to the vulnerable points in a debate.

Inference is defined as 'defectless reasoning,' and defects of probans are those factors which prevent us from having valid cognition and sometimes give us uncertain and erroneous cognition. They can broadly be divided into two kinds : (1) defects relating to meaning, and (2) defects relating to speech. The two defects relating to meaning are (1) contradiction (*virodha*) the absence of the capacity to co-exist; and (2) incongruity (*asaṅgati*) absence of expectancy. The two defects of speech are (i) omission of the essential (*nyūna*), stating only a part of the essential statement and (ii) overstatement (*adhika*) where the expectancy is satisfied even otherwise, without the need for this statement.

'Contradiction' is of two kinds : (1) the contradictions that are common to a debate arising in laying down the four corners of (i) discussion, (ii) question, (iii) establishment of one's own position, and (iv) refutation of the opponent; (2) the contradiction arising in the inference itself.

'Contradictions that arise in the inference' are three in number : (1) contradictions of thesis (*pratijñāvirodha*), (2) contradiction of the probans (*hetuvirodha*), and (3) contradiction of example (*dṛṣṭāntavirodha*).

'*Pratijñā-virodha*' is of two kinds : (1) contradiction of what is settled by valid knowledge (*pramāṇavirodha*) and (2) contradiction of one's own word (*svavacana-virodha*).

'Contradiction of what is settled by valid knowledge' is of two kinds : (1) contradiction of the comparatively stronger *pramāṇa* (*prabalaḥpramāṇa-virodha*), and (2) contradiction of the equally strong *pramāṇa* (*samabalaḥpramāṇavirodha*). The strength of a *pramāṇa* depends upon two factors : (1) the numerical strength, (2) the natural strength (that which is the source of subsistence for others and is incapable of being construed as having some other purport).

Prabalaḥpramāṇavirodha is divided into three kinds : (1) The contradiction by the perceived strong *pramāṇa*, (2) the contradiction by the inferred strong *pramāṇa*, (3) the contradiction by the verbally strong *pramāṇa*.

Samabalapramāṇavirodha is also divided into three kinds : (1) the contradiction by the perceived equally strong *pramāṇa*, (2) the contradiction by the inferred equally strong *pramāṇa*, and (3) the contradiction by the verbally cognised equally strong *pramāṇa*. The contradiction by the inferred equally strong *pramāṇa* is of two kinds : (i) contradiction by the same inference, (ii) contradiction by another inference.¹

'*Svavacanavirodha*' is of two kinds : (1) accepting a conclusion conflicting with one's school of thought (*apasiddhānta*) and (2) quibbling, which is of three kinds : (i) the contradiction between the words in a sentence, or between intermediary sentences uttered by one's own self, (ii) contradiction in one's own action (*svakriyāvirodha*), and (iii) contradiction of one's own principles (*svanyāyavirodha*).

The contradiction of *Hetu* is of two kinds : (1) the non-establishment of the probans (*asiddhi*) and (2) non-pervasion (*avyāpti*).

The contradiction of example is of two kinds : (i) defect in the probandum, and (ii) defect in the probans.

Each of the three defects, *Asaṅgati*, *Nyūna* and *Adhika* is also of three kinds : (1) *Pratijñāna-asaṅgati*, (2) *Hetu-asaṅgati* and (3) *Dṛṣṭānta-asaṅgati*; (i) *Pratijñānyūna*, (ii) *Hetunyūna*, (iii) *Dṛṣṭāntanyūna*. (1) *Pratijñā-adhika*, (2) *Hetu-adhika*, (3) *Dṛṣṭānta-adhika*. In addition to the four defects, Madhva mentions two more : (1) the acceptance of a disputed fact (*saṁvāda*) and (2) the non-utterance of certain words which ought to be uttered in order to make our meaning intelligible to others (*anukṭi*).

All the twenty-two vulnerable points put forward by the Nyāya school are brought under these six defects : (1) *Virodha*, (2) *Asaṅgati*, (3) *Nyūna*, (4) *Adhika*, (5) *Samvāda* and (6) *Anukṭi*.

In a debate when the protagonist with unchecked pride checks the pride of the opponent, such a checking is called defeat (*nigraha*). The causes of such defeat are called vulnerable points (*nigrahassthāna*). By the term 'checking the pride' we mean the failure of the twofold resolve namely, to establish one's own position and to refute the opponent's. The following points do not constitute a *nigrahassthāna* : the disputant falling into a fit, becoming mad for a time, being not able to answer immediately on account of the clouded nature of his thoughts, or forgetting to state a point in time, but brings it to his mind later.²

The vulnerable points of a debate (*nigrahassthānas*) are twenty-two in number as enumerated by the Nyāya school.

1. Giving up what has been stated as the probandum is *PRATIJÑĀHĀNI*, e.g., when one declares that the mountain has fire, because it is an object of cognition, if we point out that the probans is inconclusive, he turns round,

1. *Pramāṇapaddhati*, Chap. II, Sec. 22, p. 250.

2. *Pramāṇapaddhati*, Chap. II, Sec. 23, pp. 253-54.

and says then 'let the mountain have no fire'. This vulnerable point is included in '*samvāda*.'¹

(2) Adding adjectives to the probandum part, which was first stated without any qualifications is called *Pratijñāntaram*, e.g., 'sound is non-eternal,' when such a statement is made the critic points out that *dhvanyātmaka* sound is accepted to be non-eternal. Hence, the defect of proving the already established (*siddhasādhana*). At this juncture the man who made the first statement adds the word *varṇātmaka* to the subject. Such a process of qualifying the subject avoids the defect.

Here we must ask the question : Is the previous debate continued, or is it a fresh debate? It cannot be the continuation of a previous debate. Once we prove a point, or point out the defect in the opponent's argument the debate comes to a close. It is useless to add words or adjectives after the end of the debate. Thus *Pratijñāntaram* proves to be not a vulnerable point at all.²

(3) The contradiction that arises between the words or sentences uttered by an individual is called *PRATIJÑĀVIRODHA*, e.g., My mother is barren.³

(4) Denial of one's own words is *PRATIJÑĀSAMNYĀSA* e.g., a certain individual says, 'Fire is not hot.' If the critic points out that it is opposed to perception, then he turns round and says, 'I did not say so.' This gets included in *pramāṇavirodha*.⁴

(5) Modifying the probans part which was first stated without any qualifications is *HETVANTARAM*, e.g., a certain individual declares, 'Sound is non-eternal, because it is cognised by the senses.' When such an inference is stated the critic points out that it is inconclusive, and the individual then qualifies his probans by adding the words, 'while possessing a genus.' This defect is dismissed as not a vulnerable point as '*Pratijñāntara*'.⁵

(6) Stating a fact not useful for the present but having a syntactical relation is called '*ARTHĀNTARA*' e.g., 'sound is non-eternal, because it is an object of cognition'. After stating this he adds '*Hin* root + *tun* suffix = *Hetu*'. This gets included in '*Asaṅgati*'.⁶

(7) The use of a meaningless word is called *NIRARTHAKAM* e.g., sound is non-eternal, because it is ka, ca, ṭa, ta, pa, etc. This gets included in *Anukṭi*.⁷

(8) The use of such words which are significant and understood by judges, and which the opponents do not understand even when uttered thrice

1. *Pramāṇapaddhati*, Chap. II, Sec. 25, p. 265.

2. *Ibid.*, sec. 26. p. 267.

3. *Ibid.*, sec. 27. p. 270.

4. *Ibid.*, sec. 28. p. 271.

5. *Pramāṇapaddhati*, Chap. II, Sec. 29, p. 272.

6. *Ibid.*, Sec. 30, p. 274.

7. *Ibid.*, Sec. 31, p. 275.

is the defect 'AVIJÑĀTĀRTHAM' e.g., this which is the cause of bearing up the daughter of Kaśyapa is conjoined with that which has the same name as the vehicle of the son of the three eyed; because it possesses its flag. The above inference, when stated in ordinary intelligible terms comes to this. 'The mountain has fire, because it has smoke. This gets included under *Anukti*'.¹

(9) The use of such words which have a meaning but no syntactical relation is called 'APARĀRTHAKAM' e.g., the hearth where sacrificial fire is kept, the skin of a sheep, ten pomegranates, and six cakes. This comes under '*Anukti*'.²

(10) The reversal in the order of the statement of the members of a syllogism is called 'APRĀPTAKĀLAM' e.g., because it is made, sound is non-eternal. This is no vulnerable point at all. There are valid usages to that effect in *Śāstras* e.g., 'Because it generates fruitful activity, *Pramāṇa* is not inconstant to the object.'³

(11) Omission of such words that are necessary to be uttered is called '*nyūnam*' e.g., the mountain has fire, like the kitchen.⁴

(12) The use of 'such' words which have syntactical relation but are not repetitive, but whose function has been achieved by other words is called 'ADHIKAM' e.g., the mountain has fire, because it has smoke, it has luminosity.⁵

(13) Repeating without any purpose one's own words whose meaning has been understood is called PUNARUKTI, e.g., the mountain has fire, the mountain has fire. This gets included in *Adhika*.⁶

(14) A certain statement is made by one of the disputants which is understood by the judges and it is restated by the disputants and the judges and it is capable of being articulated. After all this, if the other disputant hiding his ignorance continues to answer without closing the debate, the defect is called 'ANANUBHĀṢANAM.' It is of five kinds : (i) arguments such as the following : 'What the disputant said is this,' (ii) restating a part of the defect pointed out by the opponent, (iii) abusing the opponent, (iv) mistaking the case, (v) silence. The first three kinds get included under *Nyūna*, and the fourth and the fifth under *Anukti*.⁷

(15) The ignorance of the meaning of words uttered thrice by the disputants, and understood by the judges is called AJÑĀNAM. It is included in *Anukti*.⁸

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1. *Pramāṇapaddhati*, Chap. II, Sec. 32, p. 277.
 2. *Pramāṇapaddhati*, Chap. II, Sec. 33, p. 279.
 3. *Ibid.*, Sec. 34, p. 279.
 4. *Ibid.*, Sec. 35, pp. 282-83.
 5. *Ibid.*, Sec. 36, p. 283.
 6. *Ibid.*, Sec. 37, p. 284.
 7. *Pramāṇapaddhati*, Chap. II, Sec. 38, p. 284.
 8. *Ibid.*, Sec. 39, p. 286.

(16) The ignorance of the reply to the question put by the disputant is called 'APRATIBHĀ'. This is included in *Asaṅgati*.¹

(17) Cutting away from a debate by giving some excuse is called 'VİK-ṢEPA', e.g., it gets included in *Anukti*.²

(18) Deducing the acceptable is called 'MATĀNUJÑĀ'. This comes under *Anukti*.³

(19) Failure to point out the vulnerable point when it should be pointed out is called PARYANUYOJYOPEKṢAṆAM. This comes under *Anukti*.⁴

(20) When a particular vulnerable point has not arisen, asserting its presence, it is called 'NIRANUYOJYĀNUYOGAḤ'. It is of four kinds : (i) pervasion (*Chala*), (ii) quibbling (*ĵāti*), (iii) *Hānyadyābhāsa*, (iv) *aprāptakāla-grahaṇam*.

(21) Defeating the proponent's point in a debate by interpreting the words used by him in a sense other than the one intended by him is called *chala* e.g., a certain individual asked the cow (*gām*) to be brought. The servant said it was impossible to bring it, taking the word to mean earth. This was not the intended meaning, so it is a case of *Asaṅgati* under which it gets included.

SECTION IV

Jāti

(False Reasoning or Futile Argument)

Such of those objections of an opponent that have not the necessary efficacy to refute the proponent's argument, though they are agreed upon by both the disputants, are called 'Futile objections' (*Jāti*) ; their general characteristic is self-contradiction. The Nyāya school enumerates 24 types of *Jāti*. All these are generally directed to score a victory over the proponent in case he is not alert enough to see through the futility and falsity in the objection.

1. Refuting the proponent's argument with an inference which has no pervasion is *sādharmya-sama* (i.e. where the argument rests on the strength of similarity), e.g., Proponent : 'This mountain has fire because it has smoke, like the kitchen.' Opponent : 'Let the mountain have no fire, because of its similarity to lake, 'in respect of possessing substantiveness.'⁵

2. *Vaidharmya-sama* : Where the argument proceeds on the ground of some dissimilarity : e.g., 'If the mountain has fire because of its being dissimilar to the lake in respect of possessing smoke then let the mountain

1. *Pramāṇapaddhati*, Chap. II, Sec. 40, 286.

2. *Ibid.*, Sec. 41, p. 287.

3. *Ibid.*, Sec. 42, p. 288.

4. *Ibid.*, Sec. 43, p. 289.

5. *Pramāṇapaddhati*, Chap. II, Sec. 45, to 68.

have no fire, because of its being dissimilar to the kitchen in respect of possessing the attribute 'being a mountain'.

Here we shall have first to point out that there is no pervasion in the opponent's argument. If the opponent declares that only some similarity and dissimilarity are useful for an inference, and not pervasion, then we shall have to point out that his argument also can be refuted by a counter argument based on some similarity or dissimilarity without the need of any pervasion. The principle enunciated by the opponent that some similarity or dissimilarity is enough for inference refutes his own inference; hence Madhva classes it under 'Contradiction of one's principles (*svanyāyavirodha*)'.

3. Deducing some unaccountable qualities in the probandum on the strength of their presence in the example, using the same probans used by the proponent is called *Utkarṣasama*, e.g., 'If the mountain has fire as the kitchen which has smoke then let the mountain have cooking vessels also as the kitchen.' Here we must point out to the opponent that his inference has no pervasion. If the opponent declares that what is necessary for an hypothetical inference is the fact of 'being together and not pervasion, the Siddhāntin's reply is that the opponent's argument gets refuted by a similar argument which merely takes into account 'being together' and not pervasion. This futile objection can come under (*svanyāyavirodha*) 'Contradiction of one's own principles'. The principle of 'being together' as the cause of inference enunciated by the opponent cuts his own inference.

4. According to some, deducing the non-existence of some admitted attributes in the subject is *Apakarṣasama*. e.g., If sound is non-eternal because it is produced, like the pot, then let sound be not an object for hearing, because it is produced like the pot. Here we must ascertain the purpose of the opponent's argument: if it be to establish his point, i.e., the eternal nature of sound; then there is the defect of establishing a thing not desired. The fact that sound does become an object for the sense of hearing is accepted by the opponent. Hence the defect of *Arthāntara* (establishing something other than what is desired). If it be an argument to refute the proponent, then it is not different from *Utkarṣasama*. The difference that *Utkarṣasama* deduces a positive attribute, and *Apakarṣasama* deduces the non-existence of an admitted attribute does not count much. According to Udayana, *Apakarṣa-sama* consists in 'deducing the non-existence of the probans or the probandum on the ground of the absence of certain things found together with it.' e.g., the mountain has no fire, or it has no smoke, because of the non-existence of the cooking vessels which were found together with smoke and fire in the kitchen. Here we reply, if it be an argument to establish the non-existence of the probandum, then it is a case of counter probans (*satpratipakṣa*). If it be an argument to disprove the non-existence of the probans, then it is not established. If it be an argument to deduce the non-existence of the probandum, it is not difference from *sādharmyasama* and

prakaraṇasama. And lastly the opponent's objection has no pervasion. If the pervasion be not accepted by him then it is a case of 'contradiction of one's own principles.'

5. *Varṇyasama* according to some 'is objecting the example as not having been proved, on the strength of the non-proved nature of the subject (*pakṣa*).' It is not so. If the objection directed against the example be the result of a doubt then the objection is valid. If it be raised for mere fun, then it is a case of undue extension. If the proponent further urges that the example is unproved on the ground of the presence of the same probans in the subject and example, then this *Jāti* is not different from *Utkarṣa-sama* and *Sādhyasama*.

Udayana defines *Varṇyasama* as follows : 'Deducing the non-established nature of the example on the strength of the existence or non-existence of the probans characterised as non-established etc., considered in relation to the subject alone'. The case is argued as follows : Is the probans present in the example the same as the one that is in the subject? Then the probandum in the example also has to be proved as in the subject. If the probans present in the example be other than the one in the subject it has to be proved afresh.

The Siddhāntins are of opinion that the mere presence of the probans in the example is enough to vouchsafe its validity. There is no necessity for the probans in the subject to be present *in the same form* in the example also. If the opponent insists on the presence of the identity of the form of the probans also, then it has to be included as a case of contradiction of one's own principles (*svanyāyavirodha*).

The inference of the opponent too can be refuted on the same ground namely 'that the probans present in the example is not in the same form as it is found in the subject.'

6. Deducing the established nature of the probandum in respect of the subject on the strength of the established nature of the probandum in the example is according to some *Avārṇyasama*. If the deduction be made in the belief that the probandum has been established in respect of the subject, it is a valid inference. If it be otherwise, it has no cause. If the deduction be based merely on the strength of co-existence, it is *Utkarṣasama* itself.

Udayana defines it as follows : Deducing the established nature of the probandum in the subject on the strength of the presence or absence of a probans for which, in the example alone there are such forms as being established, etc., e.g., if the same probans (smoke which is present in the kitchen) as related to an established predicate is present in the mountain, the probandum as in the example is established in the subject. If it be not so the probandum ceases to be a probandum since there is no probans to prove it. The Siddhāntins point out that in the opponent's inference we can deduce the same defect ; i.e., the probandum in respect of the subject is established

as in the example. The very principle adopted by the opponent cuts his own argument. Hence the inclusion of this *jāti* under *Svanyāyavirodha*.

7. Deducing the inconstancy of the probans and the probandum on the strength of the inconstancy among certain attributes is according to some *Vikalpasama* : e.g., the attribute 'producibility' is found in the pot as well as in the colour of the pot, but not in its colour. On the same ground let certain things that are produced be eternal. If it be a mere doubt, it is an answerable question. In that case the proponent has to indicate the absence of any adjunct. Further if the opponent holds that his arguments are there to refute the proponent, then we will have to ascertain whether the inconstancy among the attributes is in the probans or in the example. If it be the probans, it has no pervasion. If it be in the example there is the non-statement of the probans (*Nyūna*).

Further it proves to be non-different from *Pratidīṣṭāntasama*. If the opponent does not approve that pervasion is necessary for an inference, we have to point out that his inference also can be refuted by another inference. Thus it proves to be a case of *svanyāyavirodha*.

8. Deducing the non-established nature of the probandum in the example as in the proposition is called the *sādhyasama*. If the argument be stated in order to find out the disputed nature of the probandum, then it is valid. If it be a mere objection, it has no cause or justification.

Udayana defines *Sādhyasama* as follows :

'Deducing the incapacity of the probans in proving the probandum on the strength of its incapacity to prove the subject as qualified by many attributes.' We have to tell the opponent that pervasion and *Pakṣadharmatā* (presence in the appropriate place), in the Madhva sense of the term are necessary for an inference. If the opponent holds that they are not necessary, we have to point out that his argument can also be refuted by another inference which has no pervasion and no *pakṣadharmatā*. Thus the very principle enunciated by the opponent cuts his own argument ; so it is included in *Svanyāyavirodha*.

9. Deducing the ineffective nature of the probans when refuting its relation with the probandum is called *Prāptisama*. Deducing the same by refuting the non-relation of the probans with the probandum is (10) *Aprāptisama*. e.g., if the cognition of the smoke gives rise to the cognition of fire after getting related to it, then it follows that the cognition of smoke must have existed, because it is possible only for existence to get related. Hence there is no origination, because the fire cognition is already there. If the proponent holds that the cognition of smoke gets related with fire and then gives rise to the cognition of fire, no other type of relation exists between the cognition of smoke and fire excepting the relation of cognition and the object of cognition. The smoke cognition has for its content fire also. Thus there is cognition of fire already established. If it be contended that the probans gives rise to the cognition of probandum without getting related to

it, we should reply that there is no instance like that. Fire does not burn a stick without getting related to it, nor does a lamp illuminate an object without getting related to it.

The Siddhāntins' reply is 'That the probans gives rise to the cognition of the probandum by being related to its potency. The relation is not one of *Svarūpasambandha* (*sui generis*). Thus there is no undue extension. As for manifestation, the object of the cognition of smoke is not mere smoke, but smoke as related in the pervasion. If the opponent does not agree to it, it proves to be a case of *Svanyāyavirodha*. In the inference used by the opponent we have to ascertain whether the probans gives rise to the cognition of the probandum getting related or not. He can be accused of the same defects alleged by him.

11. Deducing the fallacy of infinite regress is called *Prasaṅgasama*. e.g., when the familiar inference of fire from smoke is stated the opponent questions thus : 'What is it that originated the mountain? What originated that which originated the mountain?' Thus it leads to infinite regress. Here we must answer, since an established thing has a definite ground, there is no cutting at the roots. If the opponent does not agree to this, we will have to point out that his inference also can be refuted by the same fallacy. Thus it is a case of *Svanyāyavirodha*.

12. Some are of opinion that refuting with a counter example is called *Pratidṛṣṭāntasama*. It is not so, because *Sādharmyasama* also has the same function, e.g., If sound be non-eternal, because it can be like the pot ; then let it be also eternal, because it can be like generality (*Sāmānya*). Here we will have to point out that the probans is inconstant.

Udayana defines '*Pratidṛṣṭāntasama*' as follows : 'Deducing one of the two, namely *Satpratīpakṣa* or *Bādha* on the strength of a counter example alone without a probans'. e.g., If the mountain has fire because of the example 'the kitchen', then let the mountain have no fire because of the example of the lake.

It is a case of the omission of the necessary limb (*Nyūna*). The probans is not stated here. If it be contended that the probans is not necessary, then we will have to include it as a case of *Svanyāyavirodha*. The opponent's inference also can be refuted by another inference which has no pervasion.

13. Deducing the non-established nature of the probans by pointing out its absence in the subject prior to its origin. e.g., before the origin of the mountain as there was no smoke in it, it proves to be a case of partial non-establishment. Here we must point out that the absence of the probans from the mountain prior to its origin is no defect at all, because the mountain is not the subject before its origin. If the opponent does not agree to this, the same objection can be levelled against his inference. So it proves to be a case of contradiction of his own principles.

14. Deducing doubt merely on the ground of some common attribute in the presence of the determining factor is called *Samśayasama*, e.g., if the mountain has fire, because it has smoke, like the kitchen, then a doubt arises, because of the common attribute that is present in the kitchen and lake namely 'Substanceness'. Here we must answer that a doubt results only in the absence of a determining factor aided by common attribute. In the present case there is the determining factor, so it is not doubt at all. If the opponent says that the presence of the determining factor is no obstruction to doubt, then we shall have to urge that doubt can be deduced in his argument also on the same ground formulated by him. Thus this *jāti* gets included in contradiction of one's own principles (*svanyāya-virodha*).

15. Refuting with a 'counter inference' is *Prakaraṇasama* e.g., if sound is non-eternal, because it is produced, then let sound be eternal, because it is the object of the sense of hearing. If the counter inference be stated in the belief that it has all the necessary limbs of an inference, then it is a valid answer. If it be otherwise, it is not different from '*Sādhyaśama*'.

Udayana defines *Prakaraṇasama* as follows : 'Confronting the opponent with an argument which is accepted to be not stronger than that of the proponent.' It is not different from *Sādharmyasama*. There is no need for treating it as a separate *jāti*. If this be not accepted, it has to be treated as a case of *Svanyāyavirodha*.

16. Deducing the ineffective nature of the probans by refuting the possibility of its origin before the probandum or after it or simultaneously with it is called '*Ahetusama*'. The probans in its origin is not prior to the probandum, because it cannot be probans in the absence of the probandum. The probans could not have originated after the probandum, because without a probans we cannot have probandum. The probans and the probandum could not have simultaneously come into existence, then we should be unable to distinguish which is the probandum and which is the probans. Here we must answer that the probans originated prior to the probandum and that the probans gives rise to the cognition of the probandum by its own potency and does not depend on any other external factor. As for manifestation the probans gives rise to the cognition of the probandum in all the three modes above mentioned. The difference that marks off the probans from the probandum is that the one is known and the other unknown. If the opponent does not agree to this, we can deduce the same defects in his inference. Hence it is included under contradiction of one's own principles. (*Svanyāyavirodha*).

17. Deducing the fallacy of presumption is called '*Arthāpattisama*' e.g., If the mountain is said to have fire, we will have to presume from this that other objects have no fire. Here we will have to point to the defect ; i.e., 'lack of the probandum' in the example. Further when something is unintelligible the assumption of what will make it intelligible is called pre-

sumption. There is nothing unintelligible in the above example, so there is no need for the deduction of presumption. If the opponent holds that the mere contrary of what has been stated is itself presumption, the same defect can be alleged against the opponent's argument, namely, the deduction of presumption. So it proves to be a case of contradiction of one's own principles.

18. To construct an argument with a probans which is an attribute other than that adduced by the proponent, and to deduce therefrom non-distinctness from all things possessing that attribute is called '*Aviśeṣasama*,' e.g., if the mountain has the particular attribute fire on account of this similarity to the kitchen in respect of possessing smoke, then let all existent things be eternal because of their similarity in respect of existence. If the opponent does not agree to this, then we can deduce the same defect in his inference; so his own principle cuts at the root of his inference. Hence it is included under the 'contradiction of one's own principles' (*svanyāya-virodha*).

19. Confronting the proponent with the intelligibility of reasoning afforded by two opposed probans is called '*Upapattisama*' e.g., If the non-eternality of sound is proved by the probans 'Producedness' then the eternity of sound too can be proved on the strength of the probans non-touchability. This *jāti* is not different from '*Sādharmyasama jāti*'.

Udayana defines *upapattisama* as follows: 'Confronting the proponent with a mere general statement to the effect that he has also a probans to prove his point.' If the probans stated by the opponent be valid, then it is a valid answer. If it be not a valid probans, the defect has to be pointed out. So it is no *jāti* at all.

20. Deducing the ineffective nature of the probans on the ground of the perception of the probandum in places where the specified probans is not found is called '*upalabdhisama*' e.g., the probans smoke is ineffective, because we find fire in some places where there is no smoke e.g., the red hot iron ball. As there is no supporting ground this is no *jāti* at all. It is a case of *Hānyādhyaḥbhāsa*.

Udayana defines '*Upalabdhisama*' as follows: 'Superimposing some restrictive sense as the purport of the proponent's statement on the basis of his statement, and then resolving the restriction into alternatives and refuting them' e.g., when the proponent says that the mountain has fire, the opponent asks 'has the mountain alone fire, or has the entire mountain fire. It cannot be the first because in the kitchen also there is fire. It cannot be the second because there are some places in the mountain where there is no fire.'

Here we must say that superimposing some restrictive sense other than the one intended by the proponent is a case of perversion (*chala*).

21. Deducing contradiction in such attributes of the subject as cognition by supposing their existence or non-existence in themselves as loci is called '*Anupalabdhisama*', e.g., if we say that cognition is found in cognition because cognition also is cognised like the pot, then cognition becomes non-cognition. If we say that cognition is not found in cognition, then also it becomes non-cognition. Here we must reply that the cognitive nature of cognition which is dependent on the object does not lose its cognitive nature whether it exists in itself or not. If the opponent does not agree to this, we can urge the same defect against the cognition in the opponent's argument. So this is a case of '*Svanyāyavirodha*'.

22. Deducing the destruction of the subject being qualified by a particular attribute analysed into two forms namely the 'that' and the 'not that' is called *Nityasama*, e.g., when we say sound is non-eternal, the opponent asks us whether non-eternality is eternal or non-eternal. If it be the first the subject becomes eternal, and if it be the second, by the very destruction of non-eternality, sound which is qualified by it becomes eternal. If the purpose of such an argument be to deduce the unintelligibility of the proponent's argument, it is a valid answer. If the intention be to refute the existence of the subject as so qualified he must state his own proof at the beginning. If the opponent does not agree to this, we have to point out that in his argument also we can find the same defect. So it gets included in the 'Contradiction of one's own principles'.

Deducing the attributes of probandum in all other objects possessing an attribute other than the proponent's probandum is called *Anityasama* e.g., If sound is not eternal, because it is produced, then let every object be non-eternal, because it is existent. This *jāti* is not different from *Aviśeṣasama*. The Siddhāntins are of opinion that it should not be treated as an independent *jāti*.

23. Confronting the opponent by deducing the doubtful nature of the probans is according to some '*kāryasama*' e.g., sound is non-eternal, because it emanates after some effect. The opponent asks: Is the emanation of sound after some effort a case of manifestation or origination? This is a valid answer if it be adduced with a view to prove that the probans is otherwise accounted for.

Udayana defines '*Kāryasama*' as follows: 'refuting the proponent's argument by pointing out the non-established nature of one of the three (1) subject, (2) probandum, (3) refuting what is imagined by one's self to be the probans, e.g., when the proponent says that sound is non-eternal, because it is produced, the opponent replies that producibility of the probans is not established. The opponent then suggests a probans namely 'emanation with some effort' and he subsequently refutes it by pointing out that it is otherwise accounted for. This is a case of perversion (*chala*).

SECTION V.

Hetvābhāsa (fallacies of the probans).

The twenty-second vulnerable point in the Nyāya list is *Hetvābhāsa*. Jayatīrtha fully states the ancient Nyāya classification of the fallacies of the probans, and then points out their subsumption under the six defects of inference already noted.¹ There is no unanimity of opinion about the number of fallacies. Kaṇāda accepts only three. The names of *HETVĀBHĀSAS* are not the same in all Nyāya works. Gautama mentions five *Hetvābhāsas* : (1) *Savyabhicāra*, (2) *Viruddha*, (3) *Prakaraṇasama*, (4) *Sādhyaśama*, and (5) *Atitakāla*. Of these the first two are identical with those given by Anambhaṭṭa, the author of *Tarkasaṅgraha*. *Prakaraṇasama* is that which leaves the conclusion doubtful, and the probans there proves the probandum of both the proponent and the opponent. This is not different from the defect 'counter probans' (*Satpratipakṣa*). *Sādhyaśama* *hetu* is that probans which is as doubtful as the probandum and is the same as (*Asiddhi*). *Kālātīta* is not different from the sublated (*Bādhita*). Some of the ancient Nyāya writers have added *Anadhyavasita*, as a fallacy. Śaṅkara Miśra has identified it with *Anupasaṃhārin*; therefore it comes under *Anaikāntika*.

Jayatīrtha enumerates seven types of fallacies according to Nyāya : (1) the non-established (*asiddha*), (2) the contrary (*viruddha*), (3) the non-conclusive (*anaikānta*), (4) the non-determinate (*anadhyavasita*), (5) the adduced out of time or sublated (*kālātyayāpadiṣṭa*), (6) the counter probans (*satpratipakṣa*) and (7) the similar to the context (*Prakaraṇasama*).

Of these seven we have already pointed out that '*anadhyavasita*' is a case of *anupasaṃhārin*. *Prakaraṇasama* is not different from *satpratipakṣa*. *Kālātyayāpadiṣṭa* is another name for '*Bādhita*.' Thus we find Jayatīrtha's enumeration is not essentially different from the five fallacies of Annambhaṭṭa.

A valid probans has five characteristics : (1) it is present in the subject and (2) the example ; (3) it is non-existent in the counter example ; (4) it has a non-sublated probandum and (5) it has no counter probans refuting it. In the positively and the negatively concomitant probans all the five characteristics are necessary to ensure validity. In the probans whose concomitance is merely positive or merely negative, four of the above mentioned characteristics are enough to ensure validity. The merely positive probans has no negative instance, and the merely negative probans has no positive instance. The absence of a few of the above mentioned characteristics forms cases of the defects of the probans.

I. The cognition of the non-existence of the probans in the subject constitutes *asiddhi*. It is of four kinds : (a) non-establishment of pervasion

1. *Pramāṇapaddhati*; p. 351, Janārdhana's commentary.

(*vyāpyatvāsiddhi*) (b) non-establishment of the locus (*āśrayāsiddhi*) (3) non-establishment of being in the subject (*svarūpāsiddhi*) and (d) non-establishment of the valid cognition of this probans (*etatpramāṇyasiddhi*).

Ia. '*Vyāpyatvāsiddhi*' is of two kinds : (1) having no relation to the probandum, e.g., everything is momentary, because it is an existent. As the probans in the above inference has no positive or negative pervasion it gets subsumed under the defect *Avyāpti* i.e. non-pervasion. (2) Having a relation conditioned by an adjunct (*upādhi*). The adjunct pervades the probandum, and does not pervade the probans : e.g., In the following inference, cruelty in Vedic sacrifices is sinful, because it is cruelty, like the cruelty to a Brahmin. Here the adjunct is 'scriptural condemnation'. The adjunct pervades the probandum i.e., sinfulness. 'Wherever there is sinfulness there is scriptural condemnation'. It does not pervade the probans i.e., cruelty. In the subject 'Vedic sacrifices' there is the non-existence of the adjunct. The adjunct is the pervader and the probandum is the pervaded. From the non-existence of the adjunct in the subject we can deduce the non-existence of the probandum on the ground that the absence of the pervader leads to the absence of the pervaded. The non-existence of the adjunct is the probans that proves the non-existence of the probandum. The counter inference takes the following form : Sacrificial cruelty is not sinful, because it is not condemned by scriptures, like eating. Those cases where we cognise the adjunct before the debate get included under the defect non-pervasion (*Avyāpti*). Those inferences where we cognise the adjunct after the debate get included under the defect (*Samabala-pramāṇavirodha*), because the counter inference is as valid as the proponent's inference.

Ib. The non-establishing of locus (*Āśrayāsiddhi*) is of two kinds : (1) the non-existent locus e.g., the horns of a hare are sharp, because they are horns, like the horns of a cow. The example for *āśrayāsiddhi* stated here is intermixed with defects like 'contradiction by valid knowledge', so it is no defect of probans at all. As soon as we state the proposition 'the horns of a hare are sharp' we cognise the defect that it is opposed to *pramāṇa*. From this defect namely contradiction by *pramāṇa* the defect of the probans is derived. So the independent defect to be pointed out here is a contradiction by valid knowledge. Hence it is no defect of the probans. (2) proving the established, e.g., stating before the thiest the following inference which proves the existence of God according to the Nyāya school : 'The world and other objects have an agent, because they are produced. This gets included in *Asaṅgati*, because it sets out to prove that for which there is no expectancy.'

Ic. The non-establishment of being in the subject is of many kinds e.g., sound is non-eternal because it is an object of the sense of sight. This is a case of non-establishment through a different locus (*Vyadhikarāṇāsiddhi*). It is not a defect according to the Siddhāntin. Non-establishment through a futile substrate is subsumed under '*Adhika*'.

Id. Non-establishment of the valid cognition of this probans (*etalpramītyasiddhi*)¹ e.g., mistaking steam as smoke. This gets included in *Avyāpti* (non-pervasion).

II. The existence of the probans in the subject and in the negative instance is the defect *Viruddha*, e.g., sound is eternal, because it is produced. This is subsumed under the defect non-pervasion (*Avyāpti*), because it is related to the non-existence of the probandum.

III. The probans existing in the subject, in the positive instance and in the negative instance is called non-conclusive (*anaikāntika*) e.g. sound is eternal, because it is an object of knowledge. This also gets included in non-pervasion, because it is related to the probandum and its non-existence.

IV. The probans which is found in the subject alone and is not efficient to prove the probandum constitutes the defect non-determinate (*anadhyavāsita*). They are of three kinds : (1) that which has no negative or positive instances, e.g., all things are non-eternal because they are existents, (2) that which has both the instances e.g., the earth is eternal, because it has smell, and (3) that which is present only in the subject e.g. sound is nameable, because it has soundness (*śabdatva*). This defect gets subsumed under (*Avyāpti*).

V. The presence of a probans in the subject along with the probandum which is sublated by another *pramāṇa* is called *Kālātyayāpadiṣṭa* : e.g., fire is not hot, because it is a substance. The probandum gets sublated by our perception of heat in fire. This gets included in *prabalapramāṇavirodha*.

VI. The probans which proves the probandum of both the opponent and the proponent is called *prakaranasama*, e.g., the world which is under dispute is *mithyā*, because it is seen. Some are of opinion that there is no such probans. This is subsumed under the defect *samabalapramāṇavirodha*.

Unlike the treatment in early Nyāya works the fallacies of the subject and the example are treated by the Siddhāntins separately. The fallacies of subject are cognised by the mere statement of the proposition. The fallacies of subject are included under *Svakriyāvirodha* or *Svanyāyavirodha*, e.g., my mother is barren ; the object of knowledge does not depend upon the means of knowledge. As the fallacies of the example are cognised after the cognition of the probans, they are treated as separated fallacies. Madhva recognises two fallacies of the example : (1) lack of probandum (*sādhyaivaikalya*) : e.g., *Manas* is non-eternal because it is corporeal, like the prime atom. The 'Atom' i.e., the example has no 'non-eternality' (2) lack of probans (*sādhanaivaikalya*) e.g., *Manas* is non-eternal because it is corporeal, like activity. In 'activity' i.e., example there is the non-existence of the probans, i.e., corporeality. The defect 'lack of probandum' in an example makes the example the negative instance where the probandum should not exist. Thus it proves to be a case of the non-conclusive or contradictory. The defect 'lack of probans' gets included in *Vyāpyatvāsiddhi*.

1. This type of *Asiddhi* is not found in Nyāya classification.

JAINISM UNDER THE MUSLIM RULE

By

KAMTA PRASAD JAIN

The invasions of the Mohamedans on India began since the eighth century A.D.¹ and as ambitious foreigners, they had little chance at the outset to get settled in the country. Rather they came with the desire of plunder and murder. They did so and returned full with camel-loads of wealth. Their inhuman atrocities filled the hearts of Hindus with fearful hostility. But with the times, the mutual feelings changed. Muslim invaders settled in India and decided to rule as Indian kings. We find Babar instructing his son Humayun in the following remarkable words :—²

“O Son, the kingdom of India is full of different religions It is incumbent on thee to wipe all religious prejudices off the tablet of thy heart ; administer justice according to the ways of every religion.”

The wise teaching of Babar prevailed and this paved the way for forming friendship with Hindu rulers, which was cemented by marriage contracts later on. Hindus heaved a sigh of relief and along with them Jainas also found an opportunity to observe and give full play to their predominating religious feelings, though after great suffering and sacrifice. In this respect the remarks of Prof. Helmuth von GLASSENAPP are justified³ and it is true that mutual relations between the Jainas and Mohamedans were friendly also.

Mohamedans first attacked Sind and they found it full of people called *Samans*.⁴ The ruler of Sind at the time was also a follower of *Samanis*, who observed the vow of Ahimsā minutely and had great confidence in their astrological predictions.⁵ No doubt the term *saman* or *śramaṇa* equally stands for Jaina and Buddhist ascetics.⁶ But independent evidence proves the existence of the Jainas in Sind up to 15th century A.D.⁷ Jainas are also more

1. *Oxford Students History of India*, p. 97.

2. *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XVIII, p. 116.

3. *Der Jainismus*, p. 65.

4. ELLIOT, *History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 147-158.

5. ELLIOT, *ibid.*, pp. 158-161.

6. That “the Jainas used the term (भ्रमण) prior to the Buddhists is also conclusively proved by the fact that the latter (Buddhists) styled themselves ‘Sākyaputtiya-Śramaṇas’ as distinguished from the already existing Niggantha Śramaṇas.”—*Buddhist India* p. 143. Hence the term Śramaṇa is rightly applicable to the Jainas. Al-Badaoni has mentioned also the Jain ascetics by the term ‘Śramaṇa’ when he wrote that they along with Brāhmaṇas had great access to Akbar the great. (LOWE, *Al-Badaoni II*, p. 264.)

7. JINAVIJAYA, *Vijñapti-Trivenī* (Bhāvanagar), Introduction.

famous for their vow of Ahimsā and knowledge of astronomy. The remarks of the Mohamedan writers about the people of Sind that "the infidels do not slaughter animals, nor do they eat flesh, fish or eggs",¹ are rightly applicable to the Jainas.² Hence it is most probable that the people whom earlier Mohamedan invaders first encountered were Jainas and they treated each other with a compromising spirit.

It was the nudity of the Jaina saints, whom Suleman found in a good number in India,³ which specially attracted the attention of these Mohamedan invaders. It is said about Sultan Mohammad Ghori that he at least entertained one of them, since his wife desired to see the chief of Digambaras.⁴

During the latter period of Khilji, Tugalaq and Lodi kings, Jainas seem to have been so much predominant as to be successful in attracting the attention of a king like Allauddin Muhammadshah Khilji. He was by nature cruel and implacable and his only care was the welfare of his kingdom. He had no consideration even for Islam and disregarded the provisions of the Muslim Law.⁵ Yet he was a just king and ruled with a good heart but a severe hand. Consequently his subjects were more loyal than ever. During his reign grain, clothes and other necessities of life were cheap, the dealings of bazaar people were honest and the roads were safe in all directions. Even without the patronage of the Sultan many learned and great men flourished.⁶ It is said that the two Brāhmaṇas by name Rāgho and Chetan had great influence on Allauddin and instigated him in religious matters.⁷ They beguiled him against the naked Jaina saints also. The Sultan summoned one of them. There was no learned Digambarācārya at the time in northern India. So the Jainas ran to South India and succeeded in inducing Ācārya Mahāseṇa to come over to Delhi to defend the Jaina Faith. Mahāseṇa appeared before Allauddin and held religious discussions with his adversaries. The Sultan bent his head before his profound learning and asceticism.⁸ A Digambara Jaina by name Pūraṇacandra of Delhi was a friend of the Sultan⁹ and it is perhaps through him that Allauddin came into touch with a Digambarācārya. Śvetāmbara Jainācārya Rāmacandrasūrī was also honoured by the Sultan.¹⁰ In 1297-1298 A.D. Allauddin conquered the whole of Gujerat

1. ELLIOT, *loc. cit.*, p. 97.

2. Taking of meat and fish had never been prohibited among the Brahmans and Buddhists. See my Hindi book 'भगवान महावीरकी आहिंसा' (Delhi).

3. ELLIOT, *loc. cit.*, p. 6.

4. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXI, p. 361.—"The wife of Muhammad Ghori desired to see the chief of the Digambaras".

5. ELLIOT, *loc. cit.*, pt. III, p. 205 (Tārīkh-i-Fīrozshāhī).

6. *Ibid*, p. 206.

7-8. *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara*, Vol. I, pt. IV, p. 109.

9. *Jaina Hitaiṣi* (Bombay), Vol. XV, p. 132.

10. *Der Jainismus* (Berlin), p. 66.

and it seems probable that he was the Mohamedan king who met Śrutavīra Swāmī, the Digambara saint of Alakeśvarapura and Bharavaccha.¹

During the Tughalaq reign, the Jainas enjoyed much freedom, since more than one king of that line are reported to have entertained the Jaina Gurus. Sūra and Vira, the two Jaina chiefs of the Prāgvāṭa clan, were the ministers of Ghyasuddin Tughalaq.² Besides, it is evident from the Padmavati Basti stone inscription of Humsa in Mysore State that Sultan Mahmud or Mohammada entertained the Karnāṭaka Jaina Guru named Simhakīrti.³ Prof. B. A. SALETORE has identified this king with Mohammada Tughalaq. He writes that "The only ruler who satisfies all these conditions was Muhammad Tughalaq, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1325 and reigned till A.D. 1351. Dr. Ishwari PRASAD, correcting the erroneous nature of the statements made by modern writers on Indian history concerning that ruler, has amply shown that Sultan Muhammad Tughalaq was the most learned and accomplished of Muslim kings who sat on the throne of Delhi since the Muslim conquests; that he was well versed both in Islamic and Aristotelian philosophy; that he loved to argue with philosophers; that theologians and rhetoricians were afraid to dispute with him because of his extraordinary gifts of intellect; that he showed great regard for the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus; and that till A.D. 1337, when Fakhruddin usurped the governorship of Lakhnauti and made himself an independent prince, Bengal continued to be under the protection of Sultan Muhammad Tuglaq. There is nothing strange in Simhakīrti having won renown in the court of Sultan Muhammad Tuglaq. He may have been only one of the many philosophers invited by that accomplished Sultan to Delhi".⁴

The next Tughalaq king who followed in the footsteps of his predecessor was Sultan Fīrozshāh Tughalaq. He, too, was famous for his learning and philanthropy. He assigned 36 lacs of *ṭankas* for learned and religious men and about a 100 lacs in pensions and gifts to the poor and needy.⁵ This liberal-minded Sultan, also, invited Digambara Jaina saints and entertained them at his court and palace. It was for the sake of the queen of Fīrozshāh that the Jainācārya put on a piece of cloth to hide his nakedness and appeared before her clothed. Although he took *prāyaścitta* for this, his

1. 'अलकेश्वरपुराद्वारवच्छनगरे राजाधिराजपरमेश्वर यवन-राय-शिरोमणि महम्मदपातशाह सुरत्राणसमस्या पूर्णादखिलदृष्टिनिपातेनाष्टादशवर्षप्रायप्राप्तदेवलोकः श्री श्रुतवीरस्वामिनाम् ।'—जन-सिद्धान्तभास्कर, भा. १, किरण २-३, पृ. ३५

Allauddin was known also as Muhammad Shah.

2. Somacaritrageṇi, *Gurugaṇaratnākara*, quoted by Dr. B. A. SALETORE in the *Karnāṭaka Historical Review*, Vol. IV, p. 86. f.n.

3. ".....Śrīmad Dillī-pure muda Suritrānasya mārḍkrteḥ nirjityāśu sabhāvanam Jinagurur Baudhādī-vādī-vrajam Śrī-Bhaṭṭāraka Simha-Kīrti-muni rā dyaiaak-vidā-guruh)".

4. SALETORE, *loc. cit.*, p. 85.

5. ELLIOT, *loc. cit.*, pt. III, p. 317.

undue liberty, the example set by him was soon adopted by his followers and the sect of Bhaṭṭārakas, with their clothed Yatis came into existence.¹ The Jaina poet Ratnaśekhara was honoured also by Sultan Firozshāh.² Further it is reported about this Sultan that he invited many Brāhmaṇas and Seoras to read the inscription on the pillar of Aśoka, which he got removed to Delhi from the village Khizrabad.³ The Jainas in the Punjab side are called Seoras even to this day. So the Seoras invited by the Sultan were no other than the Jainas. These facts are enough to point the great influence which Jainas wielded during the Tughlaq regime.

During the period between A.D. 1526-1761, the kings of the famous Sura and Mughal dynasties ruled over India and the Jainas were fortunate to enjoy the patronage of some of them.

Among the Sura kings, Sikandara Sultan, who was on the throne of Delhi in A.D. 1554, honoured the Jaina Guru Viśalakīrti of Karnāṭaka.⁴ It is probably due to this patronising spirit of the Mohamedan rulers which they showed towards the Jaina Gurus that the naked Jaina saints freely moved all over India during the period, as is evident from their mention by Marco Polo,⁵ Tavernier,⁶ Bernier⁷ and Mallik Jayasi.⁸

Now turning to the Mughal period of Muslim Rule, we find Jainas enjoying much more liberty than they had ever enjoyed before. The naked sect of the Jaina ascetics was also influential to such an extent that it attracted the attention of Abul Fazal, who mentioned it in his "Ayeen-i-Akbari".⁹ The modern town of Bairat in Jaipur State was the centre of the Digambara Jainas at the time. Sāhu Ṭodar, a Digambara Jaina of Bhatāniyā Kola was the Mint Officer under the Imperial Service of Akbar.¹⁰ This Sāhu Ṭodar patronised the Jaina poet Rājamalla of Bairāt who had spoken highly in

1. *Bhaṭṭāraka-Mīmāṃsā* (Surat) p. 2.

2. *Der Jainismus*, p. 66.

3. ELLIOT, *loc. cit.*, p. 352.

4. SALETOR, *Kar. Hist. Review*, Vol. IV. pp. 78-81.

5. 'Some Yogis went stark naked, because as they said, they had come naked into the world and desired nothing that was of this world'.

—YULE'S *Marco Polo*, II p. 366.

6. 'These *fakirs* ordinarily travel in troops each of which has its chief or superior . . . they go perfectly nude . . .'

—*Travels in India*, Vol. II. Book III—pp. 196-7.

7. 'I have often met, generally in the territory of some Rājā, bands of these naked *fakirs*.'

—Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, p. 317.

8. Mallik Muhammada Jāyasi was in service of Shershāh and he wrote the famous Hindi classical poem "Padmāvata", in which he refers to naked saints. (2.60).

‘कोई ब्रह्मचारज पन्थ लागे ।

कोई सुदिगंबर आछा लागे ॥’

9. *Ayeen-i-Akbari* (Lucknow), Vol. III p. 87.

10. नानाटकसारदक्षकः—‘श्रीसाधुटोडरः सुधीः ।’

—जम्बूस्वामीचरित (बम्बई) पृ. ७-९

favour of the great emperor and informs us that Akbar abolished the 'Jazia' tax and prohibited the sale of intoxicants.¹ And if we believe the Jesuit missionary Pinheiro,² we must say that Akbar followed the sect of the Jains. No doubt he showed great kindness and patronage towards the Jainas and their Gurus. Śrī Hīravijayasūri, Vijayasena and Jinacandra of the Śvetāmbara sect enjoyed power and had much influence over him.³ The Jaina principle of *Ahimsā* greatly influenced the character and religious policy of Akbar. He issued Firmans to the Jainas for stopping cruelty and killing of animals at many a sacred Jaina place. The above-mentioned Jainācāryas were honoured also by Emperor Jehāngir, who conferred the title of "Yuga Pradhāna" on Jinasimha the disciple of Jinacandra.⁴ The Digambara Jaina poet Benarsidas, it is reported, was favoured by Shāh Jehan,⁵ whose son Muradbux, while governor of Gujarat, showed great kindness to Johari Śāntidāsa of Ahmednagar.⁶ Aurangzeb appointed this foremost Jaina jeweller of Gujarat as one of his Darbaris.⁷ Although Aurangzeb was famous for his bigotedness, yet it seems that the profound learning, unpolluted piety, natural simplicity and the vigorous feeling to do good to mankind at large of the Jaina saints so much affected the heart of the despotic emperor that he was inclined to entertain and honour their chief.⁸ It is obviously the reason which made the contemporary Jaina poets to shower praises on this sovereign.⁹

1. 'मुमोच शुल्कं त्वथ जेजियाभिधं स यावदंभोधरभूधराधरम् ।
धराश्च नद्यः सरितांपतेः पयः यशः शशी श्रीमदुक्त्वरस्य च ॥ २७ ॥
वर्धनमेतद्वचनं तदास्यतो न निर्गतं कापि निसर्गन्तश्चित्तिः ।
अनेन तद्युतमुदस्तमेनसः सुधर्मराजः किल वर्ततेऽधुना ॥ २८ ॥
प्रमादमादाय जनः प्रवर्तते कुधर्मवर्गेषु यतः प्रमत्तयोः ।
ततोऽपि मयं तदवद्यकारणं निवारयामास विदावरः स हि ॥ २९ ॥ "

—जम्बूकुमारचरित, पृ. ४-५

2. 'He (Akbar) follows the sect of the Jainas.'

—Pinheiro, quoted by SMITH : 'Akbar' p. 262.

3. ".... the Jain holy men undoubtedly gave Akbar prolonged instruction for years which largely influenced his actions; and they secured his assent to their doctrines so far that he was reputed to have been converted to Jainism."

—SMITH, *Jain Teachers of Akbar*.

4. Vidyāvijaya, "Śūriśvara Aura Samrāṭa", pp. 75-360.

5. Benarsi-Vilāsa (Bombay ed.), Introduction.

- 6-7. *Der Jainismus*, p. 67.

8. "(The Jaina) Acharyas .. by their character, attainments and scholarship commanded the respect of even Muhammadan sovereigns like Allāuddin and Auranga Padusha (Aurangzeb)." *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, II, p. 132.

9. औरङ्गशाह बलीको राज, पायो कविजन परम समाज ।
चक्रवर्तिसम जगमें भयो, फेरत आनि उदधि लों गयो ॥
जाके राज परम मुख पाय, करी कथा हम जिन गुन गाय । "

—कवि विनोदीलाल

In South India too, the relations between the Muslim rulers and the Jainas were not altogether hostile. Even Hyder Ali, the bigoted Muslim king, granted villages to the Jaina temples, though owing to the oppressive nature of the government the great festivals at Śravaṇabelagola and other places were stopped.¹ It is reported about the king of Bijapur that he was a friend and ally of the Jaina queen Bhairavadevī of Gerossapa.²

It is a fact that the greatest number of Jaina temples were demolished and innumerable images were destroyed during the Mohamedan invasions, but it is equally true that the greatest number of the Jaina temples and images were constructed and sanctified during this period. It is strange to note that in Vikrama Samvat 1533 and 1548 one devout Jaina by name Jivarāj Pāparīwat got thousands of Jina images consecrated and sent them to every temple in India.³ These images are found almost in all the Digambara Jaina temples even to-day.

Thus the outline of the situation and condition of the Jainas during the Mohamedan Rule proves to be a promising field of research for the scholars.

1. *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, pt. I, p. 117.

2. BUCHANAN, *Travels in the districts of Kanara and Malabar*.

3. Chhottelāl JAIN, "Jain Pratimā—Yantra—Lekha—Saṅgraha", Intro. (Calcutta).

THE BHĀGAVATA-PURĀṆA

By

RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA

The *Bhāgavata*¹ is the most popular of the extant Purāṇas. It belongs to the Bhāgavatas and is divided into 12 Skandhas or books dealing with cosmogony, genealogies, myths, legends etc. It also contains a few chapters on *smṛti*-matter, viz., III, 30 on the results of actions (*karma-vipāka*), VII, 11-13 and XI, 17-18 on the duties of the castes and *āśramas*, and VII, 14-15 on funeral sacrifices and holy places.

It has been held by the Śāktas that the *Bhāgavata* is not a Mahāpurāṇa as the Vaiṣṇavas claim. But these Śāktas themselves are not unanimous about the identity of the '*Bhāgavata*' named in the lists of 'eighteen Mahāpurāṇas.' Some of them say that it is the *Kālikā-purāṇa* which, on account of its treatment of the birth and exploits of Bhagavatī, is called '*Bhāgavata*'. Some, again, claim that it is the *Devī-bhāgavata*. It is, therefore, necessary to see which one is the real Mahāpurāṇa.

An examination of the Nibandhas shows that the authors of these works are all in favour of the *Bhāgavata* (i.e. Vaiṣṇava *Bhāgavata*). Narasiṃha Vājapeyin, a noted Nibandha-writer of Orissa, disapproves the claim of the *Kālikā-purāṇa* to be the '*Bhāgavata* Mahāpurāṇa' by referring to the opinion of Lakṣmīdhara.² The verses quoted from the '*Bhāgavata*' by Ballālasena, Madhvācārya, Govindānanda, Raghunandana, Gopālābhaṭṭa and others, are very often found in the present *Bhāgavata* but not in the *Kālikā-purāṇa* or the *Devībhāgavata*. Of these two latter Purāṇas, or rather Upapurāṇas, the *Kālikā* has been quoted by Aparārka, Ballālasena, Mādhavācārya, Madanapāla, Śūlapāṇi, Govindānanda, Raghunandana and others with the express mention of its well-known title; whereas the name of the *Devībhāgavata* has not been mentioned in any of the numerous Nibandhas we have examined. The superior position of the *Bhāgavata* over the *Devībhāgavata* is further established by a comparison of their contents. In the *Bhāgavata* there is no mention of the *Devībhāgavata* nor is there any attempt to prove its superior position, but in the *Devībhāgavata* (Vaṅga, ed., I, 3, 16) the *Bhāgavata* has been included among the Upapurāṇas obviously with a view to establishing its own claim to the position of a Mahāpurāṇa. Further, in the *Bhāgavata*, Śuka, son of Vyāsa, is presented as given to complete renunciation of the world from his

1. In the following pages the Vaṅgavāsī edition has been used.

2. aṣṭādaśebhyas tu prthak purāṇaṃ yat tu drśyate | vijānīdhvaṃ muniśreṣṭhāś tad etebhyo vinirgataṃ || vinirgataṃ samudbhūtaṃ | yathā kālikā-purāṇādīnī lakṣmī-dharaḥ | evaṃ ca sati bhagavatya idam bhāgavatam iti kālikā-purāṇaṃ bhāgavata-padenoktam iti ye vadanti te nirastāḥ [—*Nītyācārapradīpa*, pp. 18-19.]

childhood. But the author of the *Devībhāgavata* probably saw that an ideal character like Śuka might instigate others, having much less indifference, to renounce the world and thus disturb the discipline of society. Hence he painted Śuka in a quite different colour in the *Devībhāgavata*. Here Śuka, who is about to give up the world, goes to Janaka at the request of Vyāsa. Janaka convinces him that it is highly necessary to pass through all the stages of life before taking up Saṁnyāsa; otherwise the real taste of worldly enjoyments remains unknown and the mind is not strengthened. Consequently, Śuka gives up the idea of renunciation and repairs to his father's hermitage to live with him. All the above evidences taken together make it likely that the *Bhāgavata* is the real Mahāpurāṇa.

As to the date of the *Bhāgavata*, scholars are generally of opinion that it is a very late work not earlier than the 9th century A.D.¹ But such a late date cannot reasonably be given to the Purāṇa. It has been said above that the verses quoted by Ballālasena (in his *Adbhutasāgara*), Madhvācārya, Raghunandana, Gopālabhaṭṭa and others from the '*Bhāgavata*', are very often found in the present *Bhāgavata*. In his *Smṛti-candrikā* (Mysore ed., Vol. I, p. 3) Devaṇabhaṭṭa gives a few verses containing the names of the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas including the '*Bhāgavata*.' Ballālasena names a *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* in his *Dānasāgara* (India Office Ms, fol. 3b). That the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* mentioned in the *Dānasāgara* is the same as the present *Bhāgavata* is proved by the following evidences. On fol. 3b of the *Dānasāgara* Ballālasena says that he did not draw upon the '*Bhāgavata*' because it did not contain any chapter on gifts.² As a matter of fact, the present *Bhāgavata* contains no chapter on this topic, whereas in the *Devībhāgavata* there is one, viz., IX, 29. Hence the *Devībhāgavata* is not the '*Bhāgavata*' which Ballālasena means. As Ballālasena quotes in his *Dānasāgara* a number of verses from the *Kālikā-purāṇa* by expressly mentioning its title, this Purāṇa also cannot be meant by the name '*Bhāgavata*.' Further, Ballālasena names with derision those Purāṇas which were influenced by Tantricism. But he expresses no such feeling about the '*Bhāgavata*.' Hence it is sure that Ballālasena means the present *Bhāgavata*, which is, therefore, to be dated not later than 1050 A.D. Ānandatīrtha Madhva wrote a well-known commentary on the *Bhāgavata*. He also draws upon the Purāṇa in his Bhāṣya on the *Bhagavadgītā*.³ In this Bhāṣya (ed. VIṬṬHALA ŚARMAN, Bombay, p. 7) he quotes from the '*Nārāyaṇaṣṭākṣara-kalpa*' a verse which mentions the *Bhāga-*

1. C. V. VAIDYA, *JBRAS*, 1925, 144 ff.; BHANDARKAR, *Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 49; PARGITER, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 80; FARQUHAR, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, pp. 229 ff.; WINTER-NITZ, *Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 556; and so on. WILSON, MACDONELL, COLEBROOKE and BURNOUF placed the *Bhāgavata* in the 13th century A.D.

2. bhāgavatam ca purāṇam brahmāṇḍam caiva nāradyam ca |
dāna-vidhi-sūnyam etat trayam iha na nibaddham avadhārya ||

3. In his *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya* also Madhva quotes verses from a '*Bhāgavata-tantra*' and '*Bhāgavata*.' But these verses are not found in the present *Bhāgavata*.

vata as a work of Vyāsa, and in another quotation from the 'Nāradiya' the Purāṇa is called a Viṣṇu-veda (see *Gītā-bhāṣya*, p. 152). In his *Madhva-vijaya* (IV, 49-52), Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitācārya, son of a direct disciple of Madhva, informs us that textual problems relating to the *Bhāgavata* already began in Madhva's time. The great teacher Rāmānuja also was not unacquainted with the *Bhāgavata*.¹ Alberūnī, in his account of India, gives two lists of Purāṇas. About one of these lists he says : " Another somewhat different list of Purāṇas has been read to me from the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*. I give it here in extenso Brāhma, Pādma, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Bhāgavata i.e. Vāsudeva".² The use of the term 'Vāsudeva' with reference to the *Bhāgavata* shows that Alberūnī means the (Vaiṣṇava) *Bhāgavata*, and that claims were already made by other works to be known as *Bhāgavata*. Hence the date of the *Bhāgavata* preceded that of Alberūnī by such a long period of time that the position of the *Bhāgavata* had already become enviable. Hence the date of the *Bhāgavata* cannot possibly be later than 800 A.D.

A few verses are found quoted from the '*Śrīmad-bhāgavata*' in Abhinavagupta's *Gītārtha-saṃgraha*, a commentary on the *Bhagavad-gītā*. But these verses, which tally with *Bhāgavata* II, 1, 3-4 and XI, 20, 17, are not reliable ; because in an old Ms written in Śāradā characters they are found not in the running text of the commentary but on the margin. Hence it may be that these verses were written by some one on the margin of his Ms but were later incorporated into the text by the scribes who copied from this Ms.³ Abhinavagupta's mention of 'gajendra-mokṣaṇa' also need not be taken to point to the *Bhāgavata*, because chapters on 'gajendra-mokṣaṇa' are found in other Purāṇas also. For instance, *Vāmana-p.* 85 and *Viṣṇudharmottara* I, 194 deal with 'gajendra-mokṣaṇa.' The verse quoted from the '*Bhāgavata*' in Gauḍapāda's *Uttaragītā-bhāṣya* (ed. Vāṇī Vilās Press, Srirangam, p. 66 ; Bombay ed., p. 27) is also equally doubtful. In a Ms.⁴ which appears to preserve an older version of the Bhāṣya, this verse is not found. How the text of the Bhāṣya was corrupted with later additions and alterations is shown best by a quotation from a Tantra occurring in another Ms⁵ of the same work. It is to be noted that no quotation from any Tantra is found in the printed editions or the other Ms referred to above. Hence it seems that the verse under consideration is spurious.

In spite of the little help rendered by the doubtful verses mentioned above, the *Bhāgavata* does not seem to be a late work. A comparison, so far as

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XIV, 1932-33, pp. 186 ff.

2. SACHAU, *Alberūnī's India*, I, p. 131.

3. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XV, 1933-34, p. 248.

4. No. 4504, Dacca University Mss Library. This is a Bengal Ms written in Bengali characters.

5. No. K 558E, D. U. Mss Lib. It was copied at Benares and brought from there by post. This Ms also is written in Bengali characters.

theology is concerned, between this and the *Kūrma-p.* shows that the *Bhāgavata* is earlier than the Viṣṇuite *Kūrma-p.*, which was, unlike the *Bhāgavata*, much influenced by the Śākta ideas.¹ The date of the Viṣṇuite *Kūrma-p.* is to be placed between 550 and 650 A.D. So the *Bhāgavata* cannot possibly be later than 600 A.D. Thus we get the lower limit of its date.

It has been said that the *Viṣṇu-p.* is earlier than the *Bhāgavata*.² The latter 'contains the biography of Kṛṣṇa which is here given in much greater detail than in the *Viṣṇu-p.* and in the *Harivaṃśa*.³ Hence it seems to be later than the *Harivaṃśa* also. The latter being dated about 400 A.D., the *Bhāgavata* cannot possibly be earlier than about 500 A.D. Thus the date of composition of the *Bhāgavata* falls in the sixth century A.D. It is highly probable that the *Purāṇa* was composed in the former half of this century.⁴

1. See my article on the *Kūrma-p.* in *IHQ*, Vol. XI, pp. 265 ff.
2. See my essay on the *Viṣṇu-p.* in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XVIII, pp. 265 ff.
3. WINTERNITZ, *History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 557.
4. There are also other evidences which confirm the above date of the *Purāṇa*.
Viz.,

- I. (i) The two verses of the Māthara-vṛtti (on Īśvarakṛṣṇa's Sāṃkhyā-kārikās 2 and 51), which, as B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SHARMA has pointed out in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XIV, pp. 216-7, have their parallels in the *Bhāgavata-p.* (I. 8, 52 and I, 6, 35), do not appear in Paramārtha's Chinese translation of the Vṛtti. So, the text of the Māthara-vṛtti is doubtful and cannot, therefore, be used to assign the *Bhāgavata* to a date earlier than that of the Vṛtti.
- (ii) The mention of the Tamil Vaiṣṇava saints in *Bhāgavata* XI, 5, 38-40, and of the *Hūṇas* as accepting Vaiṣṇavism in *Bhāgavata* II, 4, 18 and II, 7, 46 shows that the *Bhāgavata* cannot be earlier than the last quarter of the fifth century A.D.
- II. (i) *Nāradya-p.* I, 96 gives the contents of a '*Bhāgavata*' which agree with those of our present *Bhāgavata*.
- (ii) In its incomplete list of the Mahāpurāṇas the *Bṛhad-dharma-purāṇa* (ASB ed., 25, 20 f.) names, in place of the '*Bhāgavata*,' the *Mahābhāgavata* which is a clear protest against the supremacy of Kṛṣṇa in the *Bhāgavata*.
- (iii) 'If the Govindāṣṭaka be a genuine work of Saṃkara, as the sixteenth century Bengal Vaiṣṇava writer, Jīva Gosvāmin, thought and as BELVALKAR and others of this day think, Saṃkara must have known the *Bhāgavata*.'
- (iv) 'While the author of the *Purāṇa* appears to be familiar with the "Ajātavāda" doctrine, he does not know the "Anirvacaniyatā" doctrine posited by Saṃkara.'
- (v) In the chapter on Balarāma's pilgrimage in *Bhāgavata* X, there is no mention of Puri which is said to have been known to Saṃkara and Rāmānuja.

The date of the smṛti-chapters of the *Bhāgavata* is most probably the same as that of the Purāṇa itself. It is not, however, possible to say anything definitely. If they are interpolated, they have been connected with the original parts in such a way that it is very difficult to separate them.

The inclusion of the Buddha in the three lists of the incarnations of Viṣṇu¹ need not disprove the above date. These lists differ from one another in length as well as order. So they can never be the works of a single hand. Of these three, those given in *Bhāgavata* I, 3 and VI 8 are undoubtedly spurious.² The remaining one also does not seem to have belonged originally to the *Bhāgavata*.

It can hardly be denied that the *Bhāgavata* has been revised and emended at times. But the emendations have been made so carefully that it is very difficult to find them out. The mention of Tulasī, Tantra, the ten characteristics of a Mahāpurāṇa, etc. may be due to these revisions and emendations.

The view put forth by AMARNATH ROY in *BSOS*, Vol. VIII, 1935-37, pp. 107 ff. that the *Bhāgavata* has been influenced by the Kārikās of Gauḍapāda seems to have a very weak basis, because the philosophical ideas, words and similes found common to the *Bhāgavata* and the Kārikās are of a general character and might as well have been derived by the former from works used by Gauḍapāda as his sources. The use of old terms and ideas is not at all exceptional with the *Bhāgavata*. Other Purāṇas also are found to have derived words, ideas and similes from very ancient sources.

Even if the influence of the Gauḍapāda-kārikās on the *Bhāgavata* could be proved finally, it would hardly affect the date to which we have assigned the Purāṇa, the date of Gauḍapāda himself being more or less debatable. BARNETT (*JRAS*, 1910, pp. 1361 f.) and JACOBI (*JAOS*, 1913, pp. 51f.) place Gauḍapāda not later than 500 A.D.

Matsya-p. (Vaṅga. ed.) 53, 20-21 describe the '*Bhāgavata*' as follows :

yatrādhikṛtya gāyatrīm varṇyate dharma-vistarāḥ |
vṛtrāsura-vadhoptaṁ tad bhāgavatam ucyate ||
sārasvatasya kalpasya madhye ye syur narottamāḥ |
tad-vṛttāntodbhavaṁ loke tad bhāgavatam ucyate ||

This description does not agree fully with the contents of the present *Bhāgavata* which begins with the Gāyatrī and contains the story of the killing of Vṛtra but does not refer to the Sārasvata Kalpa. On the other hand, it is said in *Bhāgavata* II, 8,28 that the Bhagavat declared the *Bhāgavata* to Brahmā in the Brahma-kalpa. So, it seems that there was an earlier *Bhāgavata* which was the prototype of the present *Bhāgavata* and from which chapters have been retained in the latter. It is most probably this earlier work which is mentioned in *Viṣṇu-p.* III, 6, 22, *Kūrma-p.* I, 1, 13, etc.

1. See *Bhāgavata* I, 3, II, 7 and VI, 8.
2. *IHQ*, VIII, 1932, pp. 253-6.

APPENDIX

Verses quoted from the '*Bhāgavata-p.*'
or '*Bhāgavata*' in

1. *Adbhutasāgara*

(ed. Benares)

of Ballālasena,

Bhāgavata-p.

- p. 354 = I, 14, 16a.
p. 355 = III, 17, 5.
p. 378 = I, 14, 16b.
p. 410(twice) = III, 17,7; I, 14,18a.
p. 426 = I, 14, 20a.
p. 481 = I, 14, 20 b-c.
p. 625 = I, 14, 13b.
p. 642 = I, 14, 19b.
p. 643 = III, 17, 13a.
p. 645 = I, 14, 19b.
p. 653(twice) = III, 17, 11b and 10.
p. 654 = I, 14, 12b-13a.
p. 658(twice) = III, 17, 9; I,14,12a.
p. 709 = III, 17, 13.
p. 710 = I, 14, 15 and 17b.
p. 712 = III, 17, 4.

2. Madhvācārya's

commentary on
the *Bhagavad-*
gītā,

Bhāgavata-p.

- p. 64 = I, 2, 30b.
p. 152 = I, 2, 11b.
p. 410 = III, 5, 46-47.
p. 439 = VI, 4, 48a.
p. 444 = XI, 5, 48; IV,21,47;
VII, 10, 15b-17a.
p. 470 = XI, 19, 36a.
p. 472 = III, 20, 49b.
p. 497 = I, 3, 27-28a.
p. 512 = X, 16, 31a.
p. 546(twice) = III, 26, 10 ;
II, 2, 31a (second
half).
p. 550 = I, 17, 20a.
p. 664(twice) = VIII, 6, 10b ;
XI, 28, 17b.

3. *Haribhaktivilāsa*

(pub. by Gurudas

Chatterjee &

Sons, Calcutta)

of

Gopālabhaṭṭa

Bhāgavata-p.

- p. 21 = I, 2, 23.
p. 412 = I, 6, 34.
p. 557 = I, 18, 13.
pp. 574-7 = I, 1, 2 ;
I, 3, 40-42a ;
I, 3, 45 ; and
I, 7, 6-7.
p. 581 = I, 2, 17.
p. 583 = I, 2, 8.
pp. 590-591 = I, 1, 19 ; I, 18, 14.
p. 592 = I, 18, 10.
pp. 607-8 = I, 5, 22 ; I, 6, 35.
p. 675 = I, 1, 14.
p. 703(twice) = I, 5, 17 ; I, 2, 6.
p. 707 = I, 2, 7.
p. 710 = I, 7, 10.
p. 110 = II, 1, 6.
pp. 577-8 = II, 1, 9-10.
p. 584 = II, 3, 17.
p. 586 = II, 3, 12.
p. 587 = II, 2, 37.
p. 594 = II, 3, 20.
p. 673 = II, 1, 11.
p. 690 = II, 3, 24.
p. 706 = II, 2, 33-4.
p. 708 = II, 3, 10.
p. 731 = II, 4, 18.
p. 120 = III, 9, 25. The
verse 'deva pra-
pannārtihara' is
not found.
p. 374 = III,24, 31; III,9,11b
p. 500 = III, 25, 21.
p. 506 = III, 25, 23.

Bhāgavata-p.

p. 554	= III, 25, 25.
p. 556	= III, 7, 19.
p. 558	= III, 7, 20.
p. 560	= III, 31, 33-35.
p. 561	= III, 9, 10.
p. 583	= III, 6, 36.
p. 584	= III, 5, 13.
p. 587	= III, 25, 34.
p. 588	= III, 5, 46.
p. 590	= III, 15, 48.
p. 591	= III, 5, 7.
p. 593	= III, 32, 19.
pp. 594-5	= III, 9, 7; III, 5, 14; III, 13, 50.
p. 616	= III, 9, 41.
p. 668	= III, 33, 7.
p. 675	= III, 9, 15.
p. 706	= III, 25, 19.
p. 708	= III, 25, 32c-33.
p. 711	= III, 15, 25.
p. 715	= III, 29, 13.
p. 718	= III, 25, 32.
p. 734	= III, 2, 23.
p. 1064	= III, 9, 25.
p. 119	= IV, 20, 29.
p. 547	= IV, 31, 22.

Bhāgavata-p.

p. 551	= IV, 9, 12.
p. 552	= IV, 30, 35-37.
p. 554	= IV, 29, 39-40.
p. 557	= IV, 24, 57.
p. 558	= IV, 9, 11.
p. 567	= IV, 22, 11.
p. 568	= IV, 22, verses 7, 10, 13 and 14.
p. 584	= IV, 23, 12.
p. 595	= IV, 20, 26.
p. 644	= IV, 21, 31 ; IV, 31, 14.
p. 705	= IV, 11, 30.

&c.

&c.

Gopālabhaṭṭa has quoted numerous verses from the other Skandhas also ; and these verses are almost all found in the extant *Bhāgavata*.

The '*Bhāgavata*' verses quoted by Raghunandana and others also are in the majority of cases found in the present *Bhāgavata*, but it is needless to enlist them here.

ABHILAṢITĀRTHACINTĀMAṆI AND ŚILPARATNA

By

G. H. KHARE.

The late Mr. T. A. GOPINATHRAO, in the appendix C to the first volume (IC) and appendix B to the second volume (IIB) of his monumental work *Elements of Hindu Iconography (EHI)* often quotes passages from *Śilparatna* (ŚR) and an anonymous work added to it and described as *Śilparatnasamyojite kasmimścit granthe (MŚR)*. Even in the body of his book he refers to this work as 'a manuscript added at the end of *Śilparatna* whose name is not known.'¹ This very remark also appears at the end of the 'list of the important works consulted' which Mr. GOPINATHRAO has given at the beginning of the first volume of his work.

From the above remarks it is evident that Mr. GOPINATHRAO did not know the exact name of the work which he found added to *Śilparatna*.

Fortunately while going through the first chapter or *adhyāya* of the third part or *prakaraṇa* of *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*² (AC), in connection with the iconographic descriptions of deities, the resemblance of some passages from AC to those from the 25th *paṭala* or chapter of ŚR³ and extracts of MŚR given by the late Mr. GOPINATHRAO struck me so much that I was tempted to compare all the passages from the former with those from the two latter works. As a result of my labour I found that out of the forty-five descriptions of images which occur in AC thirty-five coincide with those found in ŚR and MŚR so literally that they must be reckoned as identical.

In order to illustrate my point I give below a detailed comparative table of the parallel passages from the above three works.

1. Vol. II, part I, p. 114.

2. Mysore Oriental Library edition part I; the Gaekwad's Oriental Series edition is not useful for our purpose as the published part does not contain the chapter which I am referring to.

3. For this purpose I have used the Trivandrum Series edition of *Śilparatna* and for the passages from MŚR, I have relied on Mr. T. A. GOPINATHRAO's work.

No.	Icon	Abhilasitārtha- Cintāmaṇi		Śilparatna or Ms. Added to Śilparatna		
		No. of verse in which the description begins.	No. of verses devoted to the descrip- tion.	No. of chap- ter from ŚR or Appendi- ces to EHI.	No. of the page on which the description begins.	No. of verses devoted to the descrip- tion.
1	Viṣṇu (24 varie- ties)	726	7	...	...	...
2	„ (with 8 hands)	733	2	...	...	...
3	Vāmana ...	735	1½	25	168	1½
4	Rāma ...	737	½	...	...	...
5	Nṛvarāha ...	738	4	25	168	4
6	Narasimha ...	742	9	„	169	4½
7	Trivikrama ...	751	2½	„	„	1
8	Matsya incarna- tion	753	½	„	„	½
9	Kūrma „	754	½	„	„	½
10	Brahmā ...	754	5	„	170	5
11	Mahādeva (with varieties)	759	13	...	...	...
12	Ardhanārīśvara	772	6½	II B	166	6½
13	Umāmaheśvara	779	6	...	...	...
14	Harihara ...	785	7	II B	170	7
15	Kārtikeya ...	792	7	25	„	2½
16	Vināyaka ...	799	4	I C	4	4
17	Kātyāyanī ...	803	8	„	109	8
18	Indra ...	811	4	II B	251	4
19	Agni ...	815	5	„	254	5
20	Yama ...	820	3	„	256	3
21	Nirrti ...	823	2	„	259	2
22	Varuṇa ...	825	2	...	...	...
23	Vāyu ...	827	2	II B	262	2
24	Kubera ...	829	3	„	264	3
25	Isāna ...	832	3	„	266	3
26	7 Mothers ...	835	2	...	...	...
27	Vireśvara ...	837	1	...	...	...
28	Śrī ...	838	4	I C	133	4

No.	Icon	Abhilaṣitārtha- Cintāmaṇi		Śilparatna or Ms. added to Śilparatna		
		No. of verse in which the description begins.	No. of verses devoted to the descrip- tion.	No. of chap- ter from ŚR or Appen- dices to EHI.	No. of the page on which the description begins.	No. of verses devoted to the descrip- tion.
29	Nāga ...	842	2	25	170	2
30	Asura ...	844	1	"	171	1
31	Dānava ...	845	3	"	"	2
32	Pisāca ...	848	1	"	"	1
33	Vetāla ...	849	1	"	"	1
34	Kṣetrapāla ...	850	2	...	...	...
35	Madana ...	852	6	...	...	...
36	Sūrya ...	858	5	25	171	3½
37	Candra ...	863	2	"	172	2
38	Maṅgala ...	865	2	"	"	2
39	Buddha ...	867	2	"	"	2½
40 } 41 }	Guru & Śukra ...	869	2	"	"	2
42	Śani ...	871	1	"	"	1
43	Rāhu ...	872	1	"	"	1
44	Ketu ...	873	1	25	173	1
45	Graha (general)...	874	1	"	"	1
			148			
						94

The above table clearly shows that out of the 45 headings, comprising 148 verses, under which various images have been described in AC, as many as 35 items of 107 verses are almost similar to those in ŚR and MSR, and not less than 94 verses are identical *ad verbum*. Thus one can judge for oneself how much one source must have drawn upon the other.

Now we know that the authorship of AC is ascribed to Cālukya Someśvara of Kalyāṇa and its date of composition is said to be Ś. 1051 (A.D. 1129).¹ On the other hand the date of Śrīkumāra, the author of ŚR, though not settled finally, lies somewhere in the latter part of the sixteenth century of the Christian era.² So we must conclude that it is Śrīkumāra who has borrowed from AC; perhaps the author of MSR also might have

1. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part II, p. 456.

2. *Śilparatna* part 1st intro. p. 2; part 2nd intro. p. 2.

made a free use of *AC* ; but I cannot be too certain in this respect as the *MSR* is not before me.

One advantage which we can have from the above comparison is to restore superior readings for unintelligible or inferior readings from all the three works. I wish to show here how that can be done successfully. For this purpose I can cite not less than fifty examples. But as the space at my disposal would not allow me to do this, I must content myself with giving only a few but typical ones.

NARASIMHA

AC	नीलोत्पलदलच्छायाम्
SR	नीलोत्पलपदच्छायाम्

Here the reading of *SR* is absurd as it carries no meaning. *Dala* is the exact word which gives us the right meaning.

BRAHMĀ

AC	कृष्णाजिनधरं देवम्
SR	कृष्णाजिनधरं गौरम्

Here *SR* certainly gives a superior reading ; for it mentions the paint which is to be applied to the image of *Brahmā*. The description of *AC* is defective inasmuch as it does not refer to any kind of paint.

AC	दक्षिणं वरदं हस्तं तथान्यं श्रुवधारिणम्
SR	दक्षिणं वरदं हस्तं तत्रान्यं शुभधारिणम्

Here the reading of *AC* is undoubtedly better, as *śubha*, the reading of *SR*, is meaningless. If we are to accept the latter reading a question will arise as to what article one of the two left hands of *Brahmā* should be shown to hold.

AC	बिभ्राणं च पुरो वेदान् पुरतश्चास्य विन्यसेत् ।
SR	बिभ्राणं चतुरो वेदान् पुरतश्चास्य विन्यसेत् ।

Here the latter reading is apparently better. The former one includes two words *purah* and *puratah* meaning one and the same thing and hence one word is redundant. Moreover the word *caturah* taken with *vedān* gives a better meaning.

HARIHARA

AC	शंखचक्रधरौ भुजौ
MSR	शंखचक्रगदाधरौ

Here the former reading is the correct one ; the latter unnecessarily mentions a mace as the third article as two hands cannot be easily shown to hold three objects, and further no text on iconography supports such a representation.

IŚĀNA

AC जयमंगलभूषाद्यम्
MSR जटामंडलभूषाद्यम्

Here the reading given by AC cannot be accepted as we know of no ornament or ornaments called *Jayamaṅgala* or *jaya* and *maṅgala* worn by Śiva on his body ; while the attribute *jaṭāmaṇḍala-bhūṣāḍhyam* befits quite well to Śiva.

SŪRYA

AC चंडपिंगलनामानौ
SR चंडपिंगलनामानौ

Here the former reading is the correct one. No other text, except ŚR. gives Caṇḍa as the name of one of the two attendants of the Sun god.

KETU

AC धूम्रादिबाहवस्सर्वे
ŚR धूम्रा द्विबाहवस्सर्वे

Here the latter reading, as it gives the number of hands which an image of the planet Ketu should be shown to have, must be reckoned as superior.

I have cited here only a few examples. There are many absurd readings out of which I give here only five which may be found interesting.

ARDHANĀRĪŚVARA

AC देवस्य दक्षिणं पादम्
MSR वामस्य दक्षिणं पादम्

VINĀYAKA

AC पार्श्वे सिद्धिकबुद्धिभ्यां अधस्तादाखुनान्विताम्
MSR पार्श्वे बुद्धिकबुद्धिभ्यां अधस्तादधुनान्विताम्

ŚRI

AC सीमन्तं विभ्रतीं शीर्षे
MSR सीमन्तं विबुधीशीवो

MAṆGALA

AC वामौ शूलगदाधरौ
ŚR वामौ शुक्लगदाधरौ

ŚANI

AC वरदं बाणसंयुक्तम्
ŚR वरदं वामसंयुक्तम्

RAGHUNANDANA'S INDEBTEDNESS TO CAṆḌEŚVARA

By

BHABATOSH BHATTACHARYA

Raghunandana was a Bengal digest-writer of the 16th century and Caṇḍeśvara was a Mithilā digest-writer of the 14th century, and I have stated elsewhere¹ that one of Caṇḍeśvara's works, viz., *Śuddhiratnākara*, exercised great influence on the Bengal School of Hindu Religious Law, as it is quoted more than twenty times in Raghunandana's *Śuddhitattva*. Now I am going to show that not only the *Śuddhitattva* but also other works of Raghunandana abound with quotations from the works of Caṇḍeśvara.

(1) *Gṛhastharatnākara* and *Prāyaścittatattva*.

Here I shall first prove my point by comparison of the *Gṛhastharatnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara and the *Prāyaścittatattva* of Raghunandana. Though Raghunandana's works have been often printed both in Bengali and Devanagari characters, the *Gṛhastharatnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara² has been critically edited by the late Mm. KAMALAKRISHNA SMRITITIRTHA and published in 1928, in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. Mr. P. V. KANE in his *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. 1, published in 1930, makes no mention of the printed edition in his treatment of Caṇḍeśvara but refers to it summarily as "a large work in 589 pages" in the Appendix A, p. 539. Mr. KANE in his learned paper on *Kalivarjya* makes a mention³ of the work *Gṛhastharatnākara* but not of its printed edition, when referring to a quotation from the *Brahmapurāṇa* by Raghunandana in his *Prāyaścittatattva* as quoted by Halāyudha, Śūlapāṇi and *Gṛhastharatnākara*. The same scholar in his Marathi work *Dharmaśāstravicāra*⁴ devotes some ten lines on p. 166 on the *Gṛhastharatnākara* while describing the requisite duties of a Hindu householder (*Gṛhastha*) in the chapter entitled *Cāra-āśramāṁceṁ-Saṁkṣipta-varṇana* (or a short description of the four stages of life).

The quotations of the works of Caṇḍeśvara in the *Prāyaścittatattva* of Raghunandana are four in number, of which two are specifically from the *Gṛhastharatnākara* and two from *Ratnākara* generally. Of the two specific quotations from the *Gṛhastharatnākara* one on p. 229 is the same as referred

1. *JBORS.*, Vol. XXIII, 1937, p. 142.

2. For a detailed list of the published works of Caṇḍeśvara, vide p. 139, *Ibid.*

3. *JBBRAS.*, N. S. Vol. 12, 1936 p. 7.

4. Published from the Mauj Printing Bureau, Bombay, 1936.

to by Mr. KANE in his paper on *Kalivarjya* and occurs after a text¹ of the *Brahmapurāṇa* which is found mentioned on p. 294 of the printed *Gṛhastharatnākara* after the very text of the same ; the other on p. 224 is the mention of a quotation² from Devala by *Gṛhastharatnākara* which is found on p. 189 of the printed *Gṛhastharatnākara* with the name of Devala after it as “इति देवलवचनात् .” Of the two other quotations from *Ratnākara* generally I have succeeded in identifying one on p. 223 which is nothing but three lines³ of Devala from four such of the same quoted on p. 168 of the *Gṛhastharatnākara*.

(2) *Kṛtyaratnākara* and *Malamāsatattva*.

I shall now take up the case of *Kṛtyaratnākara* and *Malamāsatattva*. The *Malamāsatattva* on p. 96, after quoting two texts, one from the *Brahmapurāṇa*⁴ and another from the *Brahmasiddhānta*⁵ and adding two lines of prose comment, one after each of them, says that the *Kṛtyaratnākara* is also of the same opinion (*Kṛtyaratnākaro*'-pyevam). The very texts of the *Brahmapurāṇa* and *Brahmasiddhānta* are found in their proper order on p. 81 of the printed *Kṛtyaratnākara*.⁶

1. दीर्घकालं वद्वाच्यं धारणञ्च कमण्डलोः ।
गोत्रान्मानुसपिण्डाद्वा विवाहो गोवधस्तथा ॥
नराश्वमेधा मयश्च कलौ वर्ज्यं द्विजातिभिः ।
—इति ब्रह्मपुराणान्निषेधः ।
2. महानिशा तु विज्ञेया मध्यमं प्रहरद्वयम् ।
तस्यां स्नानं न कर्त्तव्यं काम्यनैमित्तिकाहते ॥
—इति देवलवचनात् ।
3. [तदुक्तं देवलेन—
भोजने दन्तलग्नानि निहत्याचमनश्चरेत् ।]
दन्तलग्नमसंहार्यं लेपं मन्येत दन्तवत् ॥
न तत्र बहुशः कुर्याद्यत्नमुद्धरणे पुनः ।
भवेदशीचमत्यर्थं तृणवेधाद्व्रणे कृते ॥
4. चैत्रे मासि जगद् ब्रह्मा समर्ज्जं प्रथमेऽहनि ।
शुक्लपक्षे समग्रन्तु तदा सूर्योदये सति ॥
प्रवर्तयामास तथा कालस्य गणनामपि ।
प्रहात्राशीनृत्नं मासान् वत्सरान् वत्सराधिपान् ॥
5. चैत्रसितादेरुदयाद्धानोर्वर्षे तु मासयुगकल्पाः ।
सृष्ट्यादौ लङ्कायामिह प्रवृत्ता दिनेर्व्वत्स ।

The first line as read in the *Kṛtyaratnākara* omits -*ṛtu* between *varsa* and *māsa*.

The second line is read a bit differently in the *Kṛtyaratnākara* thus :

सृष्ट्यादौ लङ्कायां समं प्रवृत्ता दिनेऽर्कस्य ॥

6. Edited by M. M. KAMATAKRISHNA SMRITITIRTHA, B. I. (1925).

MISCELLANY

EPIC *IYĀT*¹

In my note on "Epic *iyāt* and Blends of Aorist and Optative Forms" (JAOS 57, 316-17) I had occasion to point out three instances from the *Mahābhārata* [Critical Edn. 1.122.47, 5.19.12 for *iyāt* and 3.23.12 for *iyām*] where the optative form has been used in the definite sense of the past indicative. Two more instances have now been discovered in the *Sabhāparvan*. We read in the Calcutta edition of *Mbh.* 2. 2496 :

"Iti bruvan nivavṛte bhrātṛbhiḥ saha Pāṇḍavaḥ
jānānī ca Śakuner māyām Pārtho dyūtam *iyāt* punaḥ"

and this corresponds to the Chitrashala edition 2.76.6 and the Critical Edition 2.67.5(?).² Besides the form *nivavṛte* here, we have *viviśuḥ* and *kathayanti sma* in the next verse.

In the same chapter we read [Calc. ed. 2.2507, Chitrashala 2.76.18 and Critical ed. 2.67.15(?).²] :

"janapravādān subahūn śṛṇvann api narādhipaḥ
hriyā ca dharmma-saṁyogāt Pārtho dyūtam *iyāt* punaḥ"

In the next verse we have the form *avarttayāt*, clearly indicating the syntactic value of the form *iyāt*. It is possible that other forms of this type may yet be discovered.

S. M. KATRE.

1. I am again indebted to Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, the General Editor of the Critical Edition for giving me these references.

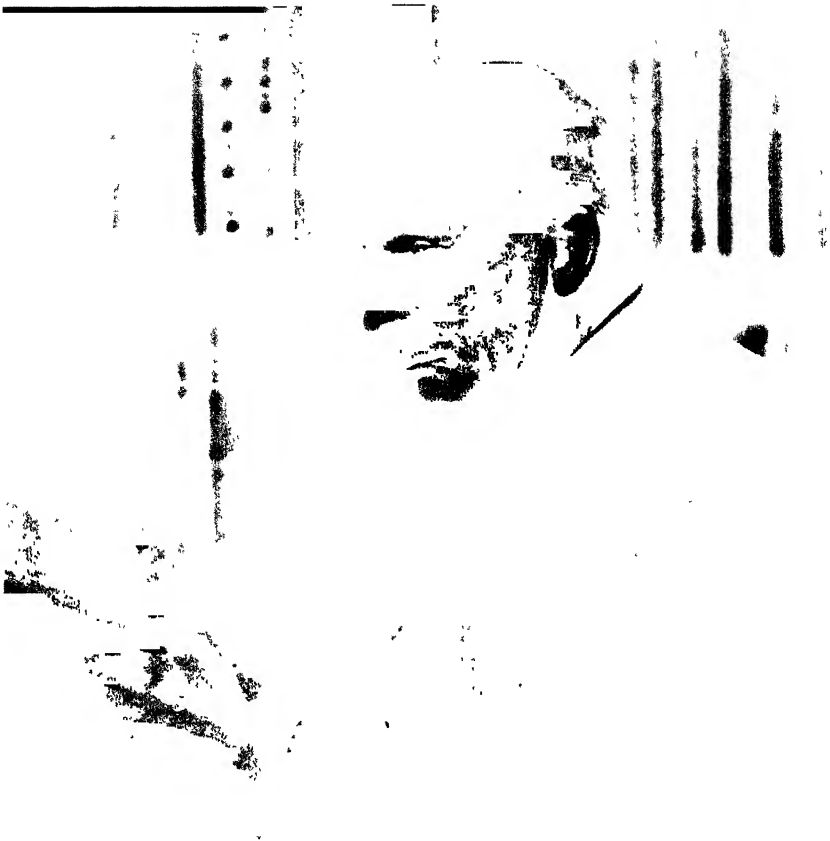
2. These references are to the Critical Edition which is being edited by Prof. F. EDGERTON, but the question mark has been added as the numbering is not final.

CORRECTIONS

Vol. I—Dr. S. K. DE's article :

P. 17, 1.25 Read *Mīna-pāda* for *Maṇi-pāda*.

P. 18, fn. 1. Read Chintaharan CHAKRAVARTI for P. C. BAGCHI.



BORN : DEC. 11, 1853]

[DIED : MAY 21, 1938.

THE LATE PROF. JACOB WACKERNAGEL

JACOB WACKERNAGEL*

Jacob WACKERNAGEL was born in Basle (Switzerland) on December 11th, 1853. His father, Wilhelm WACKERNAGEL was professor of Germanic philology in Basle and from him he inherited his interest in scientific research and his inclination for teaching. He was very fortunate in having an excellent college (Gymnasium) in Basle where he enjoyed the instruction of Jacob BURCKHARDT, the great historian, and of Friedrich NIETZSCHE, the famous philosopher, then professor of Greek at Basle university.

WACKERNAGEL began his university studies in Basle, then went to Göttingen and Leipzig. At Göttingen he experienced his greatest and strongest impulse from Theodor BENFEY, who introduced him to the Veda and lectured privately for him on Pāṇini's grammar. At Leipzig Ernst KUHN was of the greatest importance for his future career. He showed him a new way to Indian philology and had great influence on his development and future work. It was KUHN, chiefly, who encouraged him to start his life-work, the "Altindische Grammatik" (Sanskrit grammar), the field in which he attained to highest distinction.

He obtained his doctor's degree with a thesis in classical philology and took his activity as a university lecturer (Privatdozent) after publishing a short indological treatise which later on was to form part of the introduction to the "Altindische Grammatik".

From 1879 to 1902 WACKERNAGEL held the professorship for Greek philology at Basle as successor to Friedrich NIETZSCHE and in 1902 he was appointed to the chair of Indo-Germanic linguistics at Göttingen as the successor of Wilhelm SCHULTZE. It may well be said that these years passed in Göttingen with colleagues like Franz KIELHORN, Hermann OLDENBERG and above all, F. C. ANDREAS, then the greatest living Iranist, were the most successful and valuable of his career. The collaboration and intercourse with ANDREAS, a scholar without compare, made his stay in Göttingen a period unique as well for productive research as for teaching. From all parts of Germany and from abroad young talented students came to Göttingen to sit at the feet of these men.

In 1915, for personal reasons, WACKERNAGEL returned to Basle and there temporarily held the chair for Greek philology. Then from 1917 on he again taught linguistics and Indian philology until 1936, when, well advanced in years and declining in bodily strength, he resigned. During part of 1937

* This short sketch has been kindly prepared by Miss E. WACKERNAGEL at our request from the notes prepared by the late Professor himself two years before his death. We express our thanks to her for this as well as for the gift of her father's photograph reproduced here as the frontispiece—S.M.K.

he was still able to receive a few advanced pupils in his home to read some Indian texts of special importance and interest. Teaching and being surrounded by pupils was one of the great joys of his life and although he was an exacting master he was ever ready for those who appealed to him for help and advice.

Fortunately WACKERNAGEL was spared a long illness ; after a few weeks of declining health without great suffering he passed away peacefully on the morning of May 22nd in his 85th year.

During his whole life WACKERNAGEL was closely attached to the university of his native town and it was above all the University Library of Basle on which he conferred his very special care and generosity. Numerous were his gifts to the library and they enabled it to become an unrivalled instrument of research work for students of classical and Indian philology.

WACKERNAGEL's curriculum vitae would be incomplete without mentioning some of the honours conferred upon him. He was honorary doctor of the Universities of Geneva, Lausanne and Marburg, a member of the Academies of Berlin, Göttingen, Munich, Vienna and Rome as well as of the Swedish Royal Academy of Stockholm and the learned Societies of Lund and Upsala. On the occasion of his 70th birthday in 1923 a great number of friends, colleagues and pupils presented him with a miscellany (Festschrift), "ANTIDORON", which contains a full list, up to that moment, of all his publications.

JACOB WACKERNAGEL

By

FRANKLIN EDGERTON, Yale University.

Professor Jacob WACKERNAGEL was practically the last representative of a whole generation of great Indological scholars, the like of whom are not to be found to-day. His published works dealt almost wholly with grammar and linguistics. On the other hand, he by no means limited himself to Sanskrit or even Indic grammar ; he was a profound scholar in Greek also, and indeed in general Indo-European comparative grammar. His greatest work, which will certainly not be superseded for many decades, is his *Altindische Grammatik*, the first part of which appeared in 1896. It is regrettable that he never completed it ; fortunately Professor DEBRUNNER, a younger but very able scholar, was enlisted as a collaborator in the third volume, and may be expected, we trust, to bring the whole work to a conclusion. Volume 4 and the second part of volume 2 remain to be published.

This greatest of all Sanskrit grammars shows WACKERNAGEL's characteristics at their best. Unlike WHITNEY's grammar and most others it is historical as well as descriptive. This feature greatly increased the difficulties of the work, and involved a certain risk, since with the passage of time, some comparative-grammatical theories are bound to become obsolete. It is, however, astonishing how little one finds that sounds antiquated, even in WACKERNAGEL's first volume, now more than forty years old.

Yet his interest in the history and prehistory of the language did not prevent his book from being equally great on the descriptive side. All his work was based on patient, thorough mastery of linguistic facts, illuminated and interpreted by his great coordinating genius. Moreover, he had a vast command of the literature of the subject. In his notes he constantly includes summary accounts of what has been said on points of Sanskrit grammar by writers of the past, both Hindu and Western. One often finds there references to obscure and half-forgotten writers, who nevertheless occasionally prove to have had very shrewd ideas on some points of grammar. His work, therefore, includes, besides all the rest, a sort of history of scholarship in Vedic and Sanskrit grammar, and this is not its least interesting or valuable feature.

JACOB WACKERNAGEL

By

HANNS OERTEL, München

Not far from WACKERNAGEL's home in Basel at Sankt Jacob on the Birs stands Schloeth's monument commemorating the death in battle of thirteen hundred soldiers of the Swiss Confederacy, bearing the noble inscription : Am 26. August 1444 starben in Kampfe gegen Frankreich und Oesterreich unbesiegt vom Siegen ermüdet 1300 Eidgenossen und Verbündete...das ganze Heer. "Unconquered, wearied by conquering" Jacob WACKERNAGEL died on May twenty-second 1938 at Basel, his native city, shortly before he had completed his eighty-fifth year. With him died the Nestor and last surviving representative of a great generation of linguistic scholars.

From his father Wilhelm WACKERNAGEL (1806-1869), a pupil of LACHMANN and Professor of Germanic Philology at the University of Basel, he inherited his taste for philological studies. As it was then customary for University Professors to give also instruction in the two upper classes of the Paedagogium (the preparatory school for the University) he had the privilege of having Jacob BURCKHARDT, the distinguished historian of the Italian Renaissance, and Friedrich NIETZSCHE, the famous philosopher, as his teachers in history and Greek even before he entered the University. After two semesters at Basel he went to Oxford, Göttingen and Leipzig to continue his studies. At Göttingen Theodor BENFEY introduced him to the Veda and to Pāṇini, at Leipzig he attended LESKIEN's courses in Slavic and Ernst KUHN encouraged his plan to write a Vedic and Sanskrit grammar.

WHITNEY'S "Sanskrit Grammar including both the classical language and the older dialects of Veda and Brāhmaṇa" published in 1879 had been purposely confined to an exhaustive but purely descriptive and historical treatment ; WACKERNAGEL'S *Altindische Grammatik* was to be both historical and comparative. The first volume (Introduction and Phonology) appeared in 1896, the first part of the second volume (Noun-composition) in 1905, the third volume (Noun-inflexion, Numerals, Pronouns) in 1930, this last in collaboration with A. DEBRUNNER upon whose shoulders now rests the completion of this monumental undertaking : the second half of the second volume (Morphology) and the fourth volume (Verb-inflexion). The amount of preliminary labour necessary for gathering the bare facts which were to form the basis of this grammar can be adequately gauged only if one bears in mind that even for many of the most important Vedic texts indices verborum were lacking and special investigations such as, thanks to the industry of generations of scholars, are plentiful in the domain of the classical languages were few. Much more than a "sporadic" study of the texts (as WACKERNAGEL,

with characteristic modesty described it in the preface to the third volume) was necessary to furnish merely the data for this stupendous enterprise. Nor is the book simply a manual for reference, but in its exhaustive presentation of the Indic material it gives an historical sketch of the progress of Indo-Iranian and comparative philology which enables the reader to follow the various attempts to solve each individual problem.

From 1881 to 1902 WACKERNAGEL held the chair of Greek at the University of Basel as Friedrich NIETZSCHE's successor. In 1902 he succeeded Wilhelm SCHULTZE as Professor of Indo-European Philology at Göttingen. The thirteen years at Göttingen were the most important in WACKERNAGEL's career. His departure from Basel relieved him of much administrative work connected with town government, church and university which his conscience as a citizen had compelled him to take upon himself, for, following in the footsteps of his father who had been a member of the General Assembly and of the Town Council, he scorned the temptation to retire into an ivory tower. Again, the close association with colleagues like Eduard SCHWARTZ and LEO (both in classics), KIELHORN and OLDENBERG (both in Sanskrit), SMEND, and especially F. C. ANDREAS, then the foremost living Iranian scholar, proved stimulating and made his stay at Göttingen a period of intense scientific productivity. Moreover WACKERNAGEL's skill and enthusiasm as teacher drew an unusually large number of pupils both from Germany and abroad to his classes. For a close combination of research with teaching was characteristic of him. Even elementary courses he did not find irksome and the chief reason for his keen enjoyment of such work was the fact that even the simplest text suggested to him problems. The Chāndogya Upaniṣad speaks of *akṣetrajñā ye hiraṇyanidhim upary upari saṁcaranto na vindanti*; WACKERNAGEL had the rare gift of discovering such hidden treasures over which many others unknowingly passed without seeing that here a problem called for solution e.g. the curious fact that the Greek word for 'god' lacks a vocative. What could be more stimulating to a beginner than to realize that the very text he was reading harboured the possibility of important discoveries?

Ungrudgingly WACKERNAGEL spent time and labour whenever he saw an opportunity to assist or direct a serious student; and the same unselfish generosity he showed toward colleagues whenever they appealed to him for help. All of us who approached him must feel lasting gratitude for the readiness with which unstintingly he allowed us to share in the vast storehouse of his wide learning.

In 1915 WACKERNAGEL returned to Basel where for two years he temporarily held the chair of Greek Philology, then from 1917 to 1936 the professorship of Linguistics and Comparative Philology, while even after his retirement from active work he continued to meet students at his house.

Mathide PROBST's bibliography of WACKERNAGEL's writings from 1876-1922 in the congratulatory volume *Antidoron* offered to him by his pupils and

friends on the occasion of his seventieth birthday on December eleventh 1923 (1924) shows the wide range of subjects which engaged his attention and, extending over a period of more than half a century, permits us to trace the development of Indo-European philology in its bearing on classical and Indo-Iranian philology from the time of the neo-grammarians movement to the present. Although much of what is contained in the shorter papers has now passed into the fund of common knowledge and the manuals of these opuscula minora will continue to deserve a careful study as models of method in the thoroughness of their workmanship and their lucidity of exposition ; to all of them apply the words with which MEILLET greeted the *Altindische Grammatik* : cette rigueur de méthode linguistique, cette exactitude de philologue parfait, cette critique jamais en défaut, cette pénétration toujours présente, cette production exhaustive et de faits et de la bibliographie, que M. WACKERNAGEL porte avec aisance. Published in many and sometimes not easily accessible places they deserve reprinting in a memorial volume.

It is characteristic for all of WACKERNAGEL'S comparative work that it is based upon an intimate philological acquaintance with Greek, Latin, Sanskrit and Avestan texts ; Homer, the Veda, the Gāthās stood in the focus of his interest, but in the two classical languages and in Sanskrit he extended his reading far beyond these oldest representatives of the classical and Indic literatures. His familiarity with the classics and with Indo-Iranian was that of the specialist. He was competent to fill twice the chair of Greek at the University of Basel and many of his most important contributions deal primarily with Greek problems. It was this penetrating study of the texts which enabled him to treat syntactical and stylistic problems in such masterly fashion. The two volumes of his "Lectures on Syntax chiefly with reference to Greek, Latin and German" were published in 1920 and 1924 (a second edition in 1926 and 1928). In their free lecture form they give perhaps the most intimate picture of WACKERNAGEL'S skill as a teacher. They are written in a more leisurely and personal tone than his other works so that those familiar with his manner of lecturing may often detect the very tone of his voice. Entertaining and instructive even to a layman they are full of suggestions to the scholar and repay a frequent perusal. We may perhaps regretfully speculate on what linguistic science would have gained if time and strength allotted to one human life had allowed WACKERNAGEL to crown his *Altindische Grammatik* by the addition of a fifth volume on Sanskrit Syntax. Let us, at any rate, hope that it may be possible to edit the third volume of the Lectures from his and his students' notes.

The starting point of WACKERNAGEL'S investigation is almost always a concrete problem as it presents itself in an individual language during a careful study of the texts ; upon this he concentrated the light shed by cognate languages, but the extreme caution with which he ventured into the domain of languages of which he had no first-hand literary knowledge is easily discernible. He based all his comparative work upon an extensive but minute study of the literary remains and imposed upon it the strict canons of the

philologist to the great profit of both branches of linguistic science. Thus it is singularly free from general speculative hypotheses which, however brilliant and seductive, must necessarily remain airy because they lack a concrete background. The methodological warfare of the neogrammarian movement left him undisturbed and he took no part in its often acrimonious and sometimes unprofitable polemics.

Even this brief sketch would be incomplete without a reference to the recognition of WACKERNAGEL's achievements by the scholarly world. He received the honorary doctorate from the universities of Marburg, Geneva and Lausanne. The Academies of Berlin, Göttingen, Munich, Vienna, Rome and Athens as well as the Swedish Royal Academy and the Learned Societies of Lund and Uppsala elected him to membership ; the American Oriental Society and the Linguistic Society of America made him an honorary member.

WACKERNAGEL was a deeply religious character, a patriotic and self-sacrificing citizen, a foe of every kind of pretence and ostentation, a liberal patron of his University upon which he shed the glory of his fame, a noble and always generous friend, an inspiring example to all those who were privileged to know him, withal the best type to the true gentleman and scholar.

In his work he has erected for himself an enduring monument upon which might fittingly be inscribed the words from the book of Daniel : *Qui autem docti fuerint fulgebunt sicut splendor firmamenti et qui ad institiam erudiunt multos sicut stellae in perpetuas aeternitates.*

SOME BUDDHIST SCULPTURES IN RELATION TO SOME BUDDHIST TEXTS

By

O. C. GANGOLY.

Until recently the evidence of the plastic monuments in tracing the development of Buddhist Literature and in elucidating the many obscure points in the origin and growth of Buddhist Iconography has been severely neglected. FOUCHER was the pioneer in this field and set out to study the lithic monuments of the Buddhists, with the written text in one hand, and the carved stone, in the other. COOMARASWAMY'S series of patient and indefatigable studies of the *minutiae* of the relative texts, have thrown a flood of light on the history and genesis of Buddhist Sculpture and have recovered for us the exact point of view from which the primitive devotees and worshippers of the Buddha regarded the so-called "decorations" of the Stūpa—which were in fact the current Buddhistic beliefs translated into stone from floating legends and from ancient Pāli texts. Dr. BARUA'S admirable studies of the Bhārḥūt Sculptures have also demonstrated, how the Pāli Scholar can help towards an accurate understanding of the forms and motifs of Buddhist Sculpture. Unfortunately, the data which the lithic monuments offer do not receive anything like an adequate attention in our research journals.

I propose to consider in this paper a few early Buddhist bas-reliefs and to ascertain their position—in relation to early and later Buddhist Literature.

It is a well-known fact, that the Life of the Buddha, as illustrated on the bas-reliefs at Boro-Budur, is based on the version of the Life, as related in the *Lalitā Vistara*, a comparatively late text attributed to the second century A.D. The *Buddha-carita* of Aśvaghōṣa probably did not come into existence before 50 B.C. and is probably rightly placed in the first part of the first century A.D.¹ Indeed in early Pāli Literature there is no connected narrative of the Life of the Buddha excepting un-connected fragments of particular incidents or anecdotes. Yet, we find that on some of the reliefs at Bhārḥūt and Sānci, a few incidents in the life are illustrated. And at Amarāvati and also at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa—the Life of the Buddha is related

1. According to BEAL [Introduction, *Buddha-carita*, S.B.E. Vol. XIX.] Aśvaghōṣa's epic was translated into Chinese under the title *Fo-pen-hing-king*, by Fā-lān (to be distinguished from Fā-lin, a priest who died in 640 A.D.) in the year 68 A.D. The original text must have been in existence some time before, say, about the end of the 1st century B.C. Fā-lān's translation is not listed in the *Catalogue* of NĀNJIO who mentions a later translation by Dharmarakṣa (414-421 A.D.), p. 301, No. 1851.

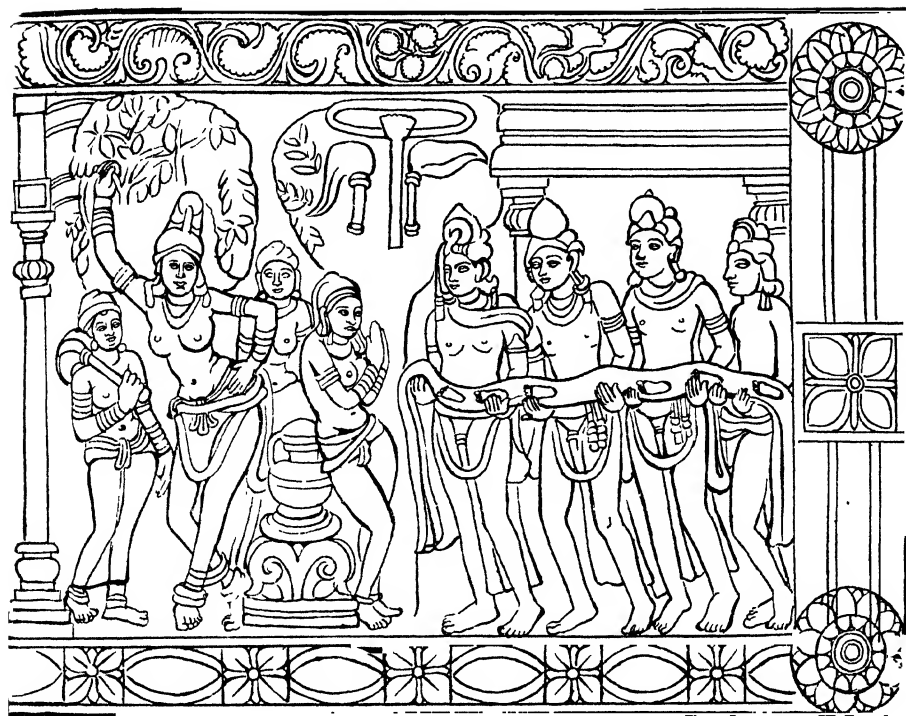


FIG. 1. Nativity—Nāgārjunikoṇḍā, C. 200 A.D.



FIG. 2. Nativity—Gāndhāra, C. 150 A.D.



FIG. 3. Nativity—Gāndhāra, C. 150 A.D.

with many significant details and incidents. Curiously enough, if we examine these carved reliefs at Amarāvati, we find they are based on independent legends, and not on the well-known texts. The majority of the Amarāvati Reliefs (some of which date as far back as the 1st century B.C.) were carved sometime between the 1st and 2nd century A.D. and one would expect that the *Buddha-carita* of Aśvaghoṣa should have furnished a convenient aid to the sculptors ready at hand. But it appears that the sculptors either had no access to this epic or did not care to consult this text or in the alternative, Aśvaghoṣa had not composed his poem when the sculptors at Amarāvati began to chisel out the "Life" on their *Ūrddhva-paṭṭakas* (upright slabs).

This can be easily demonstrated by comparing

(a) A well-known illustration of the Nativity of the Buddha with the text of the *Buddha-carita*.

(b) An illustration of the scene of the Presentation of the Buddha to the tutelary deity, with the relative texts.

(c) The bas-relief illustration of the story of Nanda with the poem *Saundarananda*.

We will take the subjects *seriatim*.

According to Aśvaghoṣa, at the hour of the birth of the Buddha, Queen Māyā took to bed, contrary to the early legends and contrary to the sculptural representations at Amarāvati, Gāndhāra and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.

*Tasmin vane Śrīmati Rāja-palnī
prasūtikālāṃ samavekṣamāṇā |
Sāyyāṃ vitānopahitāṃ prapede
nārī-sahasrair-abhinandyamāṇā ||
Buddha-carita, I, 8.*

'In that glorious grove the queen perceived that the time of her delivery was at hand and amidst the welcome of thousands of waiting women, proceeded to a couch cverspread with an awning.'

The sculptors of Amarāvati and the stone-masons of Gāndhāra did not, therefore, follow the text of Aśvaghoṣa, but faithfully followed the earlier legends, some of which are caught up and secured in the early Pāli Literature. The most typical of this text is the *Accharyiabhuta-dhamma-suttaṃ* (Majjhima Nikāya, III, 123, p. 122) which states :—

"Yathā kho pan', Ānanda, aññā itthikā nisinnā vā nipannā vā vijāyanti, na h'evaṃ Bodhisattaṃ Bodhisattamātā vijayāti ; thitā vā Bodhisattaṃ Bodhisattamātā vijāyatīti".

"While other women give birth to their child sitting, or lying, it is otherwise with a Bodhisattva's mother who gives birth *standing erect*". (CHALMERS' translation, *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. II, p. 225.)

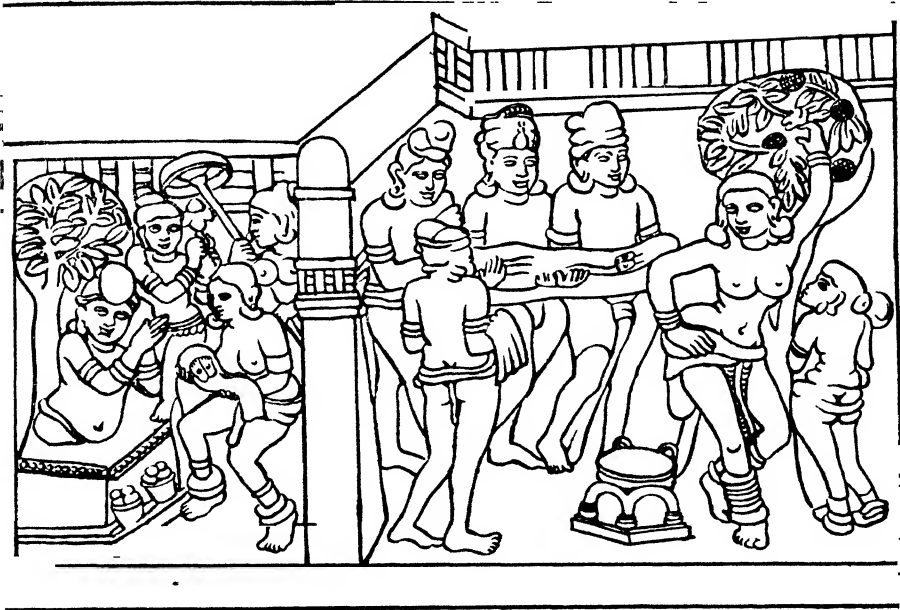


FIG. 4. Nativity and Presentation—Amarāvati, C. 100 A.D.



FIG. 5. Presentation and Asita's Prophecy—Nāgārjunikoṇḍā C. 200 A.D.

This manner of representing the Birth of the Buddha with the Queen-mother standing is, therefore, much earlier than the text of Aśvaghoṣa. In fact, the text of the *Majjhima Nikāya* follows a still earlier text, that of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, where the Exalted One is made to recite the rules and conventions, according to which Vipassī, a former Buddha, takes his birth. "It is the rule, brethren, that whereas other women bring forth sitting or reclining, the mother of a Bodhisattva brings forth not so, but standing. That, in such a case, is the rule" (*Mahāpadāna Suttanta*, *Dīgha Nikāya*, XIV, RHYS DAVIDS, Vol. III, p. 11).

Now we find that in a late text (datable not earlier than the 4th century A.D.), that of the *Nidāna kathā*, the same peculiarity of a miraculous birth and other distinguishing marvels in connection with the Life of the Buddha are repeated. In fact if we place the texts of the *Mahāpadāna Suttanta*, *Accariyabhūta-dhamma-suttaṃ* and the *Nidāna Kathā* in parallel columns in a scheme of concordance, we can easily trace the geneology of the ideas of the many details connected with the many romantic and miraculous elements of the story of the Buddha's life, almost related in identical words and phrases. The *Nidāna Kathā*, though a very late text, derives all its materials from very early sources in Pāli Literature.

Unfortunately, early Pāli Literature has not been able to catch up and preserve all the floating legends which have been growing up and circulating ever since the birth of the Buddha in the fertile imagination of the Faithful and which the learned Patriarchs of the Early Buddhist Church must have woven up and recorded in some North Indian dialects before they were translated into the Pāli Canon.

That many such legends and versions of the Life of the Buddha have not been recorded in the Pāli Canon, but have survived in later versions in Sanskrit and in other languages can be demonstrated by the evidence of the lithic monuments.

According to the sculptors who carved some of the slabs at Amarāvati—which were set up round the path of circumambulation of the stūpa for the devoted pilgrims, after the birth, the Child-Buddha was presented to the shrine of Śākya-varḍhana, the tutelary Yakṣa of the Śākyas, for obtaining the blessings of the guardian-deity of the family. This is a very important and significant incident in the early life of the Buddha, for the tutelary deity, instead of accepting the obeisance of the Child, himself bent his head in honouring the Child—as He was greater than a god and deserved the obeisance of the gods (Devātideva).

This incident does not appear to figure in any of the reliefs from Gāndhāra—and is also missed by Aśvaghoṣa, whereas it is represented at Amarāvati and at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, more than once, and must have been justified by current legends—which have not unfortunately left their records in the Pāli Canon, and is equally missed by the *Nidāna Kathā*, but is curiously

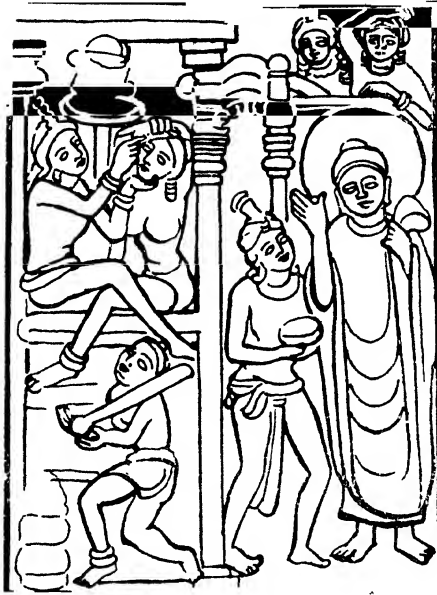


FIG. 6. Nanda and Sundarī—Amarāvati, C. 100 A.D.

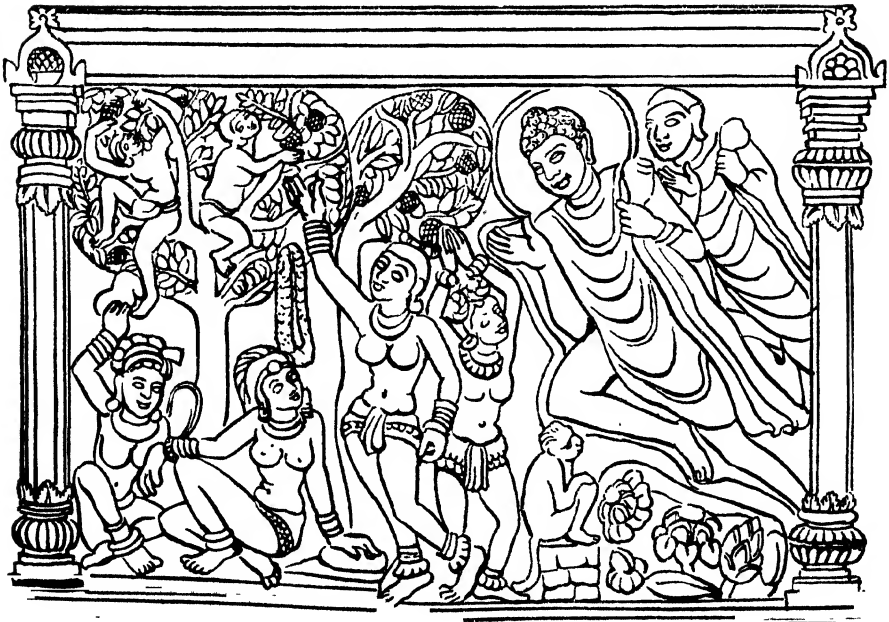


FIG. 7. 'Vision of Paradise'—Nāgārjunikoṇḍā, C. 200 A.D.

recorded in Tibetan and Chinese versions of the Life, as also in the *Divyāvadāna*. In the latter text we find that Upagupta takes Aśoka to visit the many sacred places associated with the many incidents of the Life of the Buddha and he points to the tribal shrine of Yakṣa-Śākya-var dhana to whom the Child-Buddha was presented : “ Idam mahārāja, Śākya-var dhanam nāma devakulam. Atra Bodhisattvo jāta-mātra upanīto devam-arcayishyatīti | Sarva-devatāḥ ca Bodhisattvasya pādāyor nipatitāḥ | tato rājña Śuddhodanena Bodhisattvo devatānām apyayam deva iti tena Bodhisattvasya devātideva iti nāma-dheyam kṛtam | (*Divyāvadāna*, XXVII, pp. 390-391). It should be remarked that the Amarāvati relief illustrating this incident is earlier in date than this text. Incidentally it proves, that although the *Divyāvadāna* is a late compilation it embodies legends and materials very much older.

In one of Tibetan versions of the legends, an actor, gives a summary presentation of the Life, in the course of which, he alludes to this incident : “ When the prince had been taken to pay reverence to the Sakya-God, the Yaksha Śākya-var dhana, but was received with reverence by him, the Sakya-Mighty-One, he received the names of Sakyamuni and God of Gods (Devātideva) ” (F. A. SHIEFNER'S *Tibetan Tales*, derived from Indian Sources, RALSTON'S English Edition, London, 1882, p. 242). In BEAL'S *Romantic Legend of the Sakya Buddha* (London, 1875, at p. 52) we have the Chinese version of the Life, said to have been translated from an unknown Sanskrit text entitled *Abhiṣkramaṇa Sūtra* :—

In this Chinese version the incident is related as follows :—

“ At this time, not far from Kapilavastu, there was a Deva temple, the Deva's name being “Tsang Chang” (Dīrghavardhana?) at whose shrine the Śākyas paid unwonted honours ; then Śuddhodana forthwith took the infant in his arms to this temple and addressed his ministers in these words, “ Now my child may pay worship to this Deva ”. Then his mother (or nurse), took the child to pay the customary honours, at which time a certain Deva, called “ Abhaya ” (wou wei), took the image of the Deva in the temple, and made it come down and bow before Bodhisattva with closed hands and prostrate head and addressed the nurse thus, “ This prince of mortals is not called on to worship, but is deserving of all worship ; let me adore him, for to whom he bows down, instant destruction would follow.”

The correct restoration of “ Tsang Chang ” the name of the Family deity (*Kula-devatā*) should be Śākya-var dhana, not Dīrghavardhana.

Anyhow, we find in the plastic representations at Amarāvati (c. 100 A.D.) and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (c. 200 A.D.), an early record of this significant incident of the Nativity of the Lord Buddha—which has not even found place in such a late compilation as the *Nidāna Kathā* and which is recorded in the Tibetan and Chinese versions. It is apparently based on some early legends, the records of which are now lost in India and some version of which was probably the basis of the sculptural representation.

Curiously, the *Lalita Vistara* has included this incident, though with considerable elaborations, variations and additions :—

“ *Tato Rājā Śuddhodanaḥ sva-grhaṁ prabr̥ṣya Mahā-prajāpatiṁ Gouta-mīmāmantryaivamāha | Alaṁ-kriyatāṁ Kumāro Devakulamupaṇeṣyata iti || Iti hi rājā Śuddhodano mahatā rājavūhena mahatā rājadhyā mahatā rājānubhāvena kumāraṁ gr̥hītvā devakulaṁ praviśati sma|| Samanantara-pratiṣṭhāpitaśca Bodhisattvena dakṣiṇāś-caraṇayoḥ kramatalas-tasmīn deva-kule' tha tā acetānyo devapratimāḥ|Tadyathā Śiva-Skanda-Nārāyaṇa-Ku-vera-Candra-Sūrya-Viśravaṇa-Brahmā-Loka-pāla-prabhṛtayaḥ pratimāḥ || Sar-vā svebhyaḥ svebhyaḥ śthānebhya vyutthāya Bodhi-sattvasya kramatalayor nīpatanti sma” ||*

(*Lalita-vistara*, LEFMANN'S Edition, Vol. I, pp. 118-120.)

In the florid and extravagant version of this late text the name of the Yakṣa, Śākya-varḍhana, the original tutelary deity of the earlier versions, has been elbowed out by the crowd of a host of other gods—such as, Śiva, Skanda, Nārāyaṇa, Kuvera, Candra, Sūrya, Viśravaṇa, Brahmā, and Lokapāla.

To take another example, on a comparatively early stele from Amarāvati, the Conversion of Nanda has been illustrated. On one of these panels, two of which relate to the story of Nanda, two incidents from the story are depicted—one of which (the left half of the panel) represents Nanda, helping Sundarī in her toilette, by putting with his own hand the marks and decorations (*viśeṣakas*) on her forehead, affectionately holding her chin by the left hand. This differs substantially from the same scene as depicted by the poet Aśvaghoṣa in his *Saundarananda kāvya*, with all the exuberance and lyricism of his poetic fancy, according to which Sundarī makes her lover hold the mirror for her, while she herself paints the decorations on her face :—

“ *Datvātha sā darpaṇamasya haste mamāgrato dhāraya tāvadenam | Viśeṣakaṁ yāvadaḥ karomītyuvāca kāntaṁ sa ca taṁ babhāra*” ||

Saundarananda Kāvya, Canto, IV, 13.

No sculptor, who was familiar with the beautiful version of Aśvaghoṣa, could have willingly refused to depict the same on his stone-canvas, particularly when we know that on one or two of the panels from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Goli, the motif of the mirror being held by the gallant lover for the benefit of his lady-love has been used with characteristic effect.

Various discrepancies in many details, in the scene of the Vision of Paradise (*Svarga-nidarśana*) of the same poem, with the plastic version of the same from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa confirm the supposition that these sculptors were not familiar with Aśvaghoṣa's poem or with the version made use of by the poet. The story of Nanda must have been current in versions other than the one exploited by the poet and which explains the discrepancy between the plastic and poetic presentations. It is quite apparent that the sculptor and the poet had two different versions of the incident or that the

poet or the sculptor took liberties with the details of the story and gave differing versions.

Incidentally, it may be useful to compare the Nativity Scene from Amarāvati with that from Gāndhāra.

In the Gāndhāra versions of which there are several examples, the Child-Buddha as He emerges from the waist of the Queen is received by Sakka accompanied by another attendant god probably Brahmā Sāhampati, so that only two male personages figure in the representation. In the Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍā reliefs,—four devas, not *one*, spread out the cloth to receive the miraculous Baby. This closely follows the legends recorded in the Pāli Canon :—

“When the Bodhisatta issues from his mother's womb, he never touches the ground but is received by the four deities who present him to his mother with these words : : “Rejoice, O Queen ! you have borne indeed a lordly son” (*Acchariya-abbhuta-Dhamma-sutta*, CHALMERS' translation, p. 225). In the *Nidāna kathā* also, four pure-minded Mahā-Brahma angels came and spread out the ‘golden fabric’ (*cattāro Suddha-citta Mahābrahmano Suvan-najālamādāya Saṃpatia*, FAUSBÖLL, *Jātaka Text*, Vol. I, p. 52). Following the early Hīnayānist convention as at Sānchi, the figure of the Buddha is not represented. But the four deities (*cattāro devaputtā*) are represented holding a piece of white Benares muslin—on which the foot-prints symbolize the child. This representation of the foot-prints which glisten like jewels on the white fabric, seems to recall another passage in the same text—“Just like a jem on Benares muslin, where neither defiles the other because both are pure” (*Seyyathāpi, Ānanda, maṇi-ratanam Kāsike vatthe nikkhit-taṃ néva maṇi-ratanam Kāsikam vatthaṃ makkheti nāpi Kāsikam vatthaṃ maṇi-ratanam makkheti*). On the other hand, the stone masons of Gāndhāra, in illustrating this scene, followed not the early Pāli Canon, but a late version of the scene, recorded in the *Lalita Vistara*.

‘Then at that time, O ! Bhikṣus ! Śakra, the Lord of the gods and Brahmhā Sahāpati, came and stood in front. These two (gods) elated with great glory, received the Bodhisattva, covering all his limbs with the glorious kasi fabric’ (“*Tasmin khalu punar Bhikṣavaḥ samaye Śakro devānāmindro Brahmā ca saḥāpatih purataḥ sthitāvabhūvatām | Yau Bodhisattvaṃ parama-gaurava-jātau divya-kāsika-vastrāntaritaṃ sarvāṅga-pratyāṅgaiḥ smṛtau saṃprajñau prati-grhṇātē sma*”

(*Lalita-vistara*. LEFMANN's Edition Vol. I, p. 83).

This is exactly the version which is illustrated in the Gāndhāra reliefs—which were certainly not followed by the artists in the Āndhradeśa. As I have shown elsewhere, the sculptors of this latter region did not follow the Gāndhāran models in depicting the images of the Buddha and of the Bodhisattva. It is impossible to contend in the light of these new evidences, that the school of Gāndhāra had any manner of influence on the works of the

Amarāvati School, some of which were earlier in date, and some may have been contemporary with the School of the North-West. If the versions of these legends offer any reliable data, (which it may be contended, they do) the Gāndhāran plastic illustrations appear to have followed later and developed versions of the story in which the four archangels were replaced by Śakra and Brahmā. These examples of Gāndhāra reliefs and other analogous specimens were probably executed long after the Amarāvati reliefs.

According to KEITH, (*A History of Sanskrit Literature*, 1928, p. 493), the *Lalitavistara* may belong to the period from the second century A.D. Its date must also be later than most of the reliefs from Amarāvati, which are related to the legends recorded in the early Pāli canon.

It may be justly claimed that in many cases the study of the plastic art can offer useful and sometimes valuable data in fixing the chronology of related texts.

GRAMMATICAL PECULIARITIES OF VARĀṄGACARITA'

By

A. N. UPADHYE

The Ms. material of *Varāṅgacarita* at our disposal is limited, the textual tradition of the poem is unsatisfactory, and now and then we come across plain errors of the copyists. Under these circumstances it is rather premature to note the grammatical peculiarities of *Varāṅgacarita*. Individual occurrences of striking usages cannot be taken into account, if they are not warranted by metre. Leaving full margin for scribal errors etc., I would note only a few salient points here which, I hope, would be interesting to a student of Sanskrit grammar.

Varāṅgacarita is full of Jaina technical terms many of which with their different shades of significance are not noted in the Sanskrit Dictionaries. The meanings of such words, however, can be ascertained by referring to standard works on Jaina dogmatics and terminology. Some peculiar words which our author uses are : *goṇa* vi. 15 'an ox', a word of Prākṛit origin, so also *phulla* ii. 73, *bhinḍa* xii. 85 and *tumba* xxxi. 32. The word *maithuna* xx. 75 & xxv. 6, which reminds us of Kannaḍa *maiduna* and Marāṭhī *mehunā* is unknown to classical Sanskrit in this sense, and *barkara* xxvii. 17 'a goat' is also rare. *addhā* xiv. 95 'time' is quite usual in Jaina Prākṛit texts. *tiraśca* for *tiryag* xxiv. 66 reminds us of Prākṛit *tiriccha* or *tiraccha*. The author uses *sāṃpadā* also for *sāṃpad* see xx. 65, 79 and especially xxv. 40. Words like *maḍamba*, *kheḍa* etc. iii. 3 often show a Prākṛitic spelling. *krīḍakṛtaṃ* xxx. 57 is a strange Sanskritisation of *kiyagaḍaṃ* = *krītakṛtaṃ*. So most of the above words are either Prākṛitisms or back-formations. *sādana* for *sadana* xxi. 15, *mṛdvika* for *mṛdvikā* xxii. 72 and *āvahitā* for *avahitā* xxvii. 1 are irregularities perhaps due to metre.

There are some words which attract our attention with regard to their genders : *geha* M., i. 25, xxi. 38, xxii. 66, 73 ; *krodhotthāna* M., iv. 68 ; *jāla* M. vi. 52 ; *vṛttānta* N., xv. 1 ; *akṣata* N., xxiii. 64. There are other cases like *bhūṣaṇa* M. xiii. 66, *cūrṇa* M. xxiii. 30, *cakra* M. xviii. 55 which either agree with the epic usage or are archaisms. *prāṇa* xxix. 3 is used in the singular. The superlative *tama* is suffixed to substantives : *vaṇīktama* ii. 13, *bandhutama* xix. 4 & xx. 37, *arhatama* xxix. 62 ; and once the phrase *taratama* is used like an adjective iv. 114.

1. *Varāṅgacarita* of Jaṭilamuni is an important Sanskrit Purāṇic Kāvya of the 7th century A.D. I have already introduced it to Sanskritists in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. xiv, pp. 61-79. I have on hand a complete edition of the Text based on two palm-leaf Mss., and it is in the Press. These grammatical notes form a section of the Introduction of that Edition to be published in the *Māṇikachandra D. J. Granthamālā*, Bombay.

Once we have *Balinaḥ* xxiv. 33 Gen. Sg. from Bali ; either the author takes Balin (usually Bali) as the name or it is a back-formation from Prākṛit. We get the form *svasārah* xx. 90 for *svasāṛh* Acc. pl. ; *kṛtāntaḥ* is used for Voc. Sg. xv. 47. Once *gatiṣu* for *gatiṣu* xxiv. 54 ; we get epic parallels for this, but here it is perhaps due to metre.

Many nouns and adjectives are used with the abstractive sense, even though the necessary abstractive suffix or change is absent. *adṛṣyarūpa* for *adṛṣyarūpatva* xiv. 20, *gādha* for *gādhātva* xx. 24, *utsuka* for *utsukatva* xx. 76, *nirāśraya* for *nirāśrayatva* xxi. 63, *ananyakīrti* for *-kīrtitva* xxii. 31, *nirmala* for *nirmālya* xxv. 45, *maḥimasa* for *maḥimasatva* xxix. 98. On the other hand we also have *vicikitsatā* for *vicikitsā* xxxi. 69, *śaraṇyatā* for *śaraṇa* xiii. 15, *saṁvāhanatā* for *saṁvāhanana* xiii. 87, *sukha-duḥkhātmaka* for *sukhaduḥkha* xxiv. 30. Then we have a form *ārogyatā* viii. 53, xxiii. 20 which is doubly abstract.

It passes one's understanding why sometimes the author prefers the strong grade of the feminine form of the possessive suffix *vat* as in *garvavantiyah*, *Viśuddhavantiyaḥ* i. 59, *śrutavantiyaḥ* xv. 34, *cetanāvantiyaḥ* xv. 37, *dhairyavantiyaḥ* xxviii. 105. If these are not scribal errors, they appear to be contaminated by Prākṛit usage. All these cases can be corrected without spoiling the metre.

Our text abounds in various verbal forms some of which deserve our special attention. The Padas, Parasmaipada or Ātmanepada, may be noted in the following forms. *bhartsayanti* v. 94, also note xviii. 41, 44, 76 ; *ādaduḥ* xiv. 59 and *ādadāti* xxiv. 58 ; *mṛgayāmi* xv. 134 ; *prasavanti* xxiv. 29 ; [*vi*] *kṣarate* xxiv. 57. Then forms like *lapate* iv. 83, *jñeṣuḥ* xvii. 39, *kampat* xxix. 13 etc. agree more with the epic usage than with the classical one.

The author shows a decided inclination towards the use of Perfect, though the forms of the Imperfect and Aorist are also used. Perfect is used even for narrating contemporary events (ii. 11), and once it appears to be used even for the first person (xvi. 24). In canto iii, verses 19-25, the author has as if a regular exercise for the practice of forming desideratives for which he shows his fondness like Aśvaghoṣa. It is a regular habit with him to separate the verb of the perfect from its auxiliary by some intervening word, see for instance ii. 50 ; xi. 61-2, 85 ; xiii. 20 ; xiv. 16 ; xviii. 56 ; xix. 7, 19 ; xxii. 3, 26 ; xxiii. 3, 8, 17, 71 ; xxviii. 79 ; xxix. 25 ; xxx. 67. At xxiii. 17 the verb has a preposition in addition. Aśvaghoṣa has some instances of this separation (*Buddhacarita* ii. 19, vi. 58 and vii. 9) ; and this practice is sanctioned by Kālidāsa (*Raghuvamśa* ix. 61 and xiii. 36). Pretty frequently *āsa* is independently used as in the Epics, for instance i. 46, xx. 54, xxi. 33, xxx. 27. There is one clear case of double preposition *upopaviṣṭa* ii. 14, xxiii. 73, and *adhyadhiṣṭita* in xxi. 69 may be included in the same category. *Upopaviṣṭa* is used by Aśvaghoṣa (JOHNSTON'S Ed. ix. 8) and it is found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* also (Ayodhyākāṇḍa i. 51).

The author, it appears, has used many irregular forms : *karavāmahe* for *karavāmahaī* xxviii. 84 ; *sasarjuḥ* for *sasṛjuḥ* ii. 35 ; *saṁnidadhyuḥ* for *saṁnidadhuḥ* x. 63, *jaghnītha* for *jaghañītha* xiv. 51, *juhuḥ* for *juhuvuḥ* xxv. 15, *mamarduḥ* for *mamṛduḥ* xxx. 21 ; *cicitsavaḥ* for *cicetiṣavaḥ* iii. 21, *śiśamsavaḥ* for *śiśamiṣavaḥ* iii. 23 ; *samaśnutām* for *samaśnuvānānām* or *samaśnuvatām* iv. 114 & v. 95 ; *saṁvibhājītum* either for *saṁvibhājayītum* or *saṁvibhaktum* xxi. 58 ; *susādhayitvā* for *susādhyā* xxxi. 82 and also note *avigaṇya* for *avigaṇayya* xviii. 2. *rantvā* for *ratvā* xv. 128, xxii. 20 and *parimanthya* for *parimathya* xxiv. 56 are rather rare usages ; *ācakṣitam* for the usual *ākhyātam* xix. 73. The author shows a tendency, quite normal according to the epic usage, of having a strong grade for the feminine base of the present participle : *bruvantyaḥ* v. 61, *rudantyaḥ* xv. 36, 39 & xix. 44. The form *rudantī* is used by Aśvaghoṣa (*Saundarananda* vi. 6, 35 and *Buddhacarita* ix. 26 JOHNSTON'S Ed.).

Now and then we find that the causal form is used to denote the primitive sense : *parīpsayinyaḥ* i. 59, *atiśāyayanti* i. 27, *righātayanānti* iv. 30, *todayanti* v. 52, *cūṣayanti* v. 85, *saṁślāghayantaḥ* viii. 34, *parīkṣayanti* x. 11, *bhikṣayanti* viii. 28, *prativarṣayantau* xiv. 12, *saṁupāsayantaḥ* xxii. 42, also *nirāñjītānām* xxxi. 41 ; and sometimes the primitive is used with causal sense : *hṛtvā* viii. 22, *vyābhāsamānāḥ* ix. 38 and *śamituḥ* xxix. 8.

We find that *ut-khan* is used in the sense of *ni-khan* v. 48 ; and *gai* or *ni-gai* is used in the sense of speaking, see for instance xvi. 57, xx. 42, 80, 83 and xii. 11. Quite ingeniously the author uses *niśāmya* and *niśamya* ii. 37 with their different shades of meaning. The roots *ṇṭ* xiv. 4 and *vac* ii. 9 & xxii. 53 are transitively used with the cognate Accusative ; while some gerunds are standing intransitively for instance *anubhūya* i. 60, *adhirukhya* v. 83, *nighṛṣya* xiii. 1. *Āsya bhavān* is used for *āstām bhavān* at xx. 31.

In many places the conjunctive *ca* is not rightly placed, see for instance ii. 2, iii. 36, 47, x. 35, xiv. 57, xviii. 73, xxi. 9, xxiii. 47 etc. Sometimes *ca* or *hi* stands at the beginning of a pāda x. 35, xxvii. 56 and xxviii. 37. At times both *evam* and *ittham* ii. 48, xx. 21 and both *yadī* and *cet* xvi. 68, xix. 180, xx. 25, xxiv. 22, 28 are used. The archaic *amā* for *saha* is quite a favourite with the author ii. 57, viii. 44, xxiii. 6, xxviii. 98, xxx. 34. He shows a tendency of using the pronominal forms of *tad* etc. at times without any definite purpose and at times like a definite article in English, see for instance i. 4, viii. 36, xi. 65, 72, 75 etc., etc. Often *sahva* is used for *āhva* or *upāhva* viii. 1, xx. 27. Now and then *ka* stands like a *svārthe* suffix xi. 25, xxiii. 30.

The author is in the regular habit of using Sāpekṣa compounds which may be tolerated as the sense is not much obscured. We have many of them scattered all over the text, see for instance i. 39, 46, 53, 69 ; ii. 1 etc. Pāṇini's rule *ānañ ṛto dvandve* is often violated, see for instance i. 59, xx. 5, xxi. 8, xxviii. 60, xxxi. 4 and also my notes thereon. Quite freely the author puts the possessive suffixes to Karmadhāraya compounds, see for instance i. 58, iv. 95, ix. 45, xiii. 25 etc. In some cases he does not use Samāhāra as

required by classical convention : *hastyaśvayānāni* iii. 30, *padāti-hastyaśvathaiḥ* xvi. 31. We may also note forms *savaijayantyaḥ* for *savaijayantikāḥ* xviii. 18 and *-netroḥ* for *-netṛkayoḥ* etc. xviii. 83. About the sequence of words in a compound expression the author is liable to a good deal of laxity, and in this respect he can be compared with his colleagues in Prākṛit literature. Some of the important deviations I have noted in the Notes : see for instance viii. 18, 40 ; ix. 24 ; xi. 33 ; xii. 72 ; xiii. 1, 31 ; xvi. 31, 38 ; xvii. 51 ; xxiii. 26, 56 ; xxiv. 49 ; xxx. 3 ; xxxi. 73 etc.

The ordinary rules of Saṁdhi are uniformly observed. But between the Pādas *a* & *b* and *c* & *d* the author, it appears, does not accept that Saṁdhi is compulsory. We find many such cases which are recorded in the Notes. There are a few cases where hiatus is allowed even in the body of a Pāda viii. 39a, xiv. 78d, xvi. 81. There are two illustrations of abnormal Saṁdhi : *grāme + ekarātram = grāmaikarātram* xxx. 45 and *sukṣetre + ajñāḥ = sukṣetrayaññāḥ* xxviii. 42.

In xvii. 32 *Nṛpātmajā* Nom. sg. stands for *nṛpātmajayā* Inst. sg. The classical usage requires that the causals of the roots *ad* and *khād* should govern Inst. ; but here we find that the Acc. is used instead v. 49, 57. The root *hṛ* with *pra* governs Acc., see for instance xiv. 31, xvii. 44, 61, xviii. 70. In i. 8-9 the author has illustrated the use of *vinā* with Abl., Acc. and Inst. Instrumental is used for Acc. in xxiii. 103 where we usually want *vara-cūrṇa-vāsān* etc. As in the epic usage, *apeta* governs Inst. viii. 34, xi. 51, xvi. 50. If the reading is correct, it is a novel usage that Dative is used to convey sense of 'instead of' : *Kāścidbhaṭāya śriyameṣa bhunīkte* 'he enjoys glory instead of K.' xviii. 126. Then Gen. is used for Inst. xxxi. 86, and for Abl. which is necessary for comparison xvi. 60. Lastly Loc. *tasmin* is used for Acc. xiii. 63.

The usage of *samāna-kartṛkalva* appears to be violated in the use of Gerund vi. 53 ; also note xv. 126 which needs some emendation as suggested in the Notes.

Among the numerals used by the author the following ordinals in the colophons of those cantos specially attract our attention : *ekādaśama*, *dvādaśama*, *trayodaśama*, *saptadaśama*, *ekonatrinśatitama*, *trinśatitama* and *ekatrinśatitama*. Also note *caturdaśāni* for *caturdaśa* xxx. 4. Some such forms like *ekādaśama*, *aṣṭādaśama* and *ṣaṣṭama* are found in one Ms. of *Saundarananda* collated by Dr. JOHNSTON for the edition of that work.

Some of the specialities of Jaṭila are the normal usages of the epics ; and now and then they are common to Aśvaghoṣa and Jaṭila. I do not claim that I have exhausted all the peculiarities. Some space is devoted to them, along with the emendations of certain corrupt passages, in the Notes at the end. A thorough and statistical study with a better text would reveal many more interesting points. Then alone would it be possible for us to discriminate between archaisms, special features representing a distinct grammatical tradition, writer's irregularities and scribal slips.

**THE OLDEST DATED MANUSCRIPT OF THE
DEŚINĀMAMĀLĀ OF HEMACANDRA
DATED SEPTEMBER 1241 (A.D.)**

By
P. K. GODE

The *Deśināmamālā* of Hemacandra with his own commentary was based on the Prākṛit dictionary written by Dhanapāla in A.D. 972.¹ Dr. BÜHLER discovered this work and published a notice² of it from the only MS then in his possession. PISCHEL edited this work in the *Bombay Sanskrit Series* (No. XVII, 1880). This edition was based on 9 MSS designated by him as A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I. I am concerned in this note with the dated MSS of the work used by Pischel. These are described by him in his Introduction to the Bombay Edition.³ They are as follows :—

- (1) A—*Samvat* 1549 (Bikaner MS) = A.D. 1493.
- (2) C—*Samvat* 1587 (Ahmedabad MS) = A.D. 1531.⁴
- (3) E—*Samvat* (?) 1575 (Ahmedabad MS) = 1519 (?)⁵
- (4) H—*Samvat* 1628 (Ahmedabad MS) = A.D. 1572.

PISCHEL states that "In order to ascertain the correct reading" he "was very often obliged to have recourse to etymology." Where etymology failed him he had "nothing to guide him but the best MS" which, however, "was by no means trustworthy." PISCHEL's first edition has been revised by Principal P. V. RAMANUJASWAMI and published by the B. O. R. Institute, Poona.⁶ For this edition the editor states that he had seven MSS at his disposal out of which one was a recent copy while three were already made use of for the first edition. The remaining three MSS (designated X, Y, Z) were utilized by him for the second edition (1938). Out of these three MSS only MS Y is a dated copy prepared in *Samvat* 1636 in the month of Phālguna (= February-March 1580).

1. KEITH : *Hist. of Sans. Literature*, Oxford, 1928, p. 415.

Vide also Zacharie, *Die indischen Wörterbücher*, p. 31.

2. *Ind. Anti.* II, p. 17 ff. (1874).

3. *B. S. Series*, XVII, 1880, Intro., pp. 1-2.

4. This is the date of the original MS of which the Ahmedabad MS is a copy.

5. The colophon contains the date 1575 which, PISCHEL thinks, may be intended for the *Samvat* era.

6. *B. S. Series*, (1880) No. XVII (Second Edition, Poona, 1938) with Introduction, Critical Notes and Glossary.

Principal RAMANUJASWAMI regards the text of the *Deśināmamālā* as "settled with considerable purity" and hence he has "allowed the text to remain as it stood in the first edition."¹

In spite of the efforts of the two editors of the *Deśināmamālā* to settle its text the discovery and use of other MSS of the work earlier in point of date will make the assurance regarding "considerable purity" of the text doubly sure and it is the purpose of this note to point out such MSS as are earlier than those used by the two editors viz. PISCHEL and RAMANUJASWAMI.

The India Office MS² of the work is a copy written in A.D. 1881 and is useless for our present inquiry regarding MSS of the *Deśināmamālā* copied earlier than A.D. 1493 which is the date of the Bikaner MS used by PISCHEL and which is the earliest *dated* MS known to the two editors of this work. Prof. VELANKAR describes three MSS³ of this work in the possession of the B. B. R. A. Society, Bombay. Only one of these MSS is dated, having been copied in Śaka 1786 (= A.D. 1864). The MSS mentioned by AUFRECHT⁴ have been already utilized by PISCHEL and RAMANUJASWAMI. The Oriental MSS Library at Ujjain records a MS under the title "*Deśināmamālā (Anekārtha Saṃgraha)*" by Hemacandra, but it is not clear whether the MS is one of the *Deśināmamālā* or of the *Anekārthasaṃgraha* as the entry in the list⁵ of Ujjain MSS is rather ambiguous. This MS also does not bear any date. The *Jain Granthāvali* records one MS of the *Deśināmamālā*, one of a *ṽṛtti* on it called "*Ratnāvalī*" and a glossary called *Uddhāra* by Vimala.⁶ None of these MSS is dated.

The foregoing survey of the dated MSS of the *Deśināmamālā* reveals to us the following chronology of the available copies of the work :—

A.D. 1493, 1519(?), 1531, 1572, 1580, 1864, 1881.

I shall now record a MS of the *Deśināmamālā* which appears to me the *earliest dated MS* of the work. It is deposited in the Saṅghavī Pādā Jain Bhandar of Patan and is described by the late Mr. C. D. DALAL in his *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS in the Jain Bhandars at Pattan*.⁷ According to

1. Do.—Intro., p. 2.

2. *Cata. of Sans. and Prakrit Manuscripts* (India Office) by A. B. KEITH, Vol. II, Oxford, 1935, p. 311—The MS is dated *Samvat 1938, Sukla pakṣa 2 ravivāsare*.

3. H. D. VELANKAR : *Des. Cata. of Sans. and Prakrit MSS*, Vol. I, p. 34, MSS Nos. 104, 106 are described under title *Deśiśabdasaṃgraha (Ratnāvalī)*.

4. *Cata. Catalogorum*, i, 262b ; ii, 56b ; iii, 57a.

5. *Cata. of Oriental MSS* (Ujjain MSS Library) 1936, p. 45—MS No. 1169 (1904).

6. *Jain Granthāvali*, Bombay, 1909, p. 310.

7. *G. O. Series*, No. LXXVI, Baroda, 1937—Vol. I, p. 60.

—“देसीनाममाला by हेमाचार्य प. ११९; १०" × १३" colophon :—

संवत् १२९८ वर्षे अश्विनशुदि १० रवौ अयेह भृगुकच्छे महाराणक श्रीवीसलदेव...महं, श्री.तेजपालसुतमहं श्रीलूणसीहप्रभृति पंचकुलप्रतिपत्तौ आचार्यश्रीजिणदेवसूरिकृते देसीनाममाला लिखापिता। कायस्थज्ञातीयमहं. जयंतसीह....सु...”

Mr. DALAL's description the MS consists of 119 leaves and is 10"×14" in size. It was copied by a man of the Kāyastha caste in *Samvat 1298*, (*aśvina śudi 10 ravau*) = *Sunday 15th September 1241*. The colophon mentions a king of the name "महाराणक श्री वीसलदेव" who appears to me to be identical with the Caulukya king of the same name who became king at Aṇahilapāṭaka in Vikrama Samvat 1300 (= A.D. 1244) according to *Therāvali*.¹ Jayantasīha mentioned in the colophon as the son of Tejapāla is the writer of the MS. This Tejapāla may perhaps be identical with his namesake who was one of the two great ministers of the father of Viśaladeva. These two ministers suffered great indignities at the hands of Viśaladeva and were replaced by a Brahmin named Nāgaḍa as the chief minister.² The Jain Bhandars contain three other MSS written during the reign of king Viśaladeva³ in A.D. 1239, 1251, 1254 respectively. In one of the colophons of these dated MSS the prime minister Nāgaḍa is mentioned as "महामात्य श्रीनागड" "as transacting the business of the seal in A.D. 1254. This colophon was written 7 years earlier than the *Kadi Grant* dated 19th March A.D. 1261 in which we find "Viśaladeva ruling victoriously at Aṇahilapāṭaka and when the Mahāmātya Nāgaḍa was in charge of the seal.⁴ It appears, therefore, that the prime minister Nāgaḍa had an uninterrupted career between A.D. 1254⁵ and 1261 as proved by the above colophon and the *Kadi Grant*.

1. *Dynastic History of Northern India* by H. C. RAY, Calcutta, 1936, Vol. II, p. 1035.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1036.

3. *Des. Cata. of Jain Bhandars MSS* by DALAL (1937) Vol. I, pp. 33, 162, 218, The colophons of these three MSS are as follows :—(1) Page 33—"संवत् १२९५ वर्षे भाद्रपदशुदि ११ रवौ स्तंभतीर्थे महामंडलेश्वरराणकश्रीविसलदेवविजयराज्ये तनियुक्तदंडाधिपति श्री विजयसीहप्रतिपत्तौ श्री संडेरगच्छीयगणि आसचंद्रशिष्यपंडितगुणाकार सौवर्णिकपक्षीवाल ज्ञाती ठ० विजयसीह ठ० सलषणदेवोस्तनुजसो० ठ० तेजःपालेन लेखायत्वा आत्मश्रेयसे पुस्तिका प्रदत्ता । छ । लिखिता रतनसीहेन ।

(2) Page 162—"संवत् १३०७ वर्षे चैत्रवदि १३ भौमे श्री वीसलदेवकल्याण-विजयराज्ये वाम...धा...प्रश्रुतिपंचकुलप्रतिपत्तौ श्रीचंद्रगच्छीयभीचंद्रप्रभमूरिशिष्यैः आचार्य-श्रीनेमिप्रभसूरि...श्रीहेमचंद्रधातुपारायणवृत्तिपुस्तिका लिखिता । लिखिता च ठ० देवश [मंगा]"

(3) Page 218—"संवत् १३१० वर्षे माघशुदि १३ रवौ पुण्यां महा राजाधिराज-श्रीवीसलदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये महामात्यश्रीनागडमंडलेश्वरमुद्राव्यापारे अद्यह प्रव्हा (ह्वा) दनपुरस्थितेन ठ० नाग...यष्टि श्रीकुमारमुतजीदंडयोग्यमुत्तराध्ययनवृत्तिपुस्तकं लिखितं ॥ ६ ॥

4. H. C. RAY : *Dynastic History*, Vol. II (1936), p. 1034.

5. Vide C. D. DALAL : *Catalogue of Jesalmere MSS. Baroda* (1923) p. 37 The colophon of the MS of *Hitopadeśāmṛta* was copied in A.D. 1254 during Viśaladeva's reign when Nāgaḍa was the prime minister. ("संवत् १३१० वर्षे मार्गपूर्णमायां अद्यह महाराजाधिराजश्रीविश्वलदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तत्पादपद्मोपजीविनि महामात्यश्रीनागड-प्रश्रुतिपंचकुलप्रतिपत्तौ एवं काले प्रवर्तमाने प्रकरणपुस्तिका साधुचंदनेन लिखितेति")

The MS of the *Deśināmamālā* copied in A.D. 1241 during the reign of king Viśaladeva is a copy prepared 69 years after the death of Hemacandra¹ and hence appears to me to be the oldest dated MS of the work so far known. This MS is also 252 years older than the Bikaner MS used by PISCHEL and which is dated A.D. 1493. In view of these facts the value of this MS for textual purposes should be the greatest as Pischel found that even the best MS used by him was not at times trustworthy in constituting the text of the *Deśināmamālā*. Students interested in Prākṛta philology should try to procure a photographic copy of this MS from the authorities of the Saṅghavi's Pāḍā Bhāṇ-dāra.²

1. Vide *JBBRAS*, xxvi, p. 224—"Hema Candra was born on the full moon of Kartika, Saṃvat 1145 (A. C. 1088). In Saṃvat 1154 (A. C. 1097) he was initiated into the priestly orders; in 1166 (A. C. 1109) he obtained the degree or title of Sūri and died in Saṃvat 1229 (A. C. 1172) at the age of 84". Vide also pp. 6 and 57 of *Life of Hemacandra* by BÜHLER (English Trans. by Dr. MANILAL PATEL *Singhi Jaina Series* ed. by MUNI JINA VIJAYA, Santiniketan, 1936).

2. Vide p. 34 of the *Jain Bhandars Catalogue* (1937)—This collection belongs to the Laghupośālika branch of the Tapāgaccha. Neither Dr. BÜHLER nor PETERSON had access to this collection though they managed to get lists of the MSS prepared through agents. Mr. DALAL states that he had a complete access to these MSS and that he discovered many new and important Sanskrit and Prākṛt works, both Jain and Brahmanical supposed to have been unknown or lost hitherto. He also discovered an enormous bulk of Apabhraṃśa literature, which is looked upon as the immediate source of many Indian vernaculars.

ON THE ORIGINAL TEXT OF THE AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ

By

S. P. CHATURVEDI

The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini holds an almost unrivalled position in Indian literature. It has thrown into oblivion the earlier grammatical works and has found its place in the list of the *Vedāṅgas*. Its methodology, scientific treatment and comprehensiveness have made us forget the older vedāṅga texts on grammar, and, being the oldest text on grammar it is the only work referred to as 'Vyākaraṇa' the most important among the six *Vedāṅgas*.¹ Consequently it is invariably included by the *Śrotriya*s in their recitation (*Mantra-jāgara*), no matter to which *Veda* or to which *Sākhā* thereof they belong. Thus, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* forms an essential part of the vast sacred vedic literature.

But this fact has not been an 'unmixed blessing' to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, for it is responsible for causing an artificial recitation of the text. The *sūtras* are read by the *Śrotriya*s not separately but continuously as in *Samhitāpāṭha*. That this process of combining *sūtras* in a continuous reading could *never* have been Pāṇini's intention goes without saying, for it strikes at the very root of the Pāṇinian scheme. The different *sūtras* are laid down by Pāṇini for different purposes. Some give positive injunctions (*Vidhisūtras*); others are negative (*Niṣedha*); some are used in interpreting a *sūtra* (*Paribhāṣā*); others are meant for being handed down in the succeeding *sūtras* (*Adhikāra*); others are merely definitions of technical terms² (*Samjñā*). It would serve no purpose at all and would be only a travesty of facts, if we were to suppose that the *sūtras* of a *pāda* (a sub-section of an *adhyāya*) form one continuous word-group. But as this peculiar way of recitation is found among the Vedic reciters who seldom pay attention to the meaning of the text, there is not much to wonder at it. But the real matter for surprise faces us when we find the commentators taking advantage of the continuous recitation and interpreting *sūtras* in their own way.

This they did in two ways. Firstly, a variant reading of the final word of a *sūtra* is proposed to suit a grammatical purpose and the variant is accounted for by its *sandhi* with the initial letter of the following *sūtra*.

1. Cf. मुखं व्याकरणं स्मृतम् ।
(Pāṇiniya Śikṣā ; St. 42)

2. Cf. संज्ञा च परिभाषा च विधिर्नियम एव च ।
अधिकारोऽतिदेशश्च षड्विधं सूत्रलक्षणम् ॥

Thus, the sūtra, 'Sthāne antaratamaḥ' (I-i-50) is proposed to be read¹ as *Sthāne antaratame*, because the continuous reading of the two sūtras (I-i-50, 51), viz. *Sthāne antaratama Uraṇ raparah*, can be dissolved as *Sthāne antaratame / uraṇ raparah*. Secondly, the commentators split the continuous-read sūtras in an arbitrary manner. A sūtra may be split into two sūtras (*Yoga-vibhāga*) and interpreted accordingly to give wider meaning to the original sūtra. About eight (8) cases of such a *Yoga-vibhāga* have been suggested in the *Mahābhāṣya*.² The later commentators carry this procedure of *Yoga-vibhāga* further to other sūtras and have no hesitation in resorting to it.³ This frequent recourse to *Yoga-vibhāga* has consequently led to a discrepancy in the total number of the *Aṣṭā-sūtras*. According to the author of the *Svara-siddhānta-candrikā*, the total number of the sūtras is 3995.⁴ BÖHTLINGK gives in his critical edition 3983 sūtras⁵ and refers to a post-script in the Manuscript (B) according to which the sūtras were 3896 in number.⁶ Tārānath TARKA-VĀCASPATI'S edition of the *Siddhāntakaumudī* contains 3965 sūtras. This discrepancy in the total number of sūtras is mostly due to the *Yoga-vibhāga* procedure. A question may be raised as to why the commentators resorted to it. For replying this question, we have to dive deep into their minds and understand their view-point, before we think of accusing them of 'tampering' with the original text.

We have already seen above that the *Aṣṭā*. has long since been regarded as a part of the sacred vedic literature. In his comment, Patañjali expressly admits⁷ that the sūtras were like Vedas and that great sanctity attaches to them as they were composed by Pāṇini, an accepted authority on the subject. Therefore, the commentators believed that the *Aṣṭā*. was the standard grammar of the Sanskrit language for all times past as well as future. Consequently, according to them, what was not accounted for by the *Aṣṭā*. was wrong and also what was held correct must be justified and made to have Pāṇinian authority. It was specially the latter supposition which led the commentators to split sūtras in order to account for the new formations,

1. See *Mahābhāṣya* on (I-i-50).

“ उभयथा हि तुल्या संहिता 'स्थानेऽन्तरतम उरणरपर' इति । ”

2. See KIELHORN : *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVI, p. 179-181.

3. Cf. *Siddhānta-kaumudī* on (II-i-6 ; II-iii-71 ; II-i-4 etc).

4. See section 1, st. 15.

चतुःसहस्री सूत्राणां पञ्चसूत्रीविवर्जिता ।

अष्टाध्यायी पाणिनीया सूत्रैर्माहेश्वरैः सह ॥

5. See Vol. II, Einleitung, p. XIX (1840 edition).

6. *Ibid*, footnote No. 2.

त्रीणि सूत्रसहस्राणि तथा नवशतानि च ।

षण्ण (? ण्ण) वतिसूत्राणि पाणिनिः कृतवान् स्वयम् ॥

7. On (I-i-i) छन्दोवत्सूत्राणि भवन्ति ।

and

प्रमाणभूत आचार्यो महता यत्नेन सूत्राणि प्रणिनाय ।

notwithstanding the consideration whether Pāṇini knew and cared for such forms or not. The formations, which became current, even in the post-Pāṇinian age, were 'Pāṇinianized' and no scruple was felt in 'retouching' the original text to account for them. Thus, what would be thought, now-a-days, as the deliberate tampering with the text was *not only* felt unobjectionable but was regarded as quite compatible with the notion of authoritativeness which the commentators associated with Pāṇini's grammar. Another evidence of retouching the original text is the proposed re-arrangement of some *sūtras*. The order of the *sūtras* as given in the *Kāśikā-vṛtti*, is ordinarily accepted. But Nāgēśabhaṭṭa says¹ that the *sūtras* (I-i-29|37) should come, according to Patañjali (on I-ii-32), after (VIII-iv-67); while Patañjali, regards² them as coming after (I-ii-40).³ Similarly, according to Patañjali, the *sūtras* (VIII-iv-58-63) should come after (VIII-iv-52). Besides these re-arrangements of the *sūtras*, the *Aṣṭā*. contains quite a good number of variants in reading, interpolations from the *Vārttikas* and Patañjali's remarks and additions of one or more words.⁴

The *Sūtra*, '*Upadeśe ac anunāsikaḥ it* (I-iii-2), refers to the dropping of those vowels, which were nasalized (*anunāsika*) purposely to indicate their indicatory nature (*Anubandhatva*). Thus, the letter *r* of the suffix *Śatṛ* (P. III-ii-124) is elided, but not *a* of the suffix *Śānac* (P. III-ii-124). In order to distinguish such indicatory vowels (*anubandhas*) from other vowels, Pāṇini proposed their nazalization; the suffix *Śatṛ*, therefore, was formally *Śatṛm*, but *Śānac* was not *Śānamc*. Hence the difference in their treatment. But unfortunately the signs of nasalization are not seen in the present text of the *Aṣṭā*.; they disappeared before the age of the *Kāśikā-Kāras* (600 A.D.), who had therefore to give a maxim that the nasalized character of an indicatory vowel is the subject of inference and traditional interpretation (and not of actual observation).⁵ Needless to say, the retention of these signs would have been helpful and made the scheme much easier.

Now, we come to the question if the *Aṣṭā*. was originally written in an accented form. Though only the texts of the vedic *saṃhitās* and the *Taittirīya* and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas* mark accents, there are reasons to believe that other older vedic works also had originally an accented form.⁶ The same may or may not be true of the *Vedāṅga* texts, but the fact remains that no available texts of the *Vedāṅga* works (including the *Aṣṭā*.) have

1. See *Laghu-śabdendusekhara* on (I-ii-32).

2. See comments on (I-ii-32).

3. "इत आरभ्य नवसूत्राणाम् 'अ अ' इति सूत्रात्पूर्वं पाठ इति तस्यादित इत्यत्र भाष्ये इति तत्रैव ल. श. शेखरे । परन्तु उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य सन्नतर इत्यतः परत्र पाठ इति स्पष्टं भाष्ये ।"
[*Aṣṭā*. (Bombay Edition) : footnote on I-ii-129 and VIII-iv-52].

4. See KIELHORN; *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVI, pp. 181-184.

5. See comment on (I-iii-2).

प्रतिज्ञानुनासिक्याः पाणिनीयाः ।

6. See KEITH : *R. V. Brāhmaṇas* (Translated) ; Introduction, p. 94.

come down to us in an accented form. The vedic reciters (*Śrotriyas*), however, recite the *Aṣṭā* in the same monotonous (*Ekaśruti*) way as the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (which must have been originally accented like the *Śatapatha* and *Taittirīya*) and the manner of recitation by the *Śrotriyas* gives no help to decide the question. This question whether *vedāṅga* texts were originally accented or not, assumes greater importance in the case of the *Aṣṭā*. The basis of Pāṇini's grammar comprised the vedic as well as the classical language; and as important vedic works were accented, he had to give accent rules¹ in order to make his grammar comprehensive. His treatment of accents (*Svara-prakriyā*) is, therefore, an important section of the *Aṣṭā*, and has been regarded fuller and more scientific than that of the section dealing with purely vedic formations (*Vaidikī-prakriyā*). The technique and fundamental principles of the language being the same, it is but natural that the application of his accent rules should be extended to the classical forms also. That the accents are common to both vedic and classical Sanskrit is clear from the fact that Pāṇini does not say that the word '*chandasi*' is to be supplied in the accent-rules. On the other hand, the presence of this word in some sūtras (e.g., VI-i-170; VI-ii-119; VIII-i-35 etc.) makes it quite clear that other sūtras are common to both. The sūtra '*Vibhāṣā Bhāṣāyām*' (VI-i-181) clearly refers to the optional operation of the accent-rule (VI-i-180) in *Bhāṣā* (spoken language). That Kātyāyana also did not like to confine the scope of the accent-rules to vedic Sanskrit only can be inferred by his not introducing any such *vārttika* as '*Chandasi iti vācyam*' in the accent-rules (*Svara-sūtras*). The stanza² '*Mantra hīnaḥ svarato varṇato vā...*' is found altered in the *Mahābhāṣya* (I-i-1-1) as '*Duṣṭaḥ śabdaḥ...*'. This clearly shows that according to Patañjali any word—whether vedic or classical—was liable to become wrong in accent and bring harm to the user.³ Thus, if we recognize that accents are common⁴ to both vedic and classical, it should cause no surprise if Pāṇini's *sūtras*

1. See *Svara-siddhānta-candrikā*; St. 16-7 of the 1st section

सप्ताशीत्यधिका तेषु त्रिंशती सौवरी मता ।
पञ्चैकादश वा ज्ञेयाः स्वरयोगा उणादिषु ॥
संख्या फिट्मूत्ररूपाणां विज्ञेयाशीतिरष्ट च ।
त्रिंशत्सूत्री प्रातिशाख्यात् संगृहीतात्र सौवरी ॥

(Annamalai University Sanskrit series edition, 1936)

2. *Pāṇiniyaśiṣkā*, st. 52.

मन्त्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह । स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रगन्तुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥

3. The word *Indra-śatruḥ* if accented on the 1st member of the compound will have *Bahuvrīhi* compound and mean "whose killer is Indra"; but if accented on the last syllable of the compound, it will have *Tatpuruṣa* compound and mean 'Indra's killer'. This word pronounced in the accents of the *Bahuvrīhi* compound brought disaster to the *Asuras*.

4. See *Svarasiddhānta-candrikā*; Introduction: (p. I i.).

also, like *Samhitā* texts, bore accent marks according to his *Svara-prakriyā*.¹ We shall begin the consideration of the problem with what the commentators *expressly* say about it.

In his comment on the *Paribhāṣā* 'Abhedakāḥ Guṇāḥ' (No. 118) Nāgeśabhaṭṭa refers to the two opinions of Kaiyaṭa, (i) that the *Aṣṭā* was read as an accented text, that is, the sūtras were recited with three accents; *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita* (*Traisvarya-pāṭha*); or (ii) the sūtras were recited in a monotonous way (*Ekaśruti*) and that no distinction in tone was observed. But Nāgeśabhaṭṭa himself does not subscribe to this non-committing opinion of Kaiyaṭa. He asserts that though reciters do not observe the distinction of accents and recite in *Ekaśruti-pāṭha*, it does not follow that the *Aṣṭā* text had no accented form, that particular words in a sūtra may have been given for special reasons² in *Ekaśruti*, but the *Aṣṭā* as a whole was handed down by Pāṇini in an accented form (*Traisvarya*).

But there are some difficulties in accepting the above view of Nāgeśabhaṭṭa. Firstly, Kaiyaṭa, an earlier writer by 600 years, is not so definite and holds a non-committing opinion.³ Secondly, granting that the *Aṣṭā* had *Traisvarya-pāṭha* the following questions arise; (i) whether the roots, stems and suffixes occurring in the sūtras, were marked according to their original accents, or they would be governed by the rules of the *Samhitā-pāṭha* (where mutual influencing of accents in different words is allowed). [For example, the roots, *Vada*, *Vraja* (= *Vad*, *Vraj* which are *Udātta*, by VI-1-162) in the sūtra (VII-ii-3) would be marked as such, or the compound, '*vada-vraja-halantasya*' (VII-ii-3) will have *Samāsa-svara* (VI-i-223) viz. *antodātta*, and the roots, *vada* etc. will be marked as *anudātta*]. Or (ii) whether *Yat* in (III-i-97) will have stem-accent (*Phīṣvara*, *antodātta*) or the *svarita*-accent by (VI-i-185). A strict adherence to the method of *Traisvarya-pāṭha* will, however, require compound-accent in the sūtra (VII-ii-3) and *Yat* in (III-i-97) to be marked as *Udātta*, for the word *Yat* in the sūtra does not actually have *t* (as the indicatory sign) as required by (VI-i-185); *yat* has *t* (as an *anubandha*) in the example-formations only, viz. *ceyam*, *jeyam*. But this explanation does not hold good in the following case.

The heading words (*Adhikāra*), which are intended to be supplied in the following sūtras, are enjoined by Pāṇini to be marked with the *Svarita*-sign (*Svaritena addhikārah*, I-iii-11); e.g. the words, *Dhātōḥ* (III-i-91), *Prat-yayaḥ* (III-i-1)—(which are supplied in the following sūtras) should be

1. Cf. the rules of *Sandhi* given by Pāṇini which are actually applied in Pāṇini's sūtras (special cases ignored).

2. The word, *Aikṣvāka*, allowed as an irregular formation (*nipātana*) by (VI-i-174), is to be read in *Ekaśruti* to permit two forms; one with *udātta* on the first syllable in the sense of 'Son of *Ikṣvāku*' (IV-i-168), the other with *udātta* on the last syllable in the sense of 'born in the country of *Ikṣvāku*' (IV-ii-132).

3. Kaiyaṭa (on VI-1-1) does not only mention the above option, but regards *Traisvarya-pāṭha* as दुरन्धरण

marked as *svarita*. But a question arises whether the words, *Dhātoḥ* and *Pratyayaḥ*, being *adhikāra*-words, will bear *Svarita*-marks or their original accents (*antodātta*) ; whether the word, *Aci* in (VI-i-77) should have the *Svarita* sign, because it is an *adhikāra* word and is supplied in the following sūtra (VI-i-78) or it should be marked with its own original accent (*Ādyudātta*). Really speaking, the rules of *Traisvārya-pāṭha* will have to be waived in the case of *adhikāra* words and P. sūtras will have to be marked in two ways, (i) the *adhikāra*-words in a sūtra to be marked as *Svarita*, and (ii) the remaining words in a sūtra will have original accents and undergo the mutual influencing of accents as in *Samhitā-pāṭha*. But the present *Aṣṭā*. text shows not only the absence of *Traisvārya*, but also of *Svarita*-signs, which would have indicated an *adhikāra*. The authors of the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* expressly state¹ that an *adhikāra* word is known as such by inference and traditional interpretation and not by actual marking of the *svarita*-sign, in the same way as we have seen above about the nasalization-sign of an indicatory vowel. The comments of Kātyāyana and Patañjali on (III-i-11) do not indicate² that they had before them an accented text of the *Aṣṭā*. In fact, the word *Svarita* in (I-i-11) does not appear to have been used in its technical sense (*Samāhāraḥ Svaritaḥ* I-ii-31), but merely as an arbitrary³ sign. It would be preposterous to suppose that Pāṇini desired the *adhikāra* words to be marked as *Svarita* in its technical sense and thus cause confusion between the *adhikāra-svarita* and the real *svarita*-accent.

A similar confusion is likely to arise as regards the *uddātta* and *anudātta* roots in the *Dhātu-pāṭha*. We know from (VI-i-162) that all the roots are *antodātta* (i.e. have the last vowel *udātta*) ; but for the purpose of indicating whether a root is *seṭ* or *aniṭ*, a distinction was made in the *Dhātupāṭha*, viz. the *seṭ* roots were marked *udātta* and *aniṭ* ones *anudātta* (Vide, VII-ii-10). Thus, the root *jñā* (to know) is formally *udātta* by (VI-i-162), but in the *Dhātupāṭha* it must be marked as *anudātta* to indicate that it is an *aniṭ* root. The only solution to clear off this tangle is to regard the *udātta* and *anudātta* lists of the *Dhātu-pāṭha* as not having the technical *udātta* and *anudātta* accents, but some arbitrary sign for indicating distinction.²²

1. On (II-1-11).

प्रतिज्ञास्वरिताः पाणिनीयाः ।

2. See a detailed interpretation of the sūtra in *Gurupūjākaumudī* (Festgabe zum Albrecht WEBER) 1896 ; KIELHORN : '*Svaritenādhikārah*'.

3. Cf. *Laghuśabdenduśekhara* on (I-i-11).

स्वरितत्वं चेदं दोषविशेषरूपमज्ज्ञानसाधारणं स्वरूपमधिक्रियमाणपदघटकाजिष्ठं वा । तच्चानु-
नासिक्यवत्प्रतिज्ञागम्यम्— ।

4. GOLDSTÜCKER (*Reprint*, p. 41) referring to this clumsy method of using the same term for indicating two different functions, writes, "Let us suppose that *anudātta* in the *Upadeśa* does not mean the spoken, but the written accent and the difficulty is solved without the necessity of impugning the ability or the com-

These arbitrary indications of a *svarita* or *anudātta* were so clumsy and unscientific (and almost un-Pāṇini-like) that Patañjali (on I-ii-11) pooh-poohed the idea of the *Svarita*-sign for indicating *Adhikāra* and preferred the ever-ready (and at times teasing due to its frequency) recourse to the *Paribhāṣā Vyākhyānato viśeṣa-pratipattiḥ na hi sandehāt a-lakṣaṇam*, i.e., "The solution of the special (difficulty) results from explanation, for it does not follow that because there is a doubt there is not criterion to solve it." (p. 37|8, GOLDSTÜCKER). Similarly, the *aniṭ* (so-called *anudātta*) roots were later¹ on put together and classified on the principle of their final consonants. The sūtra, *Svaritena adhikārah* (I-iii-11) is now to us of no practical utility;² but the fact remains that this sūtra served its purpose in Pāṇini's times, when there must have been signs to indicate an *adhikāra* word. It is certain that these signs had already disappeared in Patañjali's times, for, otherwise, he would not have thought of assigning to them one after another, three different functions, (i) The *Svarita*-sign indicates a heading word, (ii) it indicates the limit to which a heading word goes, and (iii) it invests a word with greater strength or efficacy (*Adhikārah = adhiḥ kām kāryam*).³

Now let us consider the internal evidence of Pāṇini on the subject. The sūtra (I-ii-36) gives an option to have *Traisvarya-pāṭha* or *Ekaśruti-pāṭha* in Vedic literature, implying thereby that even in his times, some vedic works were read with *Ekaśruti*, an assumption borne out by known facts. This *Ekaśruti-pāṭha* should then be still more true of the classical Sanskrit works as testified by the existing texts. So unless we think of Pāṇini as writing consciously and professedly a vedic work, the question of the *Traisvarya-pāṭha* in the *Aṣṭā*. need not arise. The suggestion of the latter commentators⁴ to interpret the sūtra (I-ii-36) as '*Vibhāṣā a-chandasī*' and allow option in *Bhāṣā* (*a-chandas*) also is on the face of it not required (besides being unnatural and far-fetched) and arises from a misconception. The later commentators, believing in the *Traisvarya-pāṭha* of the *Aṣṭā*. seem to think that the sūtra, '*Vibhāṣā chandasī*' gives option of having *Ekaśruti* or *Traisvarya* to the vedic works only, and the *Traisvaryapāṭha* is, therefore, compulsory in non-vedic works. But then the complete absence of accentuation marks in the classical Sanskrit works remains inexplicable. We should also bear in mind that the *Ekaśrutipāṭha* (and not *Traisvarya*) is suitable to the employment of the *Śleṣa* figure so frequently employed in classi-

mon-sense of the grammarians". I will only add that such a 'double' use of a technical term is often allowed by Pāṇini with a view to preserve an earlier terminology (*Pūrvācāryānurodhena*) Cf. the term '*Pada*' in (I-iv-14) and (I-iv-17) '*Upasarjana*' in (I-ii-43) and (I-ii-44).

1. See *Kāśikā-vṛtti* and *Siddhānta-kaumudī* on the sūtra (VII-ii-10).

2. See KIELHORN : *Gurupūjākaumudī*, p. 29-32, specially the opening and last sentences.

3. For examples, see *Mahābhāṣya* on the sūtra (I-iii-11).

4. See *Kāśikā-vṛtti* on (I-ii-36) and *Śabdakaustubha* on the same (Vol. II, p. 17, p. Benares edition, Fas. 5 to 10. 1929).

cal Sanskrit. Besides Kaiyaṭa (see above)¹ does not preclude the possibility of the *Ekaśruti* in the *Aṣṭā*. Kātyāyanā's *Vārttikas* on (VI-iv-174) about the word *Aikṣvāka*² show clearly that the prevalent *Ekaśruti-pāṭha* was necessary to account for the required forms. The inference³ from (VI-i-181) about the prevalence of accents in *Bhāṣā* (spoken language) would be valid for spoken forms⁴ and not a written work⁵ like the *Aṣṭā*. It is only on the supposition that the *Aṣṭā* was written in *Ekaśruti* that the commentators⁶ can justify their interpretation of the *sūtra* (I-i-70) in two ways (*Taḥ paro yasmāt* or *Tāt paraḥ*, viz. followed by or following *i*). Otherwise in *Trāisvaryapāṭha* the accents of the *Bahuvrīhi* and *Tatpuruṣa* compounds being different [vide (VI-ii-1) and (VI-i-223)], the two interpretations of *Taparaḥ* would not have been at all possible. If some grammarians, desiring to elevate the *Aṣṭā* to the status of the accented vedic *saṃhitās*, applied the accent-rules of Pāṇini to his own work and put forth before the vedic reciters an accented text, such a text did not survive long and like the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, the *Aṣṭā* also came to be recited in *Ekaśruti*.

1. Specially footnote 1 of page 147.

2. See footnote 2 of page 146.

3. C. V. VAIDYA : *History of Sanskrit literature* section III, page 133.

4. It is a well-established fact that accents—pitch or stress—play an important part in the spoken languages. Pāṇini's accent-rules applicable to the *Bhāṣā* forms also are to be explained in this way. The word '*Bhāṣā*' used in the *sūtras*, not dealing with accents, does however refer to both the forms of the classical Sanskrit—written and spoken.

5. See THIEME : *Pāṇini and the Veda*, pp. 124, & 129-30.

6. See Patañjali on (I-i-50), *Kāśikā-vṛtti* and all later commentators on (I-i-70).

AUSTRIC SUB-STRATUM IN THE ASSAMESE LANGUAGE*

By

B. KAKATI

§ 18. Assamese betrays certain peculiarities not shared by any other modern Indo-Aryan language in its uses of the nouns of relationship. These may be grouped under two classes. (i) There are different and specific terms used with reference to the same relation according as he or she is *senior* or *junior* in age with reference to the person with whom relationship is indicated. (ii) The same terms of relationship take on personal affixes on the model of verbal conjugations according as the relationship indicated is with the first, the second (inferior or honorific), or the third person.

§ 19. To illustrate :—*my elder brother* is *kakāi*, but *my younger brother* is *bhāi*; *my elder sister* is *bāi*, but *my younger sister* is *bhanī*. Similarly *my elder sister's husband* is *bhūnihi* but *my younger sister's husband* is *baināi*. So also the elder one of two sisters not related to the speaker would be affectionately addressed as *āi-kaṇ* but the younger one as *māi-kaṇ*.

It would thus be seen that there are no generic terms in Assamese equivalent to such English words as *brother*, *sister*, etc. An English expression like *How many brothers are you?* would be rendered in Assamese as *tomālok bhāi-kakāi kei-jaṇ*—*How many are you, (including) younger and elder brothers?*

§ 20. The personal affixations of the terms of relationship according as they are qualified by different grammatical persons may be best illustrated in a tabular form.

	My ;	Your (inferior) ;	Your (hon.) ;	His
Father :	<i>bop-āi</i> ,	<i>bāp-er</i> ,	<i>bāp-erā</i> ,	<i>bāp-ck</i> .
Mother :	<i>āi</i> ,	<i>mā-r</i> ,	<i>mā-rā</i> ,	<i>mā-k</i> .
Elder brother :	<i>kakā-i</i> ,	<i>kakā-yeṛ</i> ,	<i>kakā-yeṛā</i> ,	<i>kakā-yek</i> .
Younger sister :	<i>bhanī</i> ,	<i>bhanī-yeṛ</i> ,	<i>bhanī-yeṛā</i> ,	<i>bhanī-yek</i> .
	etc.	etc.	etc.	

§ 21. This phenomenon has not been satisfactorily explained. Sir George GRIERSON has connected this with the affixed pronouns of the North-western languages (*JASB*. 1895, Part I. p. 347.—quoted in *ODBL*. p. 165). Dr. S. K. CHATTERJI differing from Sir George would consider it to be a case of Tibeto-Burman (Boḍo) influence, Boḍo possessing the peculiarity found in the Aryan Assamese (*ODBL*. p. 165).

§ 22. But the Tibeto-Burman (Boḍo) influence, great as it is in some respects on Assamese, does not explain the phenomenon of affixed nouns of relationship. In the Boḍo the pronouns are *prefixed* and not *suffixed* (e.g. Boḍo : *ā-fā*, my father, *nām-fā*, your father ; *bi-fā*, his father). There are, however, Austric parallels to these Assamese idioms. Speaking of the Muṇḍa languages, Sten KONOW observes "Nouns denoting relationship are seldom conceived in the abstract but a pronominal *suffix* restricting the sphere of the idea is usually added. Thus Santali : *enga-ñ*, my mother ; *enga-t*, his mother, but seldom *enga*, in the meaning of *mother* alone." He observes further that "the Muṇḍa languages belong to that class which possesses a richly varied stock of words to denote individual things and ideas but is extremely poor in general and abstract terms" (LSI. IV pp. 23, 43). These observations throw some light upon the phenomena noticed under §§ 19 and 20.

§ 23. But the personal affixes to the Assamese nouns of relationship are not of pronominal origin nor are they un-Aryan. They can be traced back to Indo-Aryan sources and are pleonastic in value as shown by their uses with other words in Assamese. If the Austric idioms have induced similar formations in Assamese, the formatives are of Indo-Aryan origin. The point of contact between Austric and Assamese in this regard is one of principle. What Sten KONOW says about the complex conjugation of the Bihari verb has some bearing upon the present discussion. "The complexity can be explained from Aryan forms but the whole principle quite agrees with Muṇḍa grammar (Sten KONOW : *Ibid.* p. 10)."

§ 24. The following Assamese plural suffixes may be equated to Austric formations : *-bilā-k* ; *-gilā* with variants in *-gilā-k*, *-gilā-n* : *-nglā* with variant in *-nglā-n* ; *-hāmṛā*. Here also there are specific differences in their uses : *-bilā-k* and *-gilā* with variants are used generally after nouns, cf. *Mānuh-bilāk* or *mānuh-gilā*, men. The suffix *-nglā* or *-nglā-n* is used only after demonstrative pronouns, cf. *i-nglā*, *si-nglā*, these, those. The suffix *-hāmṛā* is used only after proper names of persons and nouns of relationship ; cf. *Rām-hāmṛā*, Ram and others ; *bāpek-hāmṛā*, his father and others.

The Austric formations to which these Assamese suffixes may be compared are : *blai*, in great number (Khasi) ; *bi*, *ga*, many, much : (M. 42) ; *lu*, *lo*, many, much (M. 40) ; *jngoy*, many (M. 44) ; *ma-git*, how many (W. 78) ; *hamram*, abundant, copious (Santali).

§ 25. The final *-k*, *-n* in the Assamese Plural suffixes are of Indo-Aryan origin ; *-k* being pleonastic and *-n*, a relic of the Old Indo-Aryan genitive plural. Thus an Assamese suffix like *-nglā-n* would represent a fusion of Austric formations like *jngoy*, *lo* with Aryan *-n*.

§ 26. Assamese has a rich crop of enclitic numeratives or definitives. They are post-positional affixes or words which are added to nouns or numerals to define the nature of the object or article referred to. They may be commonly described as articles and have the value of the definite

article "*the*". Even pronouns other than those of the first and second persons take on these post-positions.

To express the force of the indefinite article '*a*' the same post-positional words are used with *e-* (<*eka*) prefixed. The formation so constructed may be used either *before* or *after* the principal word it qualifies; cf. *ekhan kāpor* or *kāpor ekhan*, a piece of cloth; but *kāpor-khan*, the piece of cloth.

§ 27. The Assamese enclitic definitives are many and various according as they indicate something "broad and flat" "long and flexible" "long and flat" etc.

There are as many as thirteen used in common parlance. The following examples will illustrate the uses of a few :

cālanī-khan, the sieve, (something broad and flat).

pāt-caṭā, the tablet, (long and flat).

ḍol-gach, the rope, (long and flexible).

kāṭh-ḍāl, the piece of wood (long but round and solid), etc.

They are used also after numerals : *e-khan*, one piece ;

du-caṭā, *tini-ḍāl*, etc..... each qualifying something of the nature indicated by the suffix.

§ 28. Most of these post-positional suffixes may be traced to Aryan sources. But the idiom of using them as definitives as in the above expressions is un-Aryan. The enclitic numeratives constitute a characteristic both of the Tibeto-Burman and the Austric languages. In the Tibeto-Burman languages generic *prefixes* are commonly used with numerals which *follow* the nouns. They are many and various according as they qualify "*flat*" or "*globular*" things, things standing as trees, etc..... (*LSI*. vol. iii. part ii. p. 385). But the aboriginal dialects of the Malay Peninsula often *annex* to their numerals certain words which roughly express the genius or some general characteristic of the things enumerated. The numeral and this numerical co-efficient then go closely together and form an inseparable word-group which may either *follow* or *precede* the substantives that represent the things enumerated. (*BLAGDEN* : vol. ii, p. 775.)

§ 29. Assamese *affixes* the co-efficient to the numerals like Austric and does not *prefix* unlike Tibeto-Burman. The suffixed numeral either *follows* or *precedes* the substantive as in Austric and does not follow it unlike as in Tibeto-Burman : e.g. *du-caṭā kāṭh*, two pieces of wood : *kāṭh du-caṭā*, two pieces of wood or *the* two pieces of wood, according to the context. But Tibeto-Burman influences may be suspected in the varied nature of the definitives according as the objects qualified are 'flat', 'round', 'broad' etc.

§ 30. The idiomatic parallels and other points of contact noted in the above sections only heighten the suspicion raised in § 17. At the present state of our knowledge about the interaction of the Aryan and non-Aryan languages nothing more definite may be hazarded.

PŪRṆAGIRI AND UḌḌIYANA

By

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

According to some Hindu and the Buddhist Tantras, Kāmarūpa, Pūrṇagiri Uḍḍiyāna or Uḍḍiyāna and Jalandhara are the four *pīṭhas* or sacred centres of importance. But according to the *Sādhana-māla* (Gaekwad Series) Kāmākhyā, Śrīhaṭṭa, Pūrṇagiri and Uḍḍiyāna are the four sacred spots of the Vajrayānists. Of these Kāmākhyā is the same as Kāmarūpa in Assam. Śrīhaṭṭa is the district of Sylhet, formerly in Bengal, but now in Assam. Jalandhara is too well-known. But Pūrṇagiri and Uḍḍiyāna have not yet been satisfactorily identified. We shall, in the present note, try to give some new light towards their location.

1. PŪRṆAGIRI

Dr. P. C. BAGCHI says that 'Pūrṇagiri has not yet been definitely identified.' (*IHQ*. VII. p. 5). Dr. Benoytosh BHATTACHARYA says, that 'Pūrṇagiri is sometimes identified with modern Poona but this is very doubtful, though at this stage it is extremely difficult for any new identification.' (*Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 744). Dr. BAGCHI in his edition of the *Kaulajñāna-Nirṇaya* of Matsyendranātha (Calcutta Sanskrit Series No III), has appended a copy of the *Nityāhnikā-tilakam*, which says that Pūrṇagiri-*pīṭha* was in Dāhala country, as,

“Pūrṇagiri-pīṭhe Dāhala-deśe janma. Jāti Kṣātriya. Śrī-Udayarāja-nāma. Divya-pīṭhāśramas-tasya caryā-nāma Śrī-Pīṭhyatisādevaḥ. Pūjā-nāma Śrī-Padmānandanāthaḥ. Gupta-nāma Śrī-Ātmānandanāthaḥ. Kīrti-nāma Vibhīṣaṇ-ānuḡhitas-tadā Śrī-Laṅkānandanāthaḥ. Asy-aiva śaktiḥ Śrī-Padmāmbāpāpū.” (Introduction, p. 68.)

Dāhala was the well-known kingdom in Central India ruled by the Kalachuris (Chedis). In the *Kālikāpurāṇā* (ch. 64, v. 46). Pūrṇasaila has been placed in the south, probably of Kāmarūpa. The *Purāṇa* enjoins that god Pūrṇanātha and the goddesses Sarojā, Śāntā and Damanidevī are to be worshipped here. This last-named may have some connection with the name of Damch of the district of same name in C.P., which in the fifteenth century inscription was called Damanakapura. (*Dāmaḥa-dīpaka*, p. 85.)

It is interesting to note that this ascetic from Dāhala, in Central India, should be favoured by Vibhīṣaṇa, (probably a general name for the king of Laṅkā) and come to be reputed to be known by the name of Laṅkānandanātha. Can it be that there was a Laṅkā in Central India, as discussed by us in the note 'SĪMHALA IN CENTRAL INDIA' (*NIA*. I. 463)?

2. Uḍḍiyāna.

Uḍḍiyāna is also spelt as Oḍḍiyāna, Oḍyāna and Oḍryāna. L. A. WADDEL identified this with Udyāna in the Swat valley. M. Syl'van LÉVI places this in Kashgarh. Mm. H. P. SHASTRI definitely places it in Orissa. Dr. Benoytosh BHATTACHARYYA is in favour of placing it in Bengal, in the Western part of Assam, (*IHQ.*, Vol. III, pp. 744-6). Dr. BAGCHI supports WADDEL (*Ibid*, Vol. VII, p. 5).

If Uḍḍiyāna was really outside India, this location must have been long forgotten. The Kumārikā-Khaṇḍa, embedded in the Māheśvarakhaṇḍa of the *Skanda-purāṇa* (ch. 39, v. 133) names it as one of the seventy-two provinces forming Bhāratavarṣa (India). It comprised nine *lākhs* of villages. According to the *Pag Sam Jon Zan* it contained five *lākhs* of towns. (WADDEL, *Lumaism*, p. 182; *IHQ.* Vol. III, p. 745). Both Sambhala and Lankāpurī lay in it. We have shown that both these places were in Central India (*NIA*. I. 463).

According to the *Nityāhnikā-tīlakam* (p. 68), referred to above, Oḍḍa-pīṭha was in Puṇḍravardhana of Gauḍa, as,

"Oḍḍa-pīṭhe Gauḍa Śrī-Paṇḍravarddhanapaṭane janma. Jāti-Brāhmaṇaḥ. Sāmavedī Trivikramo-nāma. Tasya caryā-nāma Śrī-Bhaira-vīśanāthaḥ. Kīrti-nāma Kaṇṇakubje dvādaśa-dinānyarkva sthīrikṛtas-tena Vyomānandanāthaḥ. Kaulam-udyotitaṁ tadā Śrī-Udayānandanāthaḥ. Arka-kiraṇāvalī ācchāditā Śrī-Kiraṇānandanāthaḥ. Asy-aiva śaktiḥ Śrī-Gaganāmbā Śrī-Vaṭulāmbā pāpū."

The date of copy of this manuscript is 515 N.S.=1395 A.D. [H. P. SHASTRI'S *Nepal Catalogues* (I. pp. 111-12; II. pp. 70 and 82)]. This Oḍḍa-pīṭha seems to be the same as the Oḍḍiyāna or Uḍḍiyāna-pīṭha. If so, this goes to support the conjecture of Dr. B. BHATTACHARYYA. But in the *Skandapurāṇa*, Gauḍa has been mentioned as a separate country from Uḍḍiyāna.

According to the *Kālikāpurāṇa* (ch. 64, vv. 43-44) Oḍra Jālaśaila, Pūrṇaśaila and Kāmarūpa are the four principal *pīṭhas* of Devī. Oḍra has been placed in the west, apparently of Kāmarūpa. Here Oḍreśvari-Kātyāyanī and Oḍreśa-Jagannātha are to be worshipped, as,

*"Oḍrākhyam prathamam pīṭham dvitīyam Jālaśailakam |
Tṛtīyam Pūrṇapīṭham-tu Kāmarūpam caturthakam ||
Oḍrapīṭham paśchime tu tath-aiv-Oḍreśvarim Śivam |
Kātyāyanim Jagannātham-Oḍreśaṁ-ca prapūjayet ||*

Jālaśaila and Pūrṇapīṭha are no doubt the same as Jālandhara and Pūrṇagiri respectively. Oḍrapīṭha, therefore is identical with Oḍḍiyāna. This Oḍra again is the same as Orissa. This goes to support the view of Mm. H. P. SHASTRI, but this identification may be due to the confusion arising out of the similarity of names.

The *Kālikāpurāṇa*, as has been shown by Mr. P. K. GODE is earlier than Nānyadeva of Mithilā (1097 A.D.) [*JORS*. Vol. X (1936) p. 293]. There is a MS of this in the Sanskrit College Library, Calcutta, which was copied in Nepal Śaṁvat 'yuga kha śva-nayana' i.e. 204 N.S.=1084 A.D. (*Des. Cat. of Sans. MSS*, Vol. IV, No. 13). So this identification is as old as 1000 A.D. at least. But all are unanimous in placing it in India.

It may be pointed out here that at least four countries in India, well-known for Tantricism, viz., Assam, Bengal, Orissa and C.P. claim Oḍḍiyāna-*pīṭha*. It may be that none of them is original Oḍḍiyāna, which was somewhere outside India and was for want of communication long forgotten. So the Tāntrikas set up this important *pīṭha* in different places to suit their purposes.

[The Editors regret to have to announce the death of Mr. GHOSH which took place early in October this year. A biographical note will appear in one of the subsequent issues of the *NIA*.—S. M. K.]

INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWAD

By

D. B. DISKALKAR

INTRODUCTION

The historical province of Kathiawad, or more properly of Saurāṣṭra attracted the attention of modern scholars as early as 1822 when Major James Tod first unveiled to the world its remarkable and interesting antiquities. Since that time to the present day as a result of continuous search a large number of inscriptions have been discovered in the province. There is probably no part of India of the same small extent which is so rich in its wealth of historical remains as Kathiawad. From a pilgrim's record consisting of his mere name in a word or two to the long edict of the great Emperor Aśoka, from an obituary notice of a villager who met his death in an encounter with his opponents while rescuing the cattle of his village to the lengthy inscription giving an account of how the Gupta Emperor Skandagupta could get no sleep by his anxiety to protect his vast empire from the invasions of the wild Hūṇas, from a modern record of the digging of a well by a pious lady for the use of people and the cattle in a waterless part to the important *praśasti* recording the repairs made by the powerful Kṣatrapa king Rudradāman to the old and celebrated Sudarśana lake, and lastly from a short record by which a Jain assembly gave the privilege of engraving inscriptions on the Gīrnār hill to a mason to the long copper-plate grant by which a princess of the royal family of Valabhī assigned a village or two for the maintenance of a large Buddhist monastery—all kinds of inscriptions on stone and copper and dated from the very early to the very late times have been found in Kathiawad.

Fifty years back the Bhāvanagar State in Kathiawad made a pioneer attempt to collect epigraphical material chiefly with the object of preparing a history of the Gohel family to which the Maharaja of Bhāvanagar belongs by deputing men throughout Kathiawad and Rajaputana. Impressions of hundreds of stone and copperplate inscriptions were collected by them and selections from them were published by the State in three volumes one entitled “Prākṛt and Sanskrit Inscriptions” and the other “Bhāvanagar Prācīna Śodha Sangraha” and the third “Persian and Arabic Inscriptions” under the editorship of the late Mr. Udayashankar Gaurishankar OJHA. A few more inscriptions of the province were published in the “List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency” by BURGESS and COUSENS and still some more inscriptions were published from time to time in research journals like the *Indian Antiquary* by several scholars.

As Curator of the Watson Museum of Antiquities, Rajkot (1919-1929) I had an opportunity of examining the large collection of about 800 impressions of inscriptions made by my predecessors, especially by the late Mr. Vallabhji Haridatta ACHARYA from every part of Kathiawad. As a result of my examination I found that there are still many useful inscriptions which have not been brought to the notice of the public and that even the inscriptions which were once published require revision. I began accordingly, the work of studying critically all the collections of impressions of inscriptions not only preserved in the Watson Museum of Antiquities at Rajkot, but also in the Archæological Society at Junagadh, the Barton Museum at Bhāvnagar and the Forbes Gujarati Sabhā in Bombay. As a result of that I thought it advisable to prepare separate volumes of the epigraphical material of the province according to the periods and topics. The whole material can be divided into two main classes : The first from the earliest times to v.s. 1000 and the other from v.s. 1000 to v.s. 1900. The copper-plates of the Maitraka rulers of Valabhī form a very important material of the first period and I have accordingly prepared a separate compendium of them. Epigraphical material of the second period can be distinctly divided into two sections :—the inscriptions of the Caulukya rulers of Gujarat and the miscellaneous inscriptions of the dynasties that ruled in Kathiawad. As I intend to publish all the Caulukya inscriptions in a separate series the present series has been prepared to contain all the remaining important inscriptions from v.s. 1000 to 1900. It excludes of course the Persian and Arabic inscriptions found in Kathiawad which, though dated in the period to which this series belongs, must be separately dealt with.

This series contains 200 selected inscriptions taken from all parts of Kathiawad. In making this selection attention is paid more towards the historical importance of an inscription than towards its religious importance. A number of inscriptions specially of the Jain religion are not therefore included in this collection.

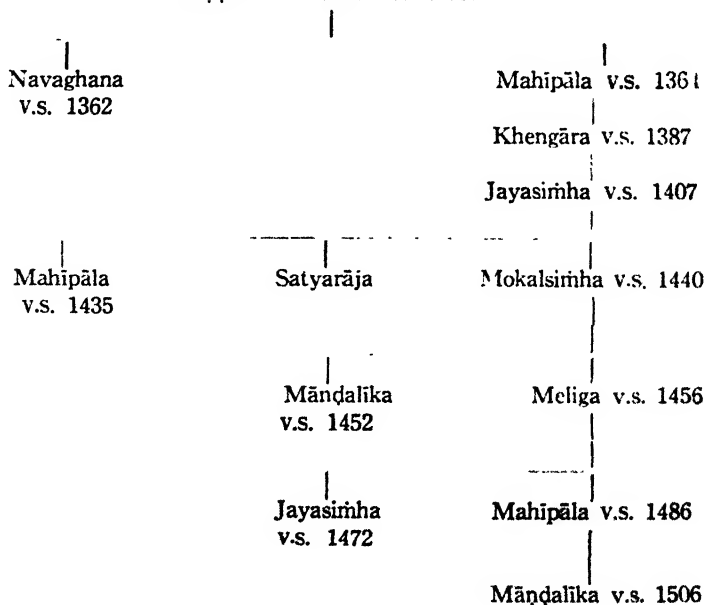
A full text of each inscription is given and is accompanied by an introductory note giving details of its find-spot, its measurements, its present state of preservation, the place of its publication if any, and its historical importance. The inscriptions are generally intelligible in themselves and I therefore thought it unnecessary to give their literal translation.

Though most of these inscriptions are useful for our knowledge of the history of the province only, they include some which throw important light on the general history of India. Secondly, though the inscriptions are comparatively of a modern date, they are not without an interest and importance of their own. They are undoubtedly a very useful material for preparing the history of Kathiawad from v.s. 1000 to 1900.

The collection contains inscriptions of not only those royal families that once ruled in Kathiawad, of whom very little is known to us for want of sufficient material, but also of those that have been still ruling in some

part of Kathiawad. The chief family of the former class was the Cūḍāsamās. They ruled some time at Vanthālī and some time at Junāgaḍh for more than six centuries—from about v.s. 900 to 1527. It is the last Hindu family to rule at Junāgaḍh. The history of this family is almost entirely lost and the bardic legends differ so much about the names, number and order of the chieftains that implicit confidence cannot be placed on them. A Sanskrit poem called *Maṇḍalika Kāvya* by Gangādhara is found which gives some account of the family but it is of very little historical importance. A few of their inscriptions give the genealogy of the family, but they frequently differ in the order of succession of the rulers and thereby cause some confusion. FORBES, BURGESS, and Gaurishankar H. OJHA took some trouble to fix the genealogy and chronology of the family but could not do so satisfactorily. The present collection is somewhat helpful to us in this respect. It contains at least 23 inscriptions, which on more or less certain grounds can be assigned to the Cūḍāsamā kings. With the help of the various dates given by them a fairly satisfactory genealogy and chronology at least of the latter half of the family can be prepared. The following kings of the Cūḍāsamā family are represented in the collection :—Mahīpāla I Nos. 25, 26, 28 and 31 ; Khengār No. 33 ; Jayasīrṃha No. 37 ; Mahīpāla II Nos. 38 and 40 ; Mokalsīrṃha Nos. 46, 48, 51 and 53 ; Meligadeva Nos. 64, 65, 66, and 67 ; Jayasīrṃha Nos. 68 and 69 ; Mahīpāla III Nos. 70 and 71 and Maṇḍalika Nos. 76, 77 and 80. Some kings of the family are incidentally referred to in a few more inscriptions, e.g. in No. 47. Three kings of the family are found referred to in some Sanskrit Mss. Thus with the help of these inscriptions and the dates recorded in them the latter portion of the genealogy of the Cūḍāsamā family can be prepared.

Maṇḍalika accession v. s. 1350



Though no inscription of the family is found, which belongs to the period earlier than that of king Maṇḍalika mentioned first in this genealogy and with whom the inscriptions generally begin their genealogies we have reason to suppose that the Cūḍāsamā family had established their rule in Kathiawad some time before the Caulukyās had established their rule in Gujarat under Mūlarāja the first. For history tells us of very severe fights fought by the Caulukya sovereigns Mūlārāja and Sidhārāja Jayasimha with the Cūḍāsamā kings. The founder of the family was Cūḍācandra as the Dhandhusar inscription (No. 48) states. An inscription found at Vanthalī (see *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*, Vol. VII p. 171) speaks of a king named Maṇḍalika whose capital at Vanthali was seized by one Jagatsimha, a feudatory of the Caulukya king Vīradhavalā. As Vīradhavalā is known to have lived about v.s. 1288 this Maṇḍalika can be assigned to the same period. He must then be an earlier king of the same name different from the first Maṇḍalika in the above-mentioned genealogy. This inscription can be assigned to about v.s. 1346 and shows that upto that period Vanthalī remained in the possession of Jagatsimha's family. But in a few years after this when the Caulukya rule over Kathiawad was slackened owing to the Muhammadan encroachments Maṇḍalika the first king in our genealogy seems to have seized back his ancestral kingdom of Vanthalī. It is but natural therefore that the later inscriptions begin the genealogies of the family with this Maṇḍalika. The family continued to rule upto v.s. 1527 when it was destroyed by the Muhammedans under Muhammad Begaḍhā. The inscriptions show that the Cūḍāsamās had always tried to resist the power of the Gujarat Sultans of Ahmedabad in their attempt to subdue the Kathiawad peninsula. They also show that the Cūḍāsamās were the most powerful of the many royal families that ruled in Kathiawad during and after the sovereign power of the Caulukyās of Gujarat over the peninsula.

Another royal family contemporary with the Cūḍāsamās whose inscriptions are found were the Vājā rulers of Somanātha Pāṭaṇa. Their inscriptions, however, are not of sufficient importance to enable us to write their connected history. The Vājās are supposed to have come from the Rāstrakūṭa stock. The following are the inscriptions of the Vājā kings :— Nos. 35 and 39 refer to the reign of the Vājā king Bharmā. Nos. 45, 50 and 60 belong to the reign of Śivagaṇa who seems to have been referred to in the Khorāsā inscription of v.s. 1445. No. 62 is the record of Sivagaṇa's son Brahmadāsa. No. 72 belongs to the reign of a Vājā king named Rāmadeva. No. 17 speaks that a Vājā warrior fell in a fight with the Turuṣkas in Somanātha Pāṭaṇa. These inscriptions show that Vājā kings ruled over the southern coast of Kathiawad at least from Somanātha Pāṭaṇa to Ūnā and acknowledged the sovereign power first of the Delhi Emperors and subsequently of the Sultans of Gujarat through their provincial governors.

The Khorāsā inscription of v.s. 1445 (No. 47) gives us a very interesting information that two royal families Makvāṇā and Vāghelā had migrated from Mārwaḍ to Saurāṣṭra probably through fear of the Muhammedans.

They entered the services of the Cūḍāsamā kings of Vanthali whom they served very faithfully. The Makvāṇā family originally belonged to the Brahmakṣatri community but was eventually considered to be one of the 36 Kṣatriya families. The Vāghelā family in the inscription which must have been an off-shoot of the great Vāghelā family of Dholkā and Aṇahilapātana had probably first gone to Kāṅkroli in Mārwaḍ from Gujarat but had again come back to Saurāṣṭra some time before the time of our inscription.

The Mahuvā inscription of v.s. 1272 speaks of a Mehara king ruling at Ṭimbāṇaka. He was probably a successor of the Mehar king Jagamal, a feudatory of the Caulukya sovereign Bhima II mentioned in the copper-plate grant of v.s. 1264 found at Timāṇā and published in the *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XI p. 337. Another Meher family is mentioned in the Hātasṇi inscription of v.s. 1386. In modern times the Mehers are found chiefly in the Porbundar State and not in the part of Kathiawad where the above-mentioned inscriptions were found.

The Rajput families now ruling in Kathiawad are chiefly the Jāḍejās, the Jhālās, the Gohels and the Jethvas. The Jethvas alone have continued the headship in one individual viz the Rāṇā of Porbundar. In the others several cadets of the reigning houses have established themselves as independent chiefs. It has been the custom in Rajput houses for each son to receive a certain portion of land as his patrimony. Many of the most enterprising younger branches enlarged their borders not only at the expense of their feudal lord and brethren but at the expense of the neighbouring families. In this way kingdoms arose in Kathiawad in course of time until very lately when the advent of the British and their permanent settlement have left no chance for any one of acquiring new territories. All these families have left a number of inscriptions the most important of which are included in this series.

Of the four Rajput families mentioned above the Jethvās are supposed to be the most ancient. Their origin is veiled in obscurity. No authentic inscriptions of the family of early times are found. But this much can be said that they entered the province before any other race of whom written records exist, except the Cāvḍas and the Cūḍāsamās. The Visāvdā inscription of v.s. 1262 (No 2) and the Ājaka inscription (No. 3) probably of the same year refer to the reign of a king named Rāṇā Siṃha, who probably belonged to the Jethvā family, as according to the bards the Jethvās held that part of Kathiawad at the time. The fragmentary Miyāṇi inscription of v.s. 1290 (No. 6) refers to the names of a sovereign and his feudatory. The latter was ruling at Maṇipur, the ancient name of Miyāṇi, and might have belonged to the Jethvā family, since the bards tell us that the Jethvās had made Miyāṇi their capital for some years. The Ghumli inscription of v.s. 1318 and the Porbundar inscription of v.s. 1334 mention a governor named Sāmantasīṃha, who may be identified with the viceroy Sāmantasīṃha

appointed by the Caulukya sovereign of Gujarat to govern Kathiawad as the Kāṇṭelā inscription of v.s. 1320 states. It seems that the Caulukyās of Aṇahilapātana subdued the Jethvās and appointed Sāmantasīmha to rule over the south-west part of Kathiawad. An inscription of the time of the Caulukya sovereign Sārāṅgadeva found at Vanthalī and dated v.s. 1346 states that Vijayānanda, a feudatory of Sārāṅgadeva, had to fight against Bhānu, a king of Bhūbhṛtpalli i.e. Ghumli. There can be no doubt that Bhānu was the famous king Bhāṇa of the Jethvā family whose capital, we know, was at Ghumli. The rule of the same king is referred to in the Kansārā (near Ghumli) inscription of v.s. 1347. The next inscription which can be said to belong to the Jethvā family is the Rāval inscription of v.s. 1375 which refers to the reign of Rāṇā Jaitapāla. The Rāṇāvāv inscription of v.s. 1474 states that king Bhānu, son of Sīmha defeated the Turks. Nothing is known of this fight. The next inscription which distinctly mentions the name Jethvā of the family is the Gosā (near Porbundar) inscription of v.s. 1536 which states that Vikamāitji was a feudatory of Fātashāh Mahamud (Begadha). The Jethvā inscriptions of modern times are curiously enough seldom found.

The Gohel family, to which the Maharaja of Bhavnagar and the Thakurs of Lāṭhi, Pālītānā and Valā belong, claims descent from the ancient Maitraka family of Valabhi in Kathiawad. It is said that on the fall of Valabhi they migrated to Mewād by the end of the 8th cent. but again came back to Saurāṣṭra in the middle of the twelfth century of the Vikrama era. Tradition says that their leader Sejakji took service with the Cūḍāsamā king of Junagadh. But from the inscriptions it seems that they were first in the service of the Caulukya sovereigns of Gujarat.

The earliest epigraph found in Kathiawad of the Gohel family is the famous Mangrol inscription of v.s. 1202 (*Bhavnagar inscriptions* p. 158) which mentions that during the reign of the Caulukya sovereign Kumārapāla of Aṇahilapur there ruled at Māngrol a Guhila king named Muluka, son of Sahajiga and grandson of Sāhāra. Muluka's younger brother was Somarāja. The next known Gohel inscription is of Valabhi Sarivat 911 from Ghelānā near Mangrol (No. 5). This inscription refers to the reign of the son of Thakur Mulu(ka) perhaps the same Guhila king as is mentioned in the Mangrol inscription of v.s. 1202. The connection of these names with the ancestors of the Bhavnagar family is not definitely known. These inscriptions show that the Gohels were in early times ruling in the south-west part of Kathiawad probably as neighbours of the Jethvas. There is no epigraph found to show how and when they were forced to go to the eastern coast of the peninsula. The Parnālā inscription of v.s. 1453 speaks of a Gohel king named Pratāpamalla (No. 56) but no details are known of him. In a manuscript of Viṣṇu Bhakti Candrodaya we find mention of a king named Rāval Sārāṅgi ruling at the port of Ghoghā in v.s. 1469 as a feudatory of the Muhammedan emperor of Delhi. He was probably an ancestor of the Gohel family of Bhavnagar. The Mahuvā inscription of

v.s. 1500 refers to the reign of another Guhila king named Sārangji. The next inscription is from Vartej dated v.s. 1674 referring to the reign of Rāval Dhanāji. Some more inscriptions of the family of modern date are included in this collection.

Next in antiquity comes the Jhālā family. They are said to have entered the province in the time of Solanki Karna II. They have now maintained in east Kathiawad and from the parent stem of Dhrāṅgadhra, besides other small estates, have sprung the independent chiefships of Limbdi, Vankaner, Wadhwan, Chuda, Lakhar and Saelā. The records of this family though many, are comparatively modern. The earliest inscription which can be assigned on sure grounds to this family is found from Pāṭaḍi, which was the early capital of the Jhālās before they removed to Kuā and subsequently to Halvad. It is dated v.s. 1456. Though it is too much weather-worn, the following names of the kings can be clearly read :—Rāmasimha, Virasimha, Raṇamal, Śatruśālya and Jayatkaṇa. Next comes the Jegaḍvā inscription of v.s. 1518 which gives the name of Raṇavīra and his queen Ramābai born in a Gohel family. Two inscriptions of v.s. 1524 and 1531 refer to Jhālā kings who were *bhāyāts* of the main line. The Candrāsar lake inscription of v.s. 1534 removes the wrong supposition that the lake was built by Candrasimhji of the Jhālā line. In fact it was built by a man named Dipacandra as the record states. The Ramapura inscription of v.s. 1538 mentions the king Vāghji of the main Jhālā line. The Kuā inscription of v.s. 1572 (No. 89) refers to the rule of the Jhālā king Rānakadeva. The most important inscriptions of the Jhālā family are the Halvad inscription, of v.s. 1583 (No. 93) and the Kondha inscription of v.s. 1663 (No. 110). The former found in a well at Halvad gives a long genealogy of the Jhālā kings from Raṇamal to Mānsimha together with the names of their queens and the latter gives in addition the names of four successive kings who ruled in a branch line but probably independent of the main line. Three more inscriptions of Mānsimha have been found one from Velāvdar of v.s. 1584, the other from Hampur of v.s. 1588 and the third from Halvad recording his death in v.s. 1620. No inscription of his son Raisimhaji, who was slain near Ghantila while fighting with the Dedas is found. Three inscriptions of Raisimhaji's son Candrasena are found, one from Hampur of v.s. 1658, the other from Gālā of v.s. 1668 and the third from Halvad of v.s. 1683 recording his death. There are in this collection some more inscriptions of the main Jhālā family of still later period. Some more inscriptions of the several branches of the main family have been included in this series.

Of the Jāḍejās who arrived late in the province in the beginning of the sixteenth century the inscriptions are comparatively very modern. The Jāḍejā families that have been now ruling over nearly one third of Kathiawad had originally sprung from the parent stem in Cutch. The Jamnagar house is the main in Kathiawad. Cadets of this house established themselves in subsequent years as independent chiefs and Dhrol, Rajkot, Gondal, Virpur and several minor estates have consequently sprung up. The fami-

lies now ruling at Morvi and Māliā are the direct descendants of the Cutch house.

Though the earliest mention of a Jāḍejā is in the Jamlā inscription of v.s. 1461 (No. 61) an actual ruler of the family is first mentioned in an inscription of v.s. 1622 found in the village Dahisarā. It mentions the name of Jam Karanji of Dahisarā who was but a *bhāyāta* of the main Jāḍejā line ruling at Jāmnagar. The Dhrol inscription of v.s. 1647 which belongs to the time of Jām Śatruśālya is very important inasmuch as it gives the exact date of the well-known battle that took place at Bhuchar Mori between the armies of Khān Āzam, the Gujarat viceroy of the emperor of Delhi and the army of the Jāmsaheb under the Jām's son Ājoji and his minister Jasāji. Another inscription of the time of Jām Śatruśālya is found at Dādar and is dated v.s. 1669 wherein the Jām is mentioned as a feudatory of the emperor Salim Shah. Modern inscriptions of the Jāḍejās are found in a large number.

There is a single Paramāra family at present ruling in Mūlji in the Jhālā-vāḍ prānt of Kathiawad. It is not known if the Paramara kings mentioned in the Kherāli inscription of v.s. 1319? (No. 23) were the ancestors of this family. But the Paramāra king Lakhadhiraji mentioned in the Rampurā inscription of v.s. 1538 was undoubtedly an ancestor of the Muli family. The Paramāras are said to have originally held Thān before the Jhālās conquered it but no inscriptions of their family are found at the place.

The Kathis, who have given the name to the peninsula since the time of Marathas, are one of the most interesting races in the peninsula. When and whence they entered the peninsula is uncertain. The cradle of their race is uncertain. They are casually mentioned in inscriptions of other royal families, of comparatively modern period. Except the large estate of Jetpur, Chital and Jasdan there are no Kathi possessions of any consequence in Kathiawad. There are consequently no interesting inscriptions left by this race.

Of the Gaikwad family who were one time the sovereign lords of Kathiawad and to whom nominal allegiance is still paid by several states in the form of yearly tributes we have only two inscriptions found. One is at Loliyāṇā dated v.s. 1784 and the other is in Beyt which has lost its date. Both the records belong to the reign of Damāji, son of Pilāji. None of his successors has left any inscription. But at least three inscriptions are found of the famous general of the Gaikwad who subdued the peninsula for his master. He was called Viṭhal Rao Bābāji. His records are found at Taranetar dated v.s. 1867, at Jadeshvara dated v.s. 1889 and at Amreli dated v.s. 1873.

The Muhammedan rulers who in former times ruled over Kathiawad naturally preferred to inscribe their inscriptions in Arabic and Persian and such inscriptions are found in Kathiawad in a large number. But seeing that Sanskrit and Gujarati inscriptions were very commonly used by their subjects they ordered some inscriptions to be composed in Sanskrit and Gujarati for

the knowledge of their Hindu subjects. Sometimes they suffixed Sanskrit or Gujarati translations to their Persian inscriptions.

Though Muhammedan influence was felt in Kathiawad from the very early times since perhaps the Arabs invaded Kathiawad and destroyed Valabhi in about v.s. 825 their permanent connection with the province began since the time of the memorable expedition of Mahmud Gazanvi against Somanatha three hundred years after in v.s. 1180. The Verawal inscription dated v.s. 1320, which is the earliest Sanskrit record containing a distinct mention of the Muhammedans as rulers shows that Mahamud Gazanvi left a governor and a force of Musalmans in Somanātha Pāṭana on his departure to Gazanvi and that though in subsequent years the Muhammedan element was reduced to insignificance it was never completely effaced. The Somanātha Pāṭana inscription of v.s. 1355 (No. 17) records that two Vājā warriors met their death at the door of Somanātha while fighting against the Turuṣkas in 1299 A.D. This gives an exact date of the capture of Somanātha Pāṭana by Ulugh Khan, the powerful general of Allauddin Khilji. Since that time the Muhammedans began to interfere in the politics of Kathiawad more frequently and successfully. The inscriptions of the Cūḍāsamā kings contained in this series constantly refer to their fights against the Muhammedan invaders and though we find from some Persian inscriptions and from the Dhamlej inscription of v.s. 1437 (No. 39) that the southern coast belt of Kathiawad specially to the east of Somanātha Pāṭana upto Unā was fully under the power of the Muhammedan emperors of Delhi, the Cūḍāsamās struggled hard to keep off their capital, the difficult fort of Junagadh. But their inscriptions fully testify that the Muhammedan encroachment upon their power was rapidly growing until in v.s. 1527 their kingdom was permanently seized by the Muhammedans. The Osā inscription of v.s. 1435 shows that a Muhammedan Thanadar was regularly posted at Junagadh whose control the Rao of Junagadh had to obey. The Dhandhusar inscription of v.s. 1445 clearly states that the Cūḍāsamā king Mokalasirinha was ordered by the Delhi emperor to shift his capital to Vāmanasthali, i.e. Vanthali, which shows that the king had lost his power over Junagadh. One place after another was rapidly lost to the Muhammedans. In Gorej near Mangrol there is an inscription of v.s. 1451 of the Cūḍāsamā king Mokalasirinha but the next year Mangrol came completely under a Muhammedan Subah appointed by the Gujarat viceroy of the Delhi emperor Nasratkhan, as the Mangrol inscription of v.s. 1452 shows. The Veraval inscription of v.s. 1462 speaks of a king named Brahmādāsa, son of Śivanātha, evidently a Vājā king as ruling there and defending it against an invasion of the Muhammedans. The inscription of v.s. 1464 at Verāval three miles from Somanātha Pāṭana mentions that the Verāval fort was built under orders of Muzaffar, the Gujarat Sultan. The Vanthali inscription of v.s. 1469 refers to a severe battle fought between Raja Meligadeva of Vanthali and the Muhammedans probably under Sultan Ahmed. As stated in the Maṇḍalika Kāvya, Meligadeva defeated and drove away the Thanadar of Ahamed. This is supported by the presence of an

inscription of v.s. 1472 at Vanthali itself. This shows that Meligadeva maintained a firm stand at Vanthali against the Muhammedans. Meligadeva's son Jayasimha also defeated them at Jhinharkot (modern Jhanghmer) as the Junagadh Revati Kuṇḍa inscription of v. s. 1473 shows. The Junagadh Uparkot inscription of v.s. 1507 of the reign of Maṇḍalika and two more inscriptions of the same king which are undated and the Girnar inscription of v.s. 1519 show that the Cūḍāsamā king was for some years free from the troubles of the Muhammedans. But ultimately in v.s. 1527 the powerful Gujarat Sultan Muhammad Begadhā permanently seized the Junagadh kingdom of the Cūḍāsamās and put an end to their long rule. Kathiawad was completely subjected by this Sultan and all the Rajput families that had been ruling before as contemporaries of the Cūḍāsamās had to obey the power of the Gujarat Sultans as is amply evidenced by a number of inscriptions. When the Mughal emperors put an end to the rule of the Gujarat Sultans and conquered the province all the chieftains of the province had to acknowledge their power. Inscriptions to that effect are found and have been included in this series. It will thus be seen that the Muhammedan power over the province can be divided into three periods. In the first period the early sovereigns of Delhi, or Yoginipur as it is called in an inscription, held power over Kathiawad. Of this period only two inscriptions are found (1) the Avānia inscription of v.s. 1447 and (2) the Māngrol inscription of v.s. 1452, both referring to the reign of Nasiruddin Mahamud Tughalak. Of the second period when the Gujarat Sultans, who ruled at Ahmedabad as independent kings, held sway over the province, the following inscriptions are included in the present collection :—

1. Verāval inscription of v.s. 1464, Muzfar I.
2. Pasnāvḍā inscription of v.s. 1514, Kutubuddin.
3. Gosā inscription of v.s. 1536, Mahamad (Begoda).
4. Rāmparā inscription of v.s. 1538, Mahamad (Begoda).
5. Kuvā inscription of v.s. 1572, Muzfar II.
6. Sarā inscription of v.s. 1579, Muzfar II.
7. Ūnā inscription of v.s. 1582, Mahamad II.
8. Velāvdar inscription of v.s. 1584, Bahadur.
9. Pālītānā (Śatrunjaya) inscription of v.s. 1587, Bahadur.
10. Nagicānā inscription of v.s. 1590, Bahadur.
11. Bagasra inscription of v.s. 1604, Muhammad II.
12. Kodidarā inscription of v.s. 1609, Muhammad II.
13. Wadhawān inscription of v.s. 1613, Ahmed II.

Of the third period when Kathiawad had to acknowledge again the power of the Mughul emperors of Delhi the following inscriptions are included in the volume :—

1. Ghoghā inscription of v.s. 1634, Akbar.
2. Śatruñjaya inscription of v.s. 1650, Akbar.
3. Jamnagar inscription of v.s. 1651, Akbar.

4. Unā inscription of v.s. 1652, Akbar.
5. Śatruñjaya, inscription of v.s. 1652, Akbar.
6. Gālā inscription of v.s. 1668, Jehangir (Salim).
7. Dādar inscription of v.s. 1669, Jehangir (Salim).
8. Ghoghā inscription of v.s. 1672, Jehangir (Salim).
9. Śatruñjaya inscription of v.s. 1675, Jehangir (Salim).
10. Śatruñjaya inscription of v.s. 1683, Jehangir (Salim).
11. Mūli inscription of v.s. 1685, Shehajahan.
12. Śatruñjaya inscription of v.s. 1686, Shehajahan.
13. Mangrol inscription of v.s. 1687, Shehajahan.
14. Rajasithapur inscription of v.s. 1701, Shehajahan.
15. Nagicānā inscription of v.s. 1758, Aurangzeb.
16. Pāṭaḍi inscription of v.s. 1801, Muhammad Shah.
17. Dhrāṅgadhṛā inscription of v.s. 1809, Ahmed Shah.

Though with the advent of the Marathas the Muhammedan power over Kathiawad ended and with the advent of the British the Maratha power ended, the Muhammedan power is still represented in the province by the Bābi ruler of the Junagadh state, which is the premier state in Kathiawad. The Bābi family of Junagadh which entered the province and carved out a large kingdom for itself very late in the 17th cent. has left very few records. There is only one record which could be included in this volume. It is the Śimroli inscription of v.s. 1912 of the time of Nawab Bahadurkhanji. There are some petty Muhammedan estates at present existing in Kathiawad at Māngrol, Mānāvdar, Bāṭvā and Dasāḍā but no inscription is found of any of the families which could be included in this collection.

There are some inscriptions in this volume which are of general importance. An inscription of v.s. 1587 (No. 95) from the Śatruñjaya hill near Palitana is interesting as it gives the names of four successive rulers of Mewād :—Kumbhakarna, Rājamalla, Saṅgrāmasimha, and Ratnasimha. The reason for mentioning them is that the last mentioned ruler's minister Karamsi had built Jain temples on the Śatruñjaya hill. The Beyt inscription (No. 167) records that a tank was built in Beyt by a servant of the Gaikwad king Damāji, though the island was at that time not in his possession. Another Beyt inscription (No. 187) records that repairs to the Śankha-Nārāyaṇa temple were frequently made by the ruling family of Cutch. The Gopanātha inscription of v.s. 1750 records that the place was in the possession of a Mahārāṣṭra Brahmachāri from the Deccan long before the Marathas had any political connection with Kathiawad.

Of special religious importance are the Somanātha Pāṭaṇa inscriptions (Nos. 19-22) in this volume. Unfortunately they are all fragmentary and give us no dates. But they can be said to be an addition to our already scanty epigraphical material of the history of the Lakuliśa Pāsupata school of Śiva worship, which as the Cintrā *praśasti* of v.s. 1343 (*Epigraphia Indica*

Vol I p. 230) shows had a large monastery in Somanatha Patana. The sun worship was continued in Kathiawad down to a late period. (See No. 36)

This collection is also useful for our knowledge of the history of the Gujarati language. Most of the inscriptions contained in it are in Sanskrit and Sanskrit was the only language used in the early inscriptions. The authors of some of the Sanskrit inscriptions have exhibited great proficiency in the Sanskrit language and literature and poetic genius, though not of a high order. The Somanātha Pāṭaṇa inscriptions of the Lakulīṣa school, though they are fragmentary (Nos. 20—22), the Div. inscription (No. 29), the Dhandhusar inscription (No. 48) and the Gīrnār inscription (No. 77) are examples of this.

But from about v.s. 1500 we find Gujarati slowly but steadily taking the place of Sanskrit in inscriptions. In course of time the use of Gujarati in inscriptions grew so much and that of Sanskrit decreased correspondingly that a man who set himself to the task of composing an inscription in Sanskrit which still was held in reverence by the people at least for its use in inscriptions could not use pure Sanskrit forms and merely gave a Sanskrit appearance to the Gujarati inscriptions. Another point may be noted that in later times people did not entertain as much zeal for writing inscriptions as they did in earlier times. In the first period, say from about v.s. 1000 to 1500, we find that the people were very particular not only in engaging the services of a learned Śāstri for composing an inscription in Sanskrit but they seem also to have been careful in selecting a good stone which was regularly cut and polished and in employing a competent mason who could perform the work of engraving the inscription carefully and beautifully. But in the latter period from about 1500 to 1900 we find that there is a marked deterioration in the epigraphy of Kathiawad.

The reason for this is no doubt the conquest of the province by the Muhammedans. When the Muhammedan power was firmly established at the beginning of the sixteenth century of the Vikrama era the Hindus not only lost their political importance but their civilization and culture was awfully in danger specially because of the intolerant nature of the victorious Muhammedans. Sanskrit language and naturally the Śāstris who studied it began to be less respected and less patronised, and Sanskrit studies accordingly suffered much. Though Gujarati, the language of the people in general, began to be frequently used in inscriptions it was not used in the pure form specially because the majority of inscriptions in later times was used in connection with the memorial stones or *pāṭias* as they are commonly called, which were generally composed by uneducated men.

The earliest inscription which has a sprinkling of Gujarati words and which therefore helps us in determining the origin and history of the Gujarati language is the Thān inscription of v.s. 1432 (No. 36). The language is much corrupt and therefore unintelligible but it contains the Gujarati genitive form in *रुडोल म हाराज*. The Nagicana inscription of v.s. 1434 contains the

Gujarati expression :—आहीर सांगो चावड आ गाम चोराक विढिओ चोराकना ठाम राषिआ. The Osa inscription of v.s. 1435 contains the Gujarati genitive form in हरगागनी मा and the form सन्न in the sense of सहित in the word काठीसन्न. In the Phulka inscription of v.s. 1448 the Gujarati expression सरोवर प्रासाद बंधाव्या occurs in the incorrect Sanskrit inscription. The Mesvana inscription of v.s. 1470 contains the expression गाम भांगता. The Uparkot inscription v.s. 1507 contains some Prakrit expressions. The Khodu inscription of v.s. 1544 contains a large number of Gujarati forms झालावाढमां सुरदासनी देहेरी पुरादे करावी. The later inscriptions though they have the appearance of the Sanskrit language are mostly written in Gujarati.

This will show that we can carry back the origin of the Gujarati language at least to v.s. 1300. Though it was in common use among the people they were reluctant to use it in records and a long time must have elapsed before the use of the Gujarati language became so common that a form or two were unconsciously used in inscriptions which were meant to be in Sanskrit language.

What is said above with regard to the epigraphy of Kathiawad applies very well to the Palaeography. The script used in the inscriptions of earlier period was purely Devanagari and some of the earlier inscriptions are fine examples of beautiful script. They are the Mahuva inscription of v.s. 1272, the Ghelana inscription of Valabhi Samvat 911, the Verawal inscription of Valabhi Samat 927, the four undated Somanatha Patan inscriptions of the first half of the 14th century of the Vikrama era ; the Vanthali inscription of about v.s. 1346, the Dhamlej, Badula, Khorasa, Dhandhusar and the Junagadh (v.s. 1475) inscriptions. The Devanagari script used in the earlier inscriptions in this collection retained some forms of the older script. The character was often suppressed by three dots as in old records. The prsthamaṭrās were sometimes used probably to give an ancient form to the characters. In earlier inscriptions there was nothing to distinguish between व and व. व was frequently used for ख.

From about v.s. 1500 Devanagari characters were sometimes given the forms of Gujarati or Boḍia characters as they are popularly called, though all along we find a decided preference for the Devanagari script even in the modern inscriptions composed in the Gujarati language. But in comparatively modern inscriptions Devanagari script or rather the Sastri lipi, began to give place to Bodia characters. The result has been that in Kathiawad people cannot write Devanagari without much difficulty. It must be noted here that unlike modern Gujarati characters the Gujarati characters used in inscriptions were often suspended to a line.

No distinct stages can be marked in the script in modern times as they were in ancient times say before v.s. 1000. Consequently we cannot show different stages in which the script underwent any changes and attained the modern Gujarati form. We are only able to say this much that so long as Sanskrit language in its pure form was used in inscriptions Devanagari script was used in its pure form. But from about v.s. 1500 when Gujarati

began to be more often used the characters are seen inclined towards the Bodia form.

The collection supplies some very interesting details about the social history of the province. The specific naming of communities and sub-communities, which seems to have begun in Gujarat in the 11th cent. A.D. began to be very commonly used from the 13th cent. onwards as they are found frequently used in inscriptions of the period. Nāgara (Nos. 2, 16), Gallaka (No. 9) Śrīmāli (No. 10), Osvāla, with its Vāṭasīyaka śākhā (No. 33), Somaparā (Nos. 34, 58) and Baraḍā (No. 60) are some of the community names used in the inscriptions. The Khorāsā inscription of v.s. 1445 gives the origin of the Brahmakṣatri families and in the Mahuvā inscription of v.s. 1500 the Modha community is said to have derived its origin from the hoof of the Kāmadhenu. The Unā inscription of v.s. 1582 gives the origin of a Kāyastha family from the sage Vālmiki.

The Baḍulā inscription of v.s. 1440 shows how high class Nāgara (Brāhmaṇa) girls considered it an accomplishment to be well-versed in singing, dancing and playing at musical instruments.

The setting up of images of persons not regularly possessing religious sanctity seems to have been in use in Kathiawad in the early centuries covered by this collection. The images of rulers in Nos. 2 and 24 and of parents in No. 16 and of a daughter in the Vanthali inscription of about v.s. 1346 (*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. VII, p. 179), are examples of the kind.

Memorial stones or *pāliōs*, raised in memory of warriors that fell in battle while rescuing the village cattle or fighting against the enemies are a special feature of Kathiawad. In fact the earliest memorial stones found in India are from Cutch and Kathiawad. They date from the second century A.D., from the time of the Kṣatrapas. But for many centuries after this the people of Kathiawad do not seem to have favoured the practice as memorial stones are very rarely found from that time to the 13th cent. A.D. The Lodhravā inscription of v.s. 1323 seems to be the earliest *pāliā* of the late period and after it a large number of *pāliās* are found throughout the province. The *pāliās* are in fact the chief material for our knowledge of the history of the province of the three or four following centuries. The inscriptions on these *pāliās*, many of which are included in the present collection, very often give full details of the warrior who fell in the battle and thereby went to heaven (No. 50) or attained the abode of the sun-god (Nos. 64-5) or of the god Viṣṇu (Nos. 70, 71) led by the celestial women (No. 52 l. 14).

There are very few references to coins in this collection : the *drammas* are mentioned in Nos. 7, 21 and 26 and the *tanikas* in No. 42 only. Although many inscriptions in the collection record the digging of wells in the waterless tracts for the benefit of human beings, beasts and birds, the amount spent on that account is not generally given though contrary is the practice

to-day in the province. The *koris* were used in very late period (No. 161). A rupee is mentioned in Nos. 171, 175 etc.

The verification of the dates in the inscriptions which are almost always expressed in the Vikrama Saṁvat shows that the calculation of the Vikrama Saṁvat in Kathiawad was Kārtikādi i.e. beginning with the month Kārtika as in modern times (cf No. 43). It is worth noting that the details of the date given in the records are generally correct. The Vikrama Saṁvat is accompanied by the corresponding Śaka Saṁvat in some inscriptions. The Valabhī Saṁvat is used only in two inscriptions (Nos. 5 and 9).

I have to thank the authorities of the several institutions, the collections of impressions of inscriptions in which I have examined and utilized in this series. I also express my indebtedness to all the scholars who have laboured in the field before me.

CORRESPONDENCE

MY RESEARCH IN EUROPE—II

I have often wondered at why museums and exhibitions could not be made instructive and had puzzled my mind whenever I had occasion to help organise them. I realise that the time within which exhibitions are arranged is generally quite out of proportion to the manual labour and skill at command, and that financial backing is hardly adequate to compensate for the deficiency. This hindrance is, however, experienced more or less everywhere. In fact, every device for education never reaches the stage of completion or perfection. There is, therefore, no reason why one should despair at such common hindrances. Any degree of art or skill employed, with a sound scientific background, must bring at least a measure of success.

I closely observed the art and skill employed by the geniuses in the organisation of certain state, public and proprietary museums and exhibitions. The common drawbacks noticed to some extent or the other, are :

- (a) Non-identification of exhibits.
- (b) Half-hazard attempts at naming exhibits.
- (c) Absence of explanation of exhibits.
- (d) Incorrect or improper explanation of exhibits.
- (e) Personal sentiment or bias shown both in the selection and in the presentation of exhibits.
- (f) Mixing of exhibits of different interests, or placing them in inappropriate corners often on account of limitation of space or similar reasons.

These defects creep in in spite of all the care taken to avoid them.

The educative value of a museum or exhibition depends upon the degree of skilful exertions put in to make it explicit and simple to understand. A mistaken notion, often to be found, is that scholars have a tendency to work more for the approbation of their long-experienced and well-reputed scholars in the field rather than from the point of view of utility, or of those for whom the exhibitions are chiefly intended. Really this is not a defect in any way dishonourable, but the efforts do not meet with the desired results. Planning and laying out of an exhibition to suit the average, or even an ordinary capacity and intelligence, is what should be aimed at. While planning it seems necessary to bear in mind conditions such as the following:

- (a) Visitors do not think seriously of the number of exhibits : the scholars, however, do desire to include the number, to their own satisfaction and relief and delight in acquainting their appreciators with all that has been discovered by them.
- (b) A large majority have not the least ideas of the objects which the organisers sometimes consider quite common.
- (c) The historical background necessary for the understanding or appreciation of exhibits is lacking.
- (d) Minds are not trained to derive beneficial knowledge or to understand the utility and artistic beauty or skill achieved in the bygone ages.
- (e) A common belief exists among the laymen that proper comprehension of exhibits is beyond the average intelligence.

- (f) Visitors view the exhibits from a sentimental point of view rather than from the practical one, and thus do not realise the educative or instructive value ; nor do they apply the knowledge gained for practical purposes.
- (g) Custodians, as they grow old in service, do not have the zeal to go beyond looking after the safety of exhibits and, therefore, do not help the visitors to satisfy their curiosity or to rouse it by their guidance and information.

Museums and exhibitions are owned by either the State or a society or individual proprietors. In London, exhibitions of art or of one's own attainments are not rare features. Exhibitions such as "Ideal Home" are an improved and systematically planned out model of a "country fair". They have been commercialised. Science and technical exhibitions maintained for the training of students or apprentices are kept open for the public. Industrial exhibitions are chiefly places of advertisement and canvassing. The real aim behind all these is, however, to add to the stock of general knowledge not only the existence of so many articles, but to train the mind and eye so that it may kindle imagination and inspire some towards helping evolution of society and human achievements to their next stage of completion or perfection within the minimum time possible.

With a view to satisfy the curiosity of visitors by way of facilities for an easy understanding, and also for their comfortable progress round the exhibits, the arrangements in various museums are so made that:

- (a) Each exhibit is placed apart, so that it is viewed without congestion of visitors, thus avoiding eye strain and the tedium of waiting for one's turn.
- (b) No exhibit is kept more than six inches deep from the glass cover, so that no spectral discomfort is felt.
- (c) No exhibit smaller than a square or cubic foot in size is placed at a distance more than three feet deep : this distance being lessened or increased in proportion to the minuteness of details, etc.
- (d) Colour effects are maintained.
- (e) For emphasising details of a particular exhibit, it is placed in a prominent position, so that a closer view is possible.
- (f) Where necessary, all sides of exhibits are exposed to view with the aid of mirrors or such other appliances.
- (g) Light conditions : There should be neither a diffusion nor a glare.
- (h) Exhibits indicate not only their individual interests but the corporate life of the whole group or section.

The greater the skill employed in the presentation of exhibits, the more attractive and instructive do they become. The higher degree of perfection is attained when skill helps to appreciate beauty and utility of exhibits. Some of the technicalities observed to secure this end are :

- (a) Presentation of exhibits in their original form. It is more instructive to learn the corresponding relation both in appearance and quality of the article as seen in the olden days and that of the present time.
- (b) Showing them with proper perspective : either with an expressive background or with a suggestive word-picture.
- (c) Arranging exhibits so as to create individual as well as group or sectional interests, i.e. either by time, event, progress of development, family or stock, culture, art or handicraft, and so on.

- (d) Avoiding concentration of all the best objects, irrespective of their relation to each other, at one place simply because they happen to be the cream of the exhibition. They are not really as effective there as they are while in their own group.
- (e) Giving more space and prominence to an exhibit whenever its importance or value in the group is to be stressed upon.
- (f) Explaining exhibits as far as possible by indicating their age, the place where they were found, use, possession, their importance as cultural specimens, and any other particulars or narration which may have brought them to prominence.
- (g) Explaining picture scenes from the artistic and historical points of view and if possible giving contemporary details and prices of the materials used, etc.
- (h) Supplementing details by noting the whereabouts of the originals whenever replicas or copies are exhibited.
- (i) Ensuring that casing does not obscure the view of the important parts of the objects inside.
- (j) Designing ventilators and lights so that no damage through weather conditions is done to exhibits.
- (k) Placing at the entrance of every section boards intimating the contents of the section, thus preparing ground for better understanding.
- (l) Providing magnifying glasses when demanded.
- (m) Placing maps and indicators at the main entrance showing the general contents and the proper direction for an easy and circular round.
- (n) Providing resting places with indicators and general lay-out plans in every section, particularly in larger museums.
- (o) Preventing entry of all such things as may cause damage even accidentally.
- (p) Providing lecture guides.
- (q) Exhibiting new arrivals separately for some time.
- (r) Arranging special lectures on different sections off and on.

The educative value of a museum can be enhanced only if the knowledge gained carries a permanent impression upon the mind. This can be achieved if the visitors are provided with some means for memorising such as :

- (a) Proper catalogues and guide books.
- (b) Picture models and copies.
- (c) Free use of camera.
- (d) Booklets on methods and preservation and presentation of old curios and exhibits, etc.
- (e) Facilities for studying exhibits.
- (f) Encouragement to persons presenting or giving exhibits for public use.

A mere maintenance of interest in visitors is not an adequate return for the high cost and great labour involved. Every effort should be made to create interest in those who have not visited them, but who could have done so if the exhibition had been properly made known to them. Some propaganda is, therefore, necessary and the effective sources through which this propaganda can be carried on are :

- (a) Railways and public conveyance companies : to bring, through their publications, the exhibition to the notice of all such areas as are likely to be interested. Some concessions at such periods of less traffic are helpful.

- (b) Local authorities—municipalities, local boards, county councils, etc.—should make it a part of their education propaganda, and advertise such exhibitions by placing notice boards at important streets, and by issuing leaflets.
- (c) Schools and educational authorities should explain the sections one by one to children during school hours—one class at a time in charge of two or three teachers.
- (d) Leaflets showing special lectures arranged during a month or a year are distributed.
- (e) Leaflets showing the timings of several museums, etc. in the province or big cities are issued for distribution.
- (f) Agencies arranging for travels of tourists, etc., should advertise such places in their propaganda literature.
- (g) Special exhibits should be brought to the notice of the public through talks on Radio.
- (h) The respective Railway stations should make known to the passengers the existence of such museums in the locality of the station.
- (i) Notices of special exchanges of exhibits, and encouragement to those presenting them should be published in newspapers.

Such propaganda is paying to the advertisers and also to the public.

What amounts should be charged to visitors will all depend upon the peculiar circumstances of the exhibitions. As far as possible they should be free, and maintained by public funds.

The details of personal and other items of expenditure, as well as construction of buildings and show-cases and other apparatus, the art of preservation and repair of exhibits must be left to separate articles hereafter.

A mention has been made in my previous report that photographs are being taken of all the important paintings, etc. concerning India, and on this occasion I thought fit to record the result of my visit to certain museums and exhibitions up to date.

Since my last report of 1st August, I concentrated myself on the study of the General and Factory records at the India Records Office :

Section.	Number of Volumes		
	To be seen.	Perused.	Remaining to be seen.
<i>India Office Records :</i>			
<i>General Records :</i>			
1. Court Minutes	55	25	30
2. Home Miscellaneous .. .	547	6	541
<i>Factory Records :</i>			
1. Balasor	1	1	...
2. Borneo	1	1	...
3. Calcutta	11	11	...
4. Celebes	1	1	...
5. Conimer	3	3	...
6. Cuddalore & Porto Novo .. .	3	3	...
7. Dacca	21	1	20

8. Fort St. David	..	..	..	11	2	9
9. Fort St. George	..	..	..	39	39	...
10. Hugli	..	..	..	11	11	...
11. Java	..	..	..	72	10	62
12. Karwar	..	..	..	1	1	...
13. Kasimbazar	..	..	..	13	4	9
14. Madapollam	..	..	..	3	3	...
15. Petapoli	..	..	..	3	3	...
16. Patana	..	..	..	18	1	17
17. Rajapore	..	..	..	1	1	...
18. Siam	..	..	..	1	1	...
19. St. Helena	..	..	..	163	4	159
20. Sumatra	..	..	..	162	5	157
21. Tellichery	..	..	..	12	12	...
22. Vizagapatam	..	..	..	1	1	...
23. Maldah	..	..	..	2	2	...
24. Masulipatam	..	..	..	13	13	...
<i>British Museum—Oriental Books and MSS</i>				2	2	...
<i>Library. Marathi Section</i>						
Total ..				1171	167	1004*

* Relate to the period after 17th century.

For comparison and other purposes, 35 publications had to be gone through during the period.

Fifty more photographs of old paintings were taken, and two (one Dutch and one French) manuscripts were photocopied.

Just as an experiment, I photographed the whole Music section at the India Museum in South Kensington Museums. This consists of more than 150 instruments—string, pipe, drum, etc.—in 22 sectional cases. If these cases, as exhibited, could be shown through Magic Lanterns usefully, I intend to attempt other sections from the Industrial and other points of view.

Among the old newspapers, I noticed that (1) *Calcutta Review*—1784, (2) *Bombay Courier*—1793, (3) *Madras Courier*—1795 and (4) *Morning Chronicle*—1795, give some detailed and authentic information of the time. These may be found worth study by those working on Hyder, Tippoo and their contemporary periods.

My impressions of the material I have been collecting, as also about various other subjects pertaining to Indian History will be given as soon as space in my reports permits.

V. S. BENDREY

1st October, 1938.
London.

MISCELLANEA

A NOTE ON "SUVAṆṆAGIRI"

The Aśōkan inscriptions found at Brahmagiri, Siddāpura and Jatiṅga-Rāmeśvara mention Suvaṇṇagiri as the seat of a viceroy perhaps under the emperor Aśōka. I quote the relevant portions from those inscriptions :—

BRAHMAGIRI

(S)uvaṇṇagirīte ayaputasa mahāmātāṇaṃ ca vacan(e)na Isilasi mahāmātā ārogiyaṃ vataviyā hevaṃ ca vataviyā Devānaṃ piye ānapayati ..

SIDDĀPURA

Suvaṇṇagirīte ayaputasa mahāmātāṇaṃ ca vacanena Isilasi mahāmātā ārogiyaṃ vata(v)i(yā) Devānaṃ Piye hevaṃ āha ...

JATIṄGA-RĀMEŚVARA

... (mahāmāt)ānaṃ ca vaca(nena) Isi(lasi) .. vata(viyā) Devānaṃ Piye ...

The word Suvaṇṇagiri is missing from the inscription at Jatiṅga-Rāmeśvara, but as the three inscriptions are almost identical, it should be supplied in it too.

These are the only Aśōkan inscriptions in which Suvaṇṇagiri is mentioned. The portion of the inscription mentioned above means :

"From Suvaṇṇagiri, by the word of the *ayaputa* and the *mahāmātās*, the *mahāmātās* at Isila are to be told 'health' (are to be enquired about their health) and are to be informed thus : 'Devānaṃ piye orders ...'"

There is a lot of speculation about the location of the Suvaṇṇagiri of the inscriptions. HULTZSCH suggests that it might be Kanakagiri, south of Maski, seventy miles south-west from Raichur via Hutti. This surmise is based upon the fact that there are old gold workings near Maski, and *kanaka* and *suvarṇa* mean the same thing in Sanskrit. FLEET, on the other hand, is of the opinion that it may be Sonagiri near Rājagṛha in Bihar.

Both these suggestions seem to me to be far from the mark. In the matter of proper names, one should not be substituted for another on the plea of synonymy. *Kanaka*, *Kāncana*, *bhṛṅgāra*, *suvarṇa*, *svaṇa*, *hēman*, and so on may all denote gold but when they form compounds with other words to denote proper names, one should not be identified with another as otherwise it would lead to endless confusion. The name Sonagiri is no doubt a corrupted form of Suvaṇṇagiri, but there are so many Sonagiris in India that it would be difficult to arrive at a conclusion. One may, however, with some probability fix upon a particular Sonagiri if it is within reasonable distance from Isila in the inscription which must have been an important place existing near about where the present Brahmagiri, Siddāpura and Jatiṅga-Rāmeśvara stand. The Sonagiri near Rājagṛha in Bihar is far removed from these places to be of any use in the identification.

Which, then, is the Suvaṇṇagiri of the Aśōkan records not far removed from the frontiers of the present Mysore State? I suggest that it may be Dzonagiri, a small hamlet near Yerragudi where recently a complete set of fourteen edicts of Aśōka were discovered. The currency of these records among scholars by the name "The Yerragudi records" has been unfortunate. It has delayed the identification

of Suvarṇagiri with Dzonnagiri which is far nearer the site of the records than Yerraguḍi. The reasons for this identification are given below :

(i) Suvarṇagiri must have been a very important place at the time being the seat of a viceroy or a royal prince (if this is what is meant by the word āyaputa) with his advisors (Mahāmātā). Apart from the improbability of Kanakagiri near Maski being Suvarṇagiri, the single inscription at Maski, which is not after all so important except for the mention of the name Aśoka in it, it cannot be given the same importance as Dzonnagiri with its set of fourteen inscriptions which are found only in two more places in India, namely Dhaulji and Jaugada.

(ii) Dzonnagiri is commonly associated with the Indian maize (*dzonna* in Telugu, *jola* in Kannaḍa and *dzavāri* or *dzāri* in Marāṭhi). The word *dzonna* is a derivative of *suvarṇa* and is given to maize on account of its golden yellow colour, in the same way as the name *rāgi* (*Eleusine coracana* Pers.) to the grain of that name on account of its red colour. (Skt. *vrāñj-* °*rāga-* etc.) Dzonnagiri could not have been given that name after the Indian maize that is grown there, for on that supposition all villages growing the Indian maize have to be given the same name Dzonnagiri. The name Dzonnagiri can therefore be concluded to be a Telugu corruption of the name Suvarṇagiri through the intermediate form Sonnagiri.

(iii) The Maski inscription does not refer to mahāmātās or viceroys, and so Kanakagiri could not be Suvarṇagiri, where not only mahāmātās but also a viceroy is said to have been stationed. Kanakagiri is not even as important as Isila mentioned in the Mysore Brāhmī records, where at least mahāmātās are said to have ruled.

(iv) Sonagiri near Rājagṛha in Bihar could not also be the Suvarṇagiri of the Mysore records because, though Rājagṛha is associated with Buddhism, no Aśōkan records have been discovered round about that place.

(v) Suvarṇagiri must have been a place situated within reasonable distance of the site of the Mysore records for the officials of Isila to be under the control of the viceroy.

It may therefore be concluded, until more convincing reasons are brought forward, that the Suvarṇagiri of the Mysore Brāhmī records is no other than Dzonnagiri, the site of the newly discovered Aśōkan records, seven miles from Gutti, an important fortress town in the Anantapur district of the Madras presidency.

I therefore suggest that hereafter the Yerraguḍi Brāhmī records may be alluded to as the *Dzonnagiri (Suvarṇagiri) records.

C. NARAYANA RAO

AN EARLIER MS OF THE AVIMUKTA-TATTVA

By way of supplementing the information published by Dr. V. RAGHAVAN in the *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. i, No. 6 (September 1938), page 404, I have to note that the Oriental Manuscripts Library of Ujjain (Gwalior) possesses a MS. of Bālam-bhaṭṭa Pāyagunde's, or his step-mother Bhavāni's, *Avimukta-tattva* bearing an earlier date. The corresponding extracts from this MS. (Accession No. 402) are :

Beginning :

श्रीः ॥ अविमुक्ते महाक्षेत्रे पुरुषार्थैकसाधने ।

पराज्ञानाय श्रुत्यादिमूलकं तत्त्वमुच्यते ॥

* A stone inscription in the village Gundala in the Dhone taluk of the Kurnool district (*Ep. Rep. S. I.* 137 of 1913) records that in S. 1490, Prabhava, Vaiśākha, śu. di. 10, the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāmarāja Tirumalarājadeva Mahārāja granted this village to the God Chennarayalu of Gundala durga for worship and festivals. The donor was Tirumala I of the last Vijayanagara or the Chandragiri dynasty.

यद्यपि तापनीयेऽविमुक्तमेवैकं तारकोपदेशद्वारा तत्काले मुक्तिजनकमुक्तं तथापि जाबालादौ तस्य वाराणसीमध्यप्रतिष्ठितत्वमप्युक्तमिति क्षेत्रद्वयं तत्तात्पर्यभूतम् । तथा हि—

End :

सर्वभूतदयातीर्थं ध्यानतीर्थं विशिष्यते ।
एतानि पञ्च तीर्थानि सत्यषष्ठानि देहिनां ३३
वसन्ति सर्वदेहेषु तेषु स्नानं समाचरेत् ।

इति श्रीवाराहपुराणे धरणीवाराहसंवादे अध्यात्मतीर्थवर्णनं समाप्तम् ॥

हहो महेश करुणामयमानसोऽसि
किं मां न मोचयसि कन्दुकवत्पतन्तम् ।
कर्माणि भोक्तुमिह सन्ति पुराकृतानि
भुक्तेषु तेषु हर हे तव कः प्रसादः ॥

Its concluding colophon is :—

इति श्रीमत्पायगुण्डोपाख्यबालकृष्णद्वितीयाम्बाभवानीविरचितमविमुक्तत्वं परिपूर्णम् । संवत् १८४३ पिंगलसंवत्सरे कार्तिकसुदि द्वितीया २.

Obviously the MS is full of mistakes. It contains 113 folios of the size 11 × 4 inches with a margin of about an inch left on all sides. The number of lines on each page and of letters on each line varies considerably in different portions which, it appears, were written simultaneously by two or more hands. The same dark black ink and straw-paper are used throughout, and the MS, though old in appearance, is in quite good condition. The colophon shows that the copy was completed on the 2nd day of the bright half of Kārttika in Śarivāt 1843, i.e. about November 1786. It is thus about a year older than the Mysore MS mentioned by Dr. RAGHAVAN.

SADĀSHIVA L. KĀTRE.

A NOTE ON SOME ANCIENT INDIAN TRIBES

AUDUMBARAS

The Audumbaras seem to have been an oligarchical or republican tribe mentioned in the Sabhāparvan of the Mahābhārata (li, 1969) where they are located in the Madhyadeśa. The Harivaṁśa refers to certain descendants of Viśvāmitra as Audumbaras (XXVII. 1466), but it is difficult to determine their exact relation with the people of the same name referred to in the Sabhāparvan. The Purāṇas (cf. Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa LVIII, 9) mention a people called the Udumbaras along with the Kāpiṅgalas, Kuruvāhyas and the Gajāhvayas. The last named people were connected with Hastināpura, and the Kuruvāhyas must also have had something to do with the famous Kuru people. The Udumbaras must have therefore occupied a contiguous territory. But both LASSEN (Ind. Art. map) and CUNNINGHAM (Arch. Surv. Rep. XIV, 115 and 135) seem to locate the Udumbaras, who presumably seem to have been the same people as the Audumbaras, somewhere in Cutch. The Harivaṁśa (CLXVIII, 9511) mentions a river Udumbara-vatī in the South,

while the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa (GAṆAPATĪ ŚĀSTRĪ'S edn. p. 633) mentions a city named Udumbara in the Magadha janapada (*Māgadhām janapadām prāpya pure Udumbarāhvaye*). Presumably the river Udumbara-vatī and the city Udumbarapura were connected with the Udumbara or Audumbara people. The Audumbaras are also known from coins which come chiefly from the Kangra district of the Punjab and which belong to about the 18th century B.C.

SMITH *Cat. of Coins*, P. 160-61).

UTTAMABHADRAS

The first and perhaps the only epigraphic mention of the people called Uttamabhadras occurs in one of the well-known inscriptions of Śaka Uṣavadāba which seem to suggest that the Uttamabhadras were an ally of Nahapāna, and consequently they must have had their habitat in Western India.

KĀKAS, KHARAPARIKAS & SANAKĀNIKAS

These three tribal peoples are referred to in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta along with the Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Yaudheyas, Madrakas, Ābhīras and the Prārjunas. These tribes inhabited the regions on the western and south-western fringe of Āryāvarta proper, and it is only likely that the Kākas, Kharaparikas and the Sanakānikas also occupied the same regions. There is, however, no mention of these tribes either in literature or in any other epigraphic record.* The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (LVIII, 47), however, mentions a tribe called Khara-Sāgara-rāśis along with the Gandhāras and the Yaudheyas, and the Matsya Purāṇa (CXX, 56) refers to country named Kharapatha. It is difficult to say if the people Khara-sāgara-rāśis, and the country Kharapatha had anything to do with the Kharaparikas.

B. C. LAW.

NĀ-LO-THO OF THE VIMUTTIMGGA

In Chapter XII of the Vimuttimgga, Upatissa gives a quotation from one Āyasmā Nā-lo-tho (Nārada). The quotation purports to say : *

“Just as in a mountain-forest there may be a well but no rope with the help of which water could be taken out. If at that time there comes a man overcome by the heat of the Sun and fatigued by thirst, and if he sees the well and knows that there is water in it, but still cannot actually reach it, then merely by his knowledge about the existence of water in the well and by seeing it, he cannot satisfy his thirst, so in the same way if I know *Nirodha* as *Nibbāna* and even if I have a perfect *yathābhūta-nāṇadassana*, I do not thereby become a *khīṇāsava Arahā*.”

This quotation I have now been able to identify with the following passage in Saṃyutta ii. 118 (Nidāna-Saṃyutta, Mahāvagga, 8th lesson, Kosambi) which is ascribed to Nārada :

“*Seyyathā pi āvuso kantāramagge udapāno. Tatra neva'ssa rajjunā udakavārako. Atha puriso āgaccheyya ghammābhīlatta ghammapareto kilanto tasito pipāsito. So*”

* See p. 126 of my book ‘*Vimuttimgga and Visuddhimagga : A Comparative Study*’ (1937).

tam udapānam olokeyya. Tassa udakan ti hi kho ñāṇam assa, na ca kāyena phusitvā vihareyya. Evameva kho āvuso bhava-nirodho nibbāṇan ti yathābhūtaṃ sammapaññāya sudiṭṭhaṃ, na camhi Arahāṃ khināsavo."

'The Comparative Catalogue of Chinese Āgamas and Pali Nikāyas' by Prof. Chizen AKANUMA (1929) also tells us (pp. 48, 194) that there is a whole section corresponding to this section on 'Kosambi' in the Chinese version of the Saṃyuktāgama, 9th lesson in the 14th Chapter. It is worth investigating whether the passage in the Chinese version of the Vimuttimagga is word for word the same as in the Chinese version of the Saṃyuktāgama, or whether it agrees only in substance and not in words.**

P. V. BAPAT.

** Since I wrote this, I could investigate this question and I have found out that the passages concerned are *not* word for word the same but that they agree only in substance.

New Indian Antiquary



Wadernagel.

JACOB WACKERNAGEL

von

ALBERT DEBRUNNER

In der Nacht vom 21. zum 22. Mai 1938 ist Jacob WACKERNAGEL im Alter von 84 Jahren still entschlafen. Mit ihm ist eine der merkwürdigsten Gestalten unter den gelehrten Erforschern der indogermanischen, griechischen und altindischen Sprache dahingegangen.

Jacob WACKERNAGEL wurde am 11. Dezember 1853 als Sohn des bekannten Germanisten Wilhelm WACKERNAGEL, der aus politischen Gründen am 19. April 1833 aus Deutschland nach Basel kam und dort als Lehrer am "Pädagogium", einer Vorschule der Universität, und erst als Privatdozent, seit 1835 als ordentlicher Professor an der Universität selber mit grossem Erfolg wirkte. Jacob bekam seinen Taufnamen nach seinem Paten Jacob GRIMM, dem Begründer der geschichtlichen Sprachbetrachtung. Es ist wohl ein Zeichen des treuen Gedenkens an seinen Paten, dass Jacob WACKERNAGEL seinen Vornamen immer noch mit *c* schrieb als schon längst die geltende Schreibung die mit *k* war. Auch seinem Vater hat er ein Denkmal der Anhänglichkeit gesetzt in einer kleinen familiären Gedenkschrift zur hundertsten Wiederkehr des Tages, an dem er in Basel ankam: ein Zeichen auch, welche Bedeutung die Familie diesem Tag beimass; war doch W. W. durch Verheiratung erst mit einer Zürcherin, dann nach deren Tod mit einer Baslerin und durch die Verleihung des Ehrenbürgerrechts von Basel (1837) sehr schnell in der Schweiz und in Basel heimisch geworden.

J. W. durchlief in Basel die Schulen, wobei er am "Pädagogium" noch den Unterricht hervorragender Professoren wie Jacob BURCKHARDT, Friedrich NIETZSCHE und Moritz HEYNE genoss. Seine Studien machte er ausser in Basel vor allem 2 Jahre lang in Göttingen. Dort machte ihm offenbar Theodor BENFEY gewaltigen Eindruck. Das spiegelt sich in einer feinen Würdigung, die den überragenden Forscher ins rechte Licht setzt, ohne seine Schwächen zu verschweigen (Gött. Gel. Anzeigen 1890, 428 ff.): "Überall wo BENFEY mit seiner Arbeit ernstlich angesetzt hat, hat er entweder fördernd gewirkt oder aber, was noch mehr sagen will, nur darum seine Mitarbeiter nicht gefördert, weil er Ihnen zu weit voran war." (S. 430). Weniger bedeutungsvoll war anscheinend für ihn das einzige Semester, das er in Leipzig verbrachte. Offenbar was seine wissenschaftliche Persönlichkeit schon so stark in ihrer Selbständigkeit geformt, dass ihm die Kämpfe um die "Junggrammatische" Richtung, von denen damals Leipzig widerhallte, nichts sagten. In der Tat haben Richtungs- oder Schulkämpfe für seine wissenschaftliche und persönliche Stellung nie etwas bedeutet. So viel ich weiss, hat er sich nur einmal darüber ausgesprochen, nämlich in seiner ersten

Rezension (Lit.bl. f. germ. u. rom. Philol. 6, 1885, 441 ff.), wo er die drei Streitschriften jenes Jahres (CURTIUS, Zur Kritik der neuesten Sprachforschung; DELBRÜCK, Die neueste Sprachforschung; BRUGMANN, Zum heutigen Stand der Sprachwissenschaft) mit unabhängigem Urteil würdigt; das Schlussurteil über Georg CURTIUS verdient festgehalten zu werden: "Wir möchten wünschen, dass die bedenklichen Missgriffe seiner letzten Jahre der Vergessenheit anheimfallen und nur die Erinnerung an das lebendig bleiben möchte, worin er in der Zeit, da er auf der Höhe seines Arbeitens stand, wenige seinesgleichen hatte, an die umsichtige Besonnenheit seines Urteils und seine didaktische Begabung" (S. 445). 1875 bestand W. mit einer Dissertation "De pathologiae veterum initiis" (d. h. über die Lehren der alten griechischen und römischen Grammatiker von den Lautveränderungen) die philologische Doktorprüfung in Basel. Dann begab er sich zu einem Studienaufenthalt nach Oxford. Es war ihm eine grosse Freude, als er 52 Jahre später bei Gelegenheit des Orientalistenkongresses Oxford zum ersten Mal wiedersah.

Noch von Oxford aus meldete er sich 1876 zur Habilitation für Sanskrit und klassische Philologie in Basel, und bald darauf konnte er seine Vorlesungen beginnen: er hat sie etwa 60 Jahre ohne Unterbrechung und mit immer gleicher Begeisterung und Gewissenhaftigkeit gehalten! 1879 wurde er ausserordentlicher, 1881 ordentlicher Professor in Basel. Da der Lehrstuhl für Sanskrit und vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft von 1874-1896 mit Franz MISTELI besetzt war, versah W. die seinerzeit (1477) für Johannes Reuchlin geschaffene Professur für griechische Sprache und Litteratur; von 1881-1887 war er auch Gymnasiallehrer in Basel.

Die hohe Einschätzung der wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten, die er in den nächsten 25 Jahren veröffentlichte, fand ihren Ausdruck in der Berufung auf den Berliner Lehrstuhl, der durch den Tod von Johannes SCHMIDT (1901) verwaist war. Er lehnte ab, soviel ich weiss, weil er dort auch die germanistische Sprachwissenschaft hätte vertreten müssen, der er sich nicht gewachsen fühlte. Als dann aber durch die Berufung von Wilhelm SCHULZE nach Berlin Göttingen frei wurde, nahm er die Berufung dahin gern an, um den allzuvielen Verpflichtungen, die er sich als getreuer Stadt- und Universitätsbürger hatte aufbürden lassen, zu entgehen und mehr der Wissenschaft leben zu können. Und in der Tat sind die 13 Göttinger Jahre (1902-15) seine fruchtbarsten geworden. Die Spannungen der Kriegsjahre führten ihn in die schweizerische Heimat nach Basel zurück, und dort nahm er in beschränktem Umfang die sprachwissenschaftlichen und vor allem die indisch-iranistischen Vorlesungen und Uebungen wieder auf und führte sie weiter, bis die zunehmenden Beschwerden des Alters im Jahre 1936 ihn zu seinem grossen Schmerz zum Verzicht zwangen. Die etwa 20 Monate, die ihm noch blieben, hat er in voller geistiger Kraft, aber mit immer stärkerer körperlicher Müdigkeit weiter gearbeitet.

So viel über den äusseren Lebensgang des Verstorbenen. In der reichen sprachwissenschaftlichen Arbeit, die sich in diesem Rahmen abgespielt hat,

stehen gleichberechtigt nebeneinander das Griechische und das Indische und Iranische. Es kann wohl hier darauf verzichtet werden, zu zeigen, was er auf dem griechischen Gebiet geleistet hat. Aber sein Bild wäre unvollständig, wenn nicht unter Uebergang der zahlreichen Aufsätze in Zeitschriften und Festschriften wenigstens auf die wichtigsten Sonderschriften hingewiesen würde: Das Dehnungsgesetz der griechischen Komposita (1889), Beiträge zur Lehre vom griechischen Akzent (1893), Vermischte Beiträge zur griechischen Sprachkunde (1897), Studium zum griechischen Perfektum (1904), Hellenistica (1907), Ueber einige antike Anredeformen (1912), Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer (1916), Vorlesungen über Syntax mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Griechisch, Lateinisch und Deutsch (zwei Reihen 1920 und 1924; zweite Auflage 1926 und 1928). Nach der Tiefe der Wirkung in der philologischen Wissenschaft steht das Homerbuch obenan, nach der Breite der Leserwelt in Wissenschaft und Schule die Syntaxvorlesungen.

Allein hier in einer indischen und indologischen Zeitschrift steht naturgemäss die Würdigung der indisch-iranischen Arbeiten im Vordergrund. Das Hauptwerk, die "Altindische Grammatik", braucht den Lesern nicht besonders vorgestellt zu werden. Den kühnen Gedanken, als erster eine geschichtliche Grammatik des Altindischen zu schreiben, hat W. wohl in Göttingen bei BENFEY gefasst. Denn zu einer historischen Grammatik des Altindischen gehört (1) ein genaues sprachliches Studium der vedischen Literatur, (2) eine genaue Kenntnis der indischen Grammatiker, (3) eine Verknüpfung dieser beiden Teile durch die indogermanistische Methode; und gerade die Verbindung dieser drei Vorzüge macht die Eigenart BENFEYS aus. Für seine Grammatik arbeitete W. die ganze Literatur der neuen Sprachwissenschaft von ihren ersten Anfängen an durch. Riesige Materialsammlungen hat er so in mehr als 60 Jahren zusammengebracht. Der erste Band, der die Lautlehre umfasst, aber auch zum ersten Mal eine knappe Geschichte des Altindischen gibt, erschien 1896. Er zeigte die Vorzüge der früheren kleineren Arbeiten: Klare und vollständige Darbietung der Tatsachen, sicheres, aber nicht aufdringliches Urteil, Ausnützung und Verbuchung der früheren Forschung, und das alles auf knappstem Raum in sparsamster und doch unmissverständlicher Sprache. Mehr als 40 Jahre sind seither verstrichen, und die Sprachwissenschaft hat inzwischen gewaltige Fortschritte gemacht und kritische Zeiten erlebt; aber eine Neuauflage des heute nahezu vergriffenen Bandes wurde nicht viel Änderungen erfordern. Hatte der erste Band mit fester Hand in ein damals viel behandeltes Kapitel der indogermanischen Grammatik eingegriffen, so behandelte der zweite, der, ausser einer Einleitung in die Wortlehre überhaupt, die Nominalkomposition umfasst und 1905 erschienen ist, ein Kapitel, das die vergleichende und geschichtliche Durcharbeitung noch wenig erfahren hatte: mit dem ersten Wurf gleich eine geradezu geniale Leistung. Es sollte nur die erste Hälfte sein, und ungesäumt machte sich W. an das vielleicht noch schwierigere, weil noch verwickeltere und umfangreichere Gebiet der nominalen Ableitung. Aber andere Aufgaben drängten sich offenbar in den Vordergrund, und erst

dem Siebzigjährigen kam zum Bewusstsein, dass er der Welt die Fortsetzung des Werks schuldete. Da er dazu einer jüngeren Hilfskraft zu bedürfen glaubte und dieser mit vollem Recht nicht gleich das Schwerste, eben die Suffixlehre, zumuten wollte, erschien 1930 der dritte Band, in dem ich nach seinen Sammlungen die Nominaldeklinaton gab, die dank der vorzüglichen Vorarbeit LANMANS keine besondern Schwierigkeiten bot, während W. in prachtvoll allseitiger und eindringender Weise das Zahlwort und das Pronomen darstellte, nicht nur nach der Bildung sondern auch nach der Verwendung der Formen : Niemand sieht dem Werk an, dass der Verfasser 77 jährig war. Aber er selber sah ein, dass er die Nominalbildung noch so weit fördern müsse, wie er könne—er hat dieses Ziel nicht mehr erreicht. Es ist aber zu hoffen, dass die Vorarbeiten so weit gediehen sind, dass die Vollendung in absehbarer Zeit möglich ist. Auch ohne diese Vollendung bleiben die erschienenen Bände ein unvergängliches Zeugnis einer geistigen Kraft von zugleich elementarer Gewalt und völliger Beherrschung. Für den vierten Band, der dem Verbum vorbehalten ist, liegen reiche Sammlungen vor.

Neben diesem Hauptwerk zur indischen Grammatik laufen eine grosse Zahl kleinerer Arbeiten, die dem Indischen theils allein, theils in Verbindung mit dem Iranischen gewidmet sind, und eine besondere Stärke zeigt W. in der Verbindung von griechischen und indischen Sprachtatsachen, wodurch ihm manche Erhellung hin und her gelingt ; und auch in den Werken, die sich mit indogermanistischen oder allegemeinsprachlichen Problemen befassen, spielt immer das Indische eine wichtig Rolle. Es kann hier nicht alles aufgezählt oder gar besprochen werden, was ihm die indische Sprachwissenschaft verdankt. Aber das Wichtigste soll erwähnt werden.

Die erste Schrift zur Indologie stellt allerdings, wenn man rückwärts sein Lebenswerk überschaut, einen Seitensprung dar : der Vortrag von 1876 "Ueber den Ursprung des Brahmanismus" (Basel 1877). Er sucht die Grundzüge der indogermanischen Religion festzustellen durch Vergleich der brahmanischen oder besser gesagt, der vedisch-vorklassischen mit derjenigen anderer indog. Stämme ; ob sich sein Ergebnis : "Eben weil das alles schliesslich auf urzeitlichen Vorstellungen beruht, dürfen wir das Brahmanentum, so wie es war, als ein von den Indern nicht neu geschaffenes, sondern nur ererbtes und ausgebildetes Institut betrachten" halten lässt, mögen die Kenner der indischen Religion entscheiden.

"Das Dehnungsgesetz der griechischen Komposita" (s. o.) wird durch den Vergleich mit der ai. Auslautdehnung in der Wort- und Kompositionsfrage als indog. erwiesen.

Der gross Aufsatz "Ueber ein Gesetz der indog. Wortstellung" (Idg. Forsch. 1, 1892, 333-436) hat es zwar hauptsächlich mit dem Griechischen und Lateinischen zu tun ; aber für das Indoiranische ergibt sich daraus (S. 402-6), dass die indischiranische Neigung, enklitische Wörter an die zweite Satzstelle zu setzen, allgemein indog. ist.

Die Abhandlung über "Wortumfang und Wortform" (Nachr. d. Gött. Ges. d. Wiss. 1906, 147-184) zieht ausser dem Rigveda sehr ausgiebig das Mittelindische heran, um zu zeigen, dass Setzung und Weglassung des Augments vom Umfang des Wortes abhängen.

Ein schönes Denkmal hat W. in einem Nachruf seinem Göttinger Kollegen KIELHORN gesetzt (Gött. Nachr. Geschäftl. Mitteil. 1908, 63-84). KIELHORN war reiner sanskritist und hatte keinerlei Beziehungen zur vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft, so dass das Nebeneinander von ihm und W. keinesweges Schwierigkeiten ergab, vielmehr eine prächtige Ergänzung.

Der Beitrag "Genetiv und Adjektiv" zu den *Mélanges de Saussure* (Paris 1908, 123-152) verbindet die lat. Genetivendung *-i* mit der von den ai. Grammatikern *cvi* genannten Bildung (*mīthunī-kr-* "zum Paar machen", *mīthunī-bhū-* "sich paaren" usw.) Diese Erklärung hat sich bis heute trotz gelegentlicher Bekämpfung siegreich behauptet; gerade die Fälle wie lat. *multi facere* "hochschätzen", die vom Lat. aus gesehen ganz unverständlich sind, finden als Reste des *cvi*-Typus ihre schlagende Deutung und bilden damit die stärkste Stütze für W.s. These.

Die "Akzentstudien" (Gött. Nachr. 1909, 50-63; 1914, 2051; der dritte Teil behandelt nur Griechisches) beweisen überzeugend den Satz, dass die Stämme auf betontes *i*, *u* und *r* die Neigung haben, den Ton auf ein angefügtes Suffix zu werfen.

Die enge Freundschaft, die W. in Göttingen mit dem genialen Iranisten Friedrich Carl ANDREAS schloss und die zu öfterem Zusammenarbeiten und zu gemeinsamen Vorlesungen führte, brachte auch in W.s Arbeiten das Iranische zu noch grösserer Geltung als vorher. So beginnt 1910 eine lange Reihe von Beiträgen, die Indisch und Iranisch verbinden: "*Indoiranica*" (Ztschr. f. vgl. Sprach. 43 und 46 mit 16 Nummern, dann wieder in den Bänden 55, 59 und 61 mit 20 Nummern) und "*Indoiranisches*" (Sitzungsber. d. Berliner Akad. 1918 mit 11 Nummern). Aus der ganzen Fülle will ich nur drei Fälle herausheben, in denen es ihm gelungen ist, durch die ihm eigene Verbindung genauer philologischer Textinterpretation und scharfsinniger sprachwissenschaftlicher Intuition etymologisch schwierige Wörter schlagend zu deuten: (1) Zum vedischen *duryoná-* "schlechte Wohnstätte bietend" verlangt er den Gegensatz **suyoná-* und findet dieses in dem sonst unerklärbaren ved. *s(i)yoná-* (Z. f. vgl. Sprf. 46, 266-271; 61, 203 f.); (2) das Wort *kālā-* "Zeit", das seit dem 10. Maṇḍala des RV. vorkommt, ist identisch mit dem ved. *kārā-*; die Grundbedeutung ist "das Zustandebringen", dann "der Austrag des Spiels, der Augenblick des Erfolgs" (so *kālē* RV. 10. 42, 9b = *kārē*, 8, 21, 12a) dann "entscheidende Zeit" und schliesslich "Zeit" schlechthin (Z. f. vgl. Sprf. 59, 2023); (3) *kalyāṇa-* "schön" heisst eigentlich "mit schönen Ellbogen"; das Voderglied *kali-* entspricht dem griechischen **Καλι-* (das aus *Καλλι* sicher entnommen werden kann), das Hinterglied enthält das indog. Wort für Ellbogen, das auch im ai. *āṇī-* (wenn auch mit etwas anderer Bedeutung) erhalten ist; das Femininum mit seinem

Akzentschub und seiner Vrkiflexion (*kalyāñiḥ* N. Sg., *kalyāñāḥ* N. Pl.) stimmt ausgezeichnet zu den Regeln des Pāṇini (4, 1, 54 ff.), nach denen Bahuvrīhis, deren Hinterglied eine Körperteilbezeichnung auf *-a-* ist, eben dieses Femininum haben (Z. f. vgl. Sprf. 61, 191-197).

Die Arbeitsgemeinschaft mit ANDREAS brachte als weitere schöne Frucht die gemeinsame Herausgabe einiger Gāthās des avestischen Yasna. ANDREAS hatte die beklagenswerte Eigenschaft, dass er die weittragenden Ergebnisse seiner unheimlich kenntnisreichen und durchdringenden Forschungen nur unter stärkstem Zwang der Öffentlichkeit übergab. So ist es ein gewaltiges Verdienst von W., dass er A. diese Gāthā-ausgaben abrang. Es erschienen Yasna 30 in den Gött. Nachr. von 1909, ebenda zwei Jahre später Yasna 31 und wieder zwei Jahre später Yasna 28, 29, und 31. Der Krieg, W.s Rückkehr nach Basel und der Tod von ANDREAS (1930) brachen die Veröffentlichungen grausam ab. Doch gelang es W., die Anmerkungen zu Y. 28, 29 und 31, die seinerzeit nicht mehr hatten gedruckt werden können, nachträglich herauszubringen (Gött. Nachr. 1931). (Bei den Ausgaben weiterer Gāthās, die Hermann LOMMEL mit Benützung der Entwürfe von A. herausgebracht hat [Gött. Nachr. 1934 und 1935], hat W. noch als Berater mitgewirkt.)

Ueberblicken wir das wissenschaftliche Lebenswerk W.s, so müssen wir sagen, dass der Gesamtumfang Ergebnis von 6 Jahrzehnten nicht besonders gross ist. Er hat keine Handbücher für den akademischen oder sonstigen Schulgebrauch geschrieben. Auch die Syntaxvorlesungen sind, so begeistert sie von den Lehrern aufgenommen worden sind, kein Lehrbuch im eigentlichen Sinn; dem es fehlen darin ganze grosse Abschnitte (z. B. ist von den Kasus nur der Vokativ behandelt!), und was gegeben wird, ist nicht "Zusammenfassung" sondern eine harmonische Vereinigung und Durchdringung von viel Selbstgefundenem mit selbständigen Durchdenken des schon von andern Gefundenen. Zu den Fragen der "allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft" oder der Sprachphilosophie hat er sich kaum geäussert: er hatte es nicht nötig, sich darin eine theoretische Klarheit durch systematisches Nachdenken zu verschaffen, weil er zum Sprachwissenschaftler geboren war und bei der unscheinbarsten Spezialuntersuchung immer aus der sprachwissenschaftlichen Grundhaltung heraus arbeitete. Und wo er einmal allgemeinere Fragen behandelte, wie etwa in der Arbeit über "Wortumfang und Wortform" oder "Sprachtausch und Sprachmischung" (Gött. Nachr. Gesch. Mitt. 1904, 90-113), da geschah es immer auf grund neuen Materials, nicht in blosser ordnender Wiedergabe fremden Gutes. Er war in erster Linie Forscher.

Allerdings muss sofort hinzugesetzt werden: der akademische Lehrer steht gleich gross neben dem Forscher. Von der Art seiner Vorlesungen geben ja die beiden Syntaxbände eine lebendige Vorstellung, da sie getreue Wiedergabe von Bekanntem; aber in der unhandbuchmässigen Urigleichheit der Abschnitte und in der lebendigen Darbietung tritt auf Schritt und Tritt der eigenständige Forscher hervor. Aus dieser Bevorzugung der

Forschung erklärt es sich auch, dass er nur wenige Rezensionen geschrieben hat : es sind nur 41, und wenige davon betreffen das Indische. Aber gerade die zwei letzten sind für ihn ausserordentlich bezeichnend : 1) Die Besprechung einer kleinen Schrift von Philippe MEYLAN über lat. *parricida* (Lausanne 1928) gibt endlich überzeugend die Etymologie dieses Wortes : * *parso-* entspricht genau dem altind. * *pūrṣa-* das in mittelind. *posa- purisa-pulisa-* weiterlebt, aber im Ai. nach *manuṣa-* zu *puruṣa-* umgestaltet worden ist ; also heisst *parricida* "Menschenmörder". (Gnomon 6, 1930, 449-460). 2) Die Besprechung der Dissertation von Ruth Norton ALBRIGHT über die vedische Vṛkiflexion (1927) kann nach einer sorgfältigen Prüfung dieser Arbeit, die in der Vṛkiflexion eine indische Neuerung sieht, schliessen : "Man wird wohl sagen müssen, dass die Abhandlung gerade zeigt, wie unmöglich die Auffassung der Vṛkiflexion als indische Neuerung ist. Es ist nunmehr noch klarer, dass man für die Erklärung hinter das Indische zurückgehen muss." (Idg. Forsch. 46, 1928, 348-352.)

Der gekennzeichneten Art seiner wissenschaftlichen Persönlichkeit entsprach seine Wirkung auf die Hörer. Ob man nun zu seinen engeren Schülern gehörte oder nur klassischer Philologe die Hauptvorlesungen besuchte, man stand unter dem Bann des Forschers, der mit unbestechlicher Wahrhaftigkeit und gerechtem Abwägen das Richtige sprachte, der auch bei sachlich schärfstem Tadel nie verächtlich oder gehässig sprach, aber in Verlegenheit kam, wenn einmal ein Selbstzitat unvermeidlich wurde. Seine volle pädagogische Fähigkeit entfaltete er in den Uebungen ; da konnte es peinliche Momente geben, wenn Unwissenheit oder Oberflächlichkeit gar zu krass hervortraten ; aber niemand konnte es ihm übel nehmen, weil man wusste, dass er gegen sich selber ebenso ehrlich war und dass er doch voll Wohlwollen war. So hat er schärfste Schulung geboten, aber nicht Schule gemacht, weil er zur selbstständigen Forschung anleitete, nicht Theorien vertrat. Es mag noch gesagt werden, dass unter seiner Leitung drei Dissertationen zur indischen und iranischen Sprachwissenschaft entstanden sind : 1) Th. GUBLER, Die Patronymica im Alt-Indischen (Göttingen 1903), 2) Eduard THOMMEN, Die Worstellung in nachvedischen Altindischen und im Mittelindischen (Göttingen 1903), 3) Herman LOMMEL, Studien über Indogermanische Femininbildungen (Göttingen 1912).

Wer das Vorrecht hatte, W. auch in seinen letzten Lebensjahren dann und wann zu sehen, der wusste, dass das Alter wohl etwa sein bewundernswertes Gedächtnis etwas geschwächt hatte, aber seine wissenschaftliche Sicherheit und Kombinationsgabe nicht gelitten hatte, und jedermann kann das feststellen in dem hübschen Aufsatz, den er zwei Monate vor seinem Tod abgeschlossen hatte und der nach seinem Tod in den Idg. Forschungen erschienen ist (56, 1398, 161-170) : "Eine wortstellung des Pāṇini und WINKLERS Aleph-Beth Regel," worin er in liebenswürdiger und scharfsinniger Zusammenschau eine Regel des Pāṇini mit Lautspielereien in Kinderreimen, mit deutschen kopulativen Gruppen (*angst und bang* usw.) und mit dem altiranischen Gottesnamen *Ahura-mazda* zusammenbringt.

W. war aber nicht ein einseitiger Gelehrter. Seine Heimatstadt liebte er ebenso wie seine Wissenschaft, seine Familie, seine Schüler und Kollegen. Auch das Universitätsrektorat, das ihm in Basel 1890, 1918 und 1919, in Göttingen 1912-13 anvertraut wurde, hat mit der von ihm erwarteten Tatkraft, Weisheit und Unabhängigkeit geführt. Dass er in Göttingen ordentliches Mitglied der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften wurde, war selbstverständlich; auch mehrere auswärtige wissenschaftliche Gesellschaften haben ihn zum korrespondierenden oder Ehrenmitglied ernannt. Die Universitäten Genf (1909) und Lausanne haben ihm den Titel Dr. ès lettres honoris causa verliehen, die Universität Marburg 1927 den theologischen Ehrendoktor. Von all diesen Ehrungen liess er sich aber aus seiner Bescheidenheit nicht herauslocken.

Seine wissenschaftliche und persönliche Haltung lassen es begreiflich erscheinen, dass er von den Kämpfen der Junggrammatiker in seinen frühen Jahren so wenig berührt wurde wie von den neueren heftigen Angriffen der "idealistischen Philologie" und der "Neuromantiker" gegen die wirklichen oder konstruierten Junggrammatiker. W.s Sprachwissenschaft war elementar und darum nicht zeitgebunden. Seine Schüler und die zahlreicheren Benützer seiner Werke werden ihm allzeit ein dankbares Gedenken bewahren.

A SANSKRIT INDEX TO THE CHĀNDOGYA UPANIṢAD *

(With References to other Sanskrit Texts.)

By

E. G. CARPANI

I. a.

122. ANVĀHĀRYAPACANA, m. : the southern sacrificial fire. -nas (nom. sig.): IV, 12.1 ; V, 18.2.

123. ANVEṢANĀ, f. : searching ; investigation. -(nom. sig.): IV, 1.7. (*actio quaerendi* [BOPP] ; *seeking for* [MONIER-WILLIAMS] ; *das Suchen*, *Forschen* [CAPPELER].)

124. ANVEṢAVYA, grdv. : to be sought or found out. -yas (nom. sg. m.) : VIII, 7.1, 3—(for *eṣa ātmā... satyasaṅkalpo* see Ch. U. VIII, 1.5 ; M.U. VII, 7). -yam (nom. sg. n.) : VIII, 1.1-2—(*tad anveṣavyam tad vāva vijñāsitavyam*—M.U. VI, 8 : *eṣa vāva jñāsitavyo'nveṣavyaḥ*.)

125. AP, f. : water. [Cf. Gr. ἀφρός ; Lat. *am-nis*, "a river", for *ap-nis* ; Goth. *ahva* ; Old Germ. *aha*, *affa*(-°) ; Lith. *uppê*.] *āpas* (nom. pl.) : I, 1.2 ; 8.4 ; III, 1.2 ; 2.1 ; 3.1 ; 4.1 ; 5.1 ; IV, 3.2 ; 12.1 ; 14.3 ; V, 2.2 ; 3.3 ; 9.1 ; VI, 2.4 ; 5.2 ; 8.3 ; VII, 4.2 ; 6.1 ; 10.1 ; 26.1. *apas* (acc. pl.) : V, 16.1 ; VI, 2.3 ; 7.1 ; 8.3-4 ; VII, 2.1 ; 7.1 ; 10.1-2 ; 11.1. *adbhis* : (instr. pl.) : III, 11.6 ; V, 2.2 ; VI, 8.4, 6. *adbhyas* (abl. pl.) : VI, 2.4 ; 8.6 ; VII, 10.2 ; 11.1. *apām* (gen. pl.) : I, 1.2 ; 8.5 ; VI, 4.1-4, 6 ; 6.3 ; VII, 10.2. *apsu* (loc. pl.) : II, 4.1-2 ; VIII, 7.4.

126. APA, adv.-prep. : away. IV, 14.2.

127. APACITI, f. : veneration ; honour. -tyāi (dat. sg.) : I, 1.9.

128. APARA, pron. a. : other ; latter. -tāṇi (acc. pl. n.) : VIII, 9.3 ; 10.4 ; 11.3.

129. APARAPAKṢA, m. : the latter half of the month. -ṣam (acc. sg.) : V, 10.3. -ṣāt (abl. sg.) : V, 10.3.

130. APARĀJITA, a. : unconquerable. -tā (nom. sg. f.) : VIII, 5.3.

131. APARĀHṆA, m. : afternoon. -ṇāt (abl. sg.) : II, 9.6-7. -ṇe (loc. sg.) : II, 14.1.

132. APAŚYANT, a. : not seeing. -ntas (nom. pl. m.) : V, 1.9.

133. APAHATAPĀPMAN, a. : free from evil or with evil removed. -mā (nom. sg. m.) : I, 2.9 ; VIII, 1.5 ; 4.2 ; 7.1, 3.

134. APAHATATAMASKA, a. : with darkness removed. -kān (acc. pl.) : VII, 11.2.

135. APAHATI, f. : removing ; destroying. -tis (nom. sg.) : VIII, 12.1.

136. APAHANTR, m. : destroyer. *-tā* (nom. sg.): I, 3.1.
137. APĀNA, m. : out-breathing, expiration (opposed to *prāṇa*); "that of the five vital airs which goes downwards and out at the anus" (MONIER-WILLIAMS). *-nas* (nom. sg.): I, 3.3; III, 13.3; V, 21.1. *-nāya* (dat. sg.): V, 21.1. *-ne* (loc. sg.): V, 21.2. (Cf. B.Ā.U. III, 9.26; Taitt. U. I, 7; II, 2; Kāṭ. U. V, 3, 5; Muṇḍ. U. II, 1.7; Pr. U. III, 5, 8; IV, 3; M.U. II, 6.).
138. API, adv.-prep. : even, also. I, 5.5; 10.4; II, 1.2-3; III, 11.6; IV, 15.1; V, 10.10; 24.4; VI, 7.3, 5; VII, 5.2; 8.1; 9.1; 13.1; 15.3; VIII, 3.2; 4.2; 10.1-4.
139. APIDHĀNA, n. : cover. *-nam* (nom. sg.): VIII, 3.1.
140. APIPĀSA, a. : free from thirst. *-sas* (nom. sg. m.): III, 17.6; VIII, 1.5; 7.1, 3.
141. APŪPA, m. : cake. *-pas* (nom. sg.): III, 1.1.
142. APRATIṢṬHITA, a. : unfixed. *-tam* (nom. sg. n.): I, 8.6.
143. APRAMATTA, a. : attentive. *-tas* (nom. sg. m.): I, 3.12; II, 22.2. (Cf. Kāṭ. U. VI, 11; Muṇḍ. U. II, 2.4.).
144. APRAMĀDA, a. : not negligent. *-das* (nom. sg. m.): V, 2.8.
145. APRAVARTIN, a. : not flowing forth. *-ti* (nom. sg. n.): III, 12.9. *-tinim* (acc. sg. f.): III, 12.9. (Ch. U. *pūrṇam apravarti* = B.Ā.U. II, 1.5.)
146. APRĀNANT, a. : not breathing in. *-nan* (nom. sg. m.): I, 3. 3-5.
147. APRĀPYA, grd. : not having found. VIII, 9.1; 10.1; 11.1.
148. APRIYAVETTR, m. : one who feels unpleasant things. *-tā* (nom. sg.): VIII, 10.2, 4.
149. APROCYA, grd. : not having taught. IV, 10.2.
150. APSUMANT, a. : having water. *-mān* (nom. sg. m.): II, 4.2.
151. ABALA, a. : feeble. *-lānām* (gen. pl.): IV, 4.5.
152. ABALIMAN, m. : feebleness. *-mānam* (acc. sg.): VIII, 6.4.
153. ABODDHR, m. : non-perceiver. *-dhā* (nom. sg.): VII, 9.1.
154. ABRĀHMAṆA, m. : not a Brahman. *-ṇas* (nom. sg.): IV, 4.5.
155. ABHAYA, a. : unfearful, not dangerous; n. : security. *-yam* (nom. sg. n. and acc. sg. m.): I, 4.4-5; IV, 15.1; VIII, 3.4; 7.4; 8.3; 10.1; 11.1. *-yās* (nom. pl. m.): I, 4.4 (Cf. B.Ā.U., IV, 4.25.)
156. ABHIKĀMA, m. : desire; a. : well-disposed to (acc. -°). *-mas* (nom. sg. m.): VIII, 2.10. *-mās* (nom. pl. m.): VIII, 1.5. (See SENART, *op. cit.*, p. 108 f.)
157. ABHITAS, adv. : near, around. III, 1.4; 2.3; 3.3; 4.3; 5.3; VIII, 6.4.
158. ABHINADDHĀKṢA, a. : blindfold. *-sas* (nom. sg. m.): VI, 14.1. *-ṣam* (acc. sg. m.): VI, 14.1.
159. ABHINANDA, m. : wish, desire. *-dās* (nom. pl.): V, 8.1.
160. ABHINAHANA, n. : bandage. *-nam* (acc. sg.): VI, 14.2.
161. ABHIPRATĀRIN, proper name (m.); descendant of Kakṣasena. *-riṇam* (acc. sg.): IV, 3.5. *-(voc. sg.): IV, 3.6.*
162. ABHIVYĀHĀRA, m. : utterance. *-rāya* (dat. sg.): VIII, 12.4.

163. ABHISĀYAM, adv. : at sunset. IV, 6.1 ; 7.1 ; 8.1.
 164. ABHYĀŚA, m. : hope ; hope of gaining. -śas (nom. sg.) : I, 3.12 ; II, 1.4 ; III, 19.4 ; V, 10.7.
 165. ABHRA, n. : cloud. -ram (nom. s.) : V, 5.1 ; 10.5-6 ; VIII, 12.2. -rāṇi (nom. pl.) : II, 15.1.
 166. AMA-, pron. stem : this, he. V, 2.6.¹
 167. AMATA, a. : unthought. -tam (nom.-acc. sg. n.) : VI, 1. 3² ; 4.5.
 168. AMATVĀ, grd. without thinking (not having thought). VII, 18.1.
 169. AMANAS, a. : without mind. -nasas (nom. pl.) : V, 1.11.
 170. AMANTR, m. : non-thinker. -tā (nom. sg.) : VII, 9.1.
 171. AMĀ, adv. : at home. V, 2.6.
 172. AMĀVĀSYĀ, f. : night of new moon. -yāyām (loc. sg.) : V, 2.4.
 173. AMUTRA, adv. : there. VIII, 1.6.
 174. AMŪLA, a. : rootless ; without support. -lam (nom. sg. n.) : VI, 8.3, 5.
 175. AMṚTA, a. : immortal ; n. : immortality ; nectar.³ -tas (nom. s. m.) : I, 4.5. -tam (nom.-acc. sg. n., acc. sg. m.) : I, 4.4, 5 ; III, 6.1, 3 ; 7.1, 3 ; 8.1, 3 ; 9.1, 3 ; 10.1, 3 ; 12.6 ; IV, 15.1 ; VII, 24.1 ; VIII, 3.4, 5 ; 7.4 ; 8.3 ; 10.1 ; 11.1 ; 14.1. -tā (nom. sg. f.) : I, 4.5. -tasya (gen. sg.) : VIII, 12.1. -tās (nom. pl. m.-f.) : I, 4.4 ; III, 1.2 ; 2.1 ; 3.1 ; 4.1 ; 5.1, 4. -tāni (nom. pl. n.) : III, 5.4. -tānām (gen. pl.) : III, 5.4.
 176. AMṚTATVA, n. : immortality. -vam (acc. sg.) : II, 22.2 ; 23.2 ; VIII, 6.6.
 177. AMOGHA, a. : unfailing ; fruitful. -ghās (nom. pl. m.) : VII, 14.2.
 178. AYA, m. : course. -yās (nom. pl.) : IV, 1.4, 6.
 179. AYAJAMĀNA, a. : impious. -nam (acc. sg. m.) : VIII, 8.5. *
 180. AYĀŚYA, proper name (m.). -yas (nom. sg.) : I, 2.12. -yam (acc. sg.) : I, 2.12.⁴
 181. ARA (1), m. : the spoke of a wheel. -rās (nom. pl.) : VII, 15.1.
 182. ARA (2), m. : name of an ocean in Brahmā's world. -ras (nom. sg.) : VIII, 5.3. -ram (acc. sg.) : VIII, 5.4.—(Cf. Kauṣ. U., I. 3.)

1. DEUSSEN's rendering of *ama* by "Gewaltige" is wrong. See WACKERNAGEL, *Altindische Grammatik*, III, 533. Cf. B.Ā.U., VI, 4.20 :— अथैनमभिपद्यतेऽमोहमस्मि सा त्वं सा त्वमस्यमोऽहं सामाहमस्मि ऋक्त्वं द्यौरहं पृथिवी त्वं तावेहि सःरमावहै सह रेतो दधावहै पुंसे पुत्राय वित्तय इति ॥

2. *taṁ ha pītā uvāca* : *śvetaketo yan nu, saumya, idam mahā-manā anūcānamāṇi stabdho'si, uta taṁ ādeśam aprākṣiḥ, yena a-śrutam śrutam bhavati, a-matam matam, a-vijñātam vijñātam iti* || Cf. Muṇḍ. U. I, 1.3 :—...कस्मिन्....विज्ञाते सर्वमिदं विज्ञातं ... cf. also B.Ā.U. II, 4.5 *end*, and IV, 5.6 *end*. See SENART, *op. cit.*, p. 77, foot-note 1.

3. *Emblica officinalis* ; *Terminalia citrina* Roxb ; *Cocculus cordifolius* ; *Piper longum* ; *Ocimum sanctum*, etc.

4. Ayāśya, name of an Aṅgiras ; cf. R̥v., X, 108.8. Mystical name of the chief vital air (MONIER-WILLIAMS).

183. ARANYA, n. : forest. *-ye* (loc. sg.): V, 10.1.
 184. ARANYĀYANA, n. : becoming a hermit ; hermit life. *-nam* (nom. sg.): VIII, 5.3.—(Cf. Kauṣ.U., I, 3.)
 185. ARI, a. : devoted ; hostile ; m. : enemy. See No. 187.
 186. ARIṢṬA, a. : unhurt. *-ṭam* (acc. sg. m.): III, 15.3.
 187. ARE, interjection of address. IV, 1.3, 5, 7, 8 ; 2.3, 5.
 188. ARCIS, f. : light, flame. *-(nom. sg.): V, 4.1 ; 6.1 ; 7.1 ; 8.1. -ṣam* (acc. sg.): IV, 15.5 ; V, 10.1. *-ṣas* (abl. sg.): IV, 15.5 ; V, 10.1.
 189. ARṆAVA, a. : waving ; m. : wave, stream, sea. *-vau* (nom.-acc. du. m.): VIII, 5.3, 4.
 190. ARTHA, m. : object ; aim ; utility. *-thena* (instr. sg.): V, 11.6.
 191. ARDHA, m. : side, part ; place. *-dham* (acc. sg.): V, 3.4, 6.
 192. ARVĀṆC, a. : turned towards ; coming near or to meet any one. *-āk* (acc. sg. n.): III, 10.4. *-āñcas* (nom. pl.): I, 7.6, 8.
 193. ARHAṆĀ, f. : veneration. *-ṇām* (acc. sg.): V, 3.6 ; 11.5.
 194. ALAṆKĀRA, m. : ornament, decoration. *-reṇa* (instr. sg.): VIII, 8.5.
 195. ALABDHVĀ, grd. : without grasping. VI, 8.2.
 196. ALPA, a. : small, minute. *-pam* (nom. sg. n.): VII, 24.1. *-pe* (loc. sg.): VII, 23.1. *-pās* (nom. pl. m.): VII, 6.1.
 197. ALPAVID, a. : knowing little. *-vit* (nom. sg. m.): VII, 5.2.
 198. AVADANT, a. : not speaking. *-ntas* (nom. pl.): V, 1.8.
 199. AVABHṚTHA, m. : purification by bathing after a sacrifice. *-thas* (nom. sg.): III, 17.5.
 200. AVARAPURUṢA, m. : descendant. *-ṣās* (nom. pl.): IV, 11.2 ; 12.2 ; 13.2.
 201. AVĀKIN, a. : not speaking. *-kī* (nom. sg.): III, 14.2, 4.
 202. AVĀNTARADIŚ, f. : intermediate direction. *-śas* (nom. pl.): V, 6.1.
 203. AVI, m. : sheep. *-vayas* (nom. pl.): II, 6.1 ; 18.1.
 204. AVIJĀNANT, a. : not understanding, undiscerning. *-nam* (nom. sg. m.): VII, 17.1.
 205. AVIJÑĀTA, a. : undistinguished. *-tam* (nom.-acc. sg. n.): VI, 1.3 ; 4.5, 7.
 206. AVIJÑĀTṚ, m. : non-discerner. *-tā* (nom. sg.): VII, 9.1.
 207. AVITTI, f. : the not finding ; the not possessing. *-tyā* (instr. sg.): I, 11.2.

1. "Le texte est ici troublé. Je ne puis considérer comme admissible l'interprétation de *yathāvidhānam guroh karmātiśeṣeṇa* que suggère Saṅkara. Il faudrait au moins que toute la locution fût remassée en un seul composé, et cela même serait difficilement admissible. J'ai donc traduit avec l'addition de *kṛtvā*, introduit par BÖHLINGK ; mais je ne saurais dire que l'altération supposée d'une lecture si facile me semble plausible. En tout cas cette hypothèse implique la correction de *atiśeṣeṇa* qui ne donne aucun sens en *aviśeṣeṇa* ; mais cet *aviśeṣeṇa* est lui-même bien faible et bien superflu, et devrait en tout cas beaucoup plutôt porter sur la suite : bref, je ne puis rien faire ni de *atiśeṣeṇa* ni de *aviśeṣeṇa abhisamāvṛtya*" SENART, op. cit., p. 121.

208. AVITTVĀ, grd. : not having found. I, 2.9.
209. AVIDDHA, a. : unpierced ; unhurt. *-dhas* (nom. sg. m.) : VIII, 4.2.
210. AVIDYĀ, f. : ignorance ; spiritual ignorance, illusion. —(nom. sg.) : I, 1.10.
211. AVIDVĀṆS, a. : not knowing. *-dvān* (nom. sg. m.) : I, 10.9-11 ; 11.4-9 ; V, 11.5 ; 24.1. *-duṣām* (gen. pl.) : VIII, 6.5.
212. AVIṢEṢA, a. : uniform, without difference (instr. as adv. : in general). *-ṣeṇa* (instr. sg.) : VIII, 15.1.
213. AVYATHAMĀNA, a. : not trembling. *-nas* (nom. sg. m.) : VII, 4.3 ; 5.3. *-nān* (acc. pl.) : VII, 4.3 ; 5.3.
214. AŚANĀYĀ, f. : hunger. —(nom. sg.) : VI, 8.3.
215. AŚANĀYĀPIPĀSĀ, f. : hunger and thirst. *-se* (acc. du.) : VI, 8.3.
216. AŚANI, m f. : thunderbolt ; a missile. *-nis* (nom. sg.) : V, 5.1.
217. AŚARĪRA, a. : bodiless. *-ras* (nom. sg. m.) : VIII, 12.2. *-ram* (acc. sg. m.) : VIII, 12.1. *-rasya* (gen. sg. m.) : VIII, 12.1. *-rāṇi* (nom. pl. n.) : VIII, 12.2.
218. AŚRṆVANT, a. : not hearing. *-ntas* (nom. pl.) : V, 1.10.
219. AŚMAN, m. : stone, hard stone, rock. *-mā* (nom. sg.) : I, 2.8 *-mānam* (acc. sg.) : I, 2.7, 8.
220. AŚRAVAṆĪYA grdv : not to be heard. *-yam* (acc. sg. n.) : I, 2.5.
221. AŚRUTA, a. : unheard ; inaudible ; unknown. *-tam* (nom.-acc. sg. n.) : VI, 1.3 ; 4.5.
222. AŚROTR, m. : non-hearer. *-tā* (nom. sg.) : VII, 9.1.
223. AŚVA, m. : horse. *-vas* (nom. sg.) : VIII, 13.1. *-vās* (nom. pl.) : VII, 6.1 ; 18.1.
224. AŚVATARĪRATHA, m. : chariot drawn by mules (female mules). *-thas* (nom. sg.) : IV, 2.2, 4 ; V, 13.2. *-tham* (acc. sg.) : IV, 2.1, 3.
225. AŚVATTHA, m. : sacred fig-tree (*Ficus religiosa*). *-thas* (nom. sg.) : VIII, 5.3.
226. AŚVANĀYA, m. : horse-herd. *-yas* (nom. sg.) : VI, 8.5, 3.
227. AŚVAPATI, proper name (m.) : Ved. Lord of horses ; name of a King. *-tis* (nom. sg.) : V, 11.4.
228. AṢṬAMA, a. : eighth. *-mas* (nom. sg. m.) : I, 1.3.
229. AṢṬĀCATVĀRIṆŚAD, num : forty-eight. *-ṣat* (nom.) III, 16.5.
230. AṢṬĀCATVĀRIṆŚADAKṢARA, a. : having forty-eight syllables. *-rā* (nom. sg. f.) : III, 16.5.
231. ASAMVIDĀNA, a. : not covenanting. *-nau* (nom. du. m.) : VIII, 7.2.
232. ASAKṚT, adv. : not once. V, 10.8.
233. ASANKALPANĪYA, grdv. : not to be conceived. *-yam* (acc. sg. n.) : I, 2.6.
234. ASANT, a. : non-being ; not existing. *-sat* (nom. sg. n.) : III, 19.1 ; VI, 2.1. *-satas* (abl. sg.) : VI, 2.1, 2.
235. ASAMBĀDHA, a. : unconfined. *-dhān* (acc. pl.) : VII, 12.2.

236. ASAMBHEDA, m. : separation. *-dāya* (dat. sg.): VIII, 4.1.
237. ASAHASRA n. : less than thousand. *-reṇa* (instr. sg.): IV, 4.5.
238. ASĀDHU, a. : not good. *-(nom.-acc. sg. n.):* II, 1.1, 3; VII, 2.1; 7.1. *-dhunā* (instr. sg.): II, 1.2.
239. ASĀMAN, n. : non-Sāman. *-ma* (nom. sg.): II, 1.1, 3. *-mnā* (instr. sg.): II, 1.2.
240. ASUKHA, a. : unhappy ; sorrowful. *-kham* (acc. sg. n.) : VII, 22.1.
241. ASURĀS, m. : demons. (pl.): I, 2.2-7; 8.4. *-rān* (acc. pl.): VIII, 8.4. *-rāṇām* (gen. pl.): VIII, 7.2; 8.5.
242. ASĀU, demonstr. pron. : that, yon. *-(nom. sg. m.):* I, 3.1, 2; 5.1; 8.5; 10.6; II, 10.5; III, 1.1; 19.3; V, 3.3; 4.1; 10.8; VIII, 6.1. *amum* (acc. sg. m.): I, 3.2; 10.7; II, 9.1, 8; VII, 3.1; 7.1; 14.1; VIII, 6.2; 8.4, 5. *amunā* (instr. sg.): I, 7.7; III, 15.3. *amuṣmāt* (abl. sg.): I, 6.8; 7.7; VIII, 6.2; 12.2. *amuṣya* (gen. sg.): I, 7.5; 8.5, 7; VI, 9.2. *amuṣmin* (loc. sg.): I, 9.4; IV, 11.2; 12.2; 13.2; V, 1.3; VIII, 6.2.
243. ASTA, n. : home. *-tam* (nom.-acc. sg.): I, 9.1; II, 14.1; III, 6.4; 7.4; 8.4; 9.4; 10.4; 11.1; IV, 3.1.
244. ASTAMAYA, m. : disappearance, setting. *-yāt* (abl. sg.): II, 9.7.
245. ASTHI, n. : bone. *-(nom. sg.):* II, 19.1; VI, 5.3.
246. ASMATKULĪNA, a. : belonging to our family. *-nas* (nom. sg. m.): VI, 1.1.
247. ASMAVIDYĀ, f : knowledge of ourselves. *-(nom. sg.):* IV, 14.1.
248. ASMARANT, a. : not remembering, *-ntas* (nom. pl.): VIII, 13.1.
249. ASRĀMA, a. : not stiff ; not lame. *-mas* (nom. sg. m.): VIII, 10.1, 3.
250. AHA, pcl. : certainly ; surely ; of course. VIII, 11.2.
251. AHAṂŚREYAS, n. : claiming superiority for one's self (MONIER-WILLIAMS). *-yasi* (loc. sg.): V, 1.6.
252. AHAṆKĀRĀDEŚA, m. : doctrine of the Self. *-śas* (nom. sg.): VII, 25.1.
253. AHAN, n. : day. *-has* (nom.-acc. sg.): IV, 15.5; V, 4.1; 10.1; VIII, 3.2-3, 5; 4.2. *-hnas* (abl. sg.): IV, 15.5; V, 10.1. *-hāni* (acc. pl.): VI, 7.1, 2.
254. AHAM, pron. (I pers.): I. *-(nom. sg.):* I, 5.2, 4; 8.7, 8; 11.1, 2; III, 11.2; 15.2; 16.2, 4, 6, 7; IV, 1.8; 4.1, 2, 4; 10.5; 11.1; 12.1; 13.1; 14.3; V, 1.6, 13, 14; 2.6; 3.5; 11.3, 5; VI, 3.2; 3.2; 10.1; VII, 1.3; 16.1; 24.2; 25.1; VIII, 9.1, 2; 10.2, 4; 11.1, 2; 14.1. *mām* (acc. sg.): II, 9.1; IV, 1.5; V, 11.3; 12.2; 13.2; 14.2; 15.2; 16.2; 17.2; VI, 15.1; VIII, 6.4. *mā* (acc. sg.): I, 10.6; 11.4, 6, 8; 12.3; III, 16.7; IV, 2.4, 5; 4.4; 14.2; V, 2.6; 3.4, 5; VI, 5.4; 6.5; 7.2; 8.7; 9.4; 10.3; 11.3; 12.3; 13.1-3; 14.3; 15.3; 16.3; VII, 1.1, 3. *mayā* (instr. sg.): I, 11.5, 7, 9; IV, 1.4, 6. *me* (dat.-gen. sg.): I, 10.2, 3, 4; 11.3; II, 24.5, 9, 14; III, 14.3, 4; 16.2, 4, 6; IV, 2.2; 5.2; 6.3; 7.3; 8.3; 9.2; 14.3; V, 2.1, 2; 3.6; 11.5; VI, 1.7; 3.4; 4.7; 7.4; 8.1, 3; VII, 1.3, 5; 2.2; 3.2; 4.3; 5.3; 6.2; 7.2; 8.2; 9.2; 10.2; 11.2; 12.2; 13.2; 14.2; VIII, 8.1. *mat* (abl. sg.): V, 1.8-11. *mama* (gen.

sg.): I, 5.2, 4 ; 11.3. *āvām* (nom. du.): VIII, 8.1, 3. *vayam* (nom. pl.): I, 8.5, 7 ; II, 24.4, 8, 12-13 ; III, 17.7 ; IV, 3.7 ; 11.2 ; 12.2 ; 13.2 ; V, 2.7. *nas* (acc.-dat.-gen. pl.): I, 12.2 ; II, 1.3 ; IV, 5.1 ; 10.4 ; V, 1.7, 12 ; 11.1, 6 ; VI, 4.5.

255. AHAHA, interj. of joy, surprise, sorrow, etc. IV, 2.3, 5.

256. AHIMSANT, a. : not hurting ; harmless. *-san* (nom. sg. m.): VIII, 15.1.

257. AHIMSĀ, f. : harmlessness ; not injuring anything. *-(nom. sg.):* III, 17.4.

AHRDAYAJÑA, a. : not knowing the heart. *-ñam* (nom.-acc. sg. n.): VII, 2.1 ; 7.1.

259. AHORĀTRA, n. : day and night. *-re* (acc. du.): VIII, 4.1.

(To be continued.)

A NARRATIVE & CRITICAL HISTORY OF ADEN

By

ABDULLA YAQUB KHAN, Aden.

INTRODUCTION

The annals of Aden are so interwoven and blended with the histories of Yemen, Ottoman Empire, Portugal, and other countries that it has for ages baffled historians to present a harmonious and linked account of its hoary past ; mystical decline and fall ; squirming rise and growth, and ultimate lift to a position of the highest magnitude in the diadem of the British Empire.

Here I propose to give a synopsis of my history which will be narrated at greater length in this paper, disclosing many facts hitherto unpublished—the fruit of my several years' research in such a place like Aden, where not a single public library exists.

Before narrating the history of the place one point has to be determined—a point which will decide the commercial importance of this port. Aden is a barren place and, situated as it is in the torrid zone, is almost devoid of vegetation. The heat, the poignancy of its atmosphere, the *Shamal*, and the hot blast during summer, are apprehended for a veritable inferno. It produces nothing worth naming, and entirely depends on Yemen for its vegetable, fodder and fire-wood, on India for its grain and cereals, on the Far East for its textile fabric, on Europe for luxuries and perfume, and on Africa for its live-stock. But, in spite of all these obstacles and drawbacks, Aden attracted the attention of many nations, like the Himyarites, Romans, Abyssinians, Persians, Portuguese, Egyptians, Turks, Dutch, French, Americans and British, towards its sombre and charred rocks. But why ? It certainly possesses no scenery of Venice or Kashmere ; has no fertile soil ; water—the elixir of life—has to be bought ; the heat is just enough for *Shams-e-Tabrez* to roast his meat. Again why did nations who came to conquer Aden in the past sacrifice a number of their brave and gallant men on the shore of Sira Island ? There is one and only one answer to these interrogations. The strategical position and commercial passage it commands midway between Europe and India—a connecting link between the West and East. It was not the captivating or entrancing nature of this burnt chain of hills that gravitated nations from distant climes at a period of history when navigation was in its infancy and the ancient mariners dreaded to pass *The Gate of Tears*, (Bab-el-Mandeb), and *The Sea of Destruction*, (Bahr-el-Kulzum) ; but the quest for a commercial port and a naval base.

I.—ANCIENT CYCLE

The ancient history of Aden is shrouded in mystery. Maneans, Sabaeans and Himyarites, were its masters between B.C. 2000 and A.D. 525. It is probable that the tanks of Aden were built by the Himyarites after the bursting of the dam of *Mareb* in about A.D. 102(?). The Himyarites were shrewd and enterprising traders and had a profitable intercourse with Jerusalem, Tyre and Sidon,—the Phoenician ports, trading in blue clothes, embroidered work, chests of rich apparel made of cedar and bound with cords procured in Aden. But the occupation of Aden as an emporium was impossible without an adequate supply of water, and as the Himyarites were great engineers of their time, the building of the Aden Tanks, was a simple thing to them in comparison with the stupendous dam of *Mareb*. The famous *Queen of Saba*, (*Queen Balqis*), is said to have visited Aden with her retinue of 1000 boys and girls and a variety of commodities, such as species, gold, frankincense, jewels, spices, alnum, as a present for King Solomon.

Nebuchadnezzar, (*Bukhtnasser of the Orient*), had penetrated to Aden along the coast from the Hejaz in B.C. 574.

The trade in spices and frankincense was of great importance, and about A.D. 110 Aelius Gailus, a general of Egypt in the reign of Augustus, visited Yemen to invade the country in quest of these commodities ; but found this to be a myth.

Aden was a flourishing port during the time of the Himyarites (A.D. 40-70) and the Greeks gave it the name of *Eudaemon Arabia* (i.e. Happy Arabia). The name of the king of Aden was *Sherhabil* who ruled the neighbouring countries as well. He was an ally of the Romans. The Romans in those days were great navigators and wanted a suitable port for tapping the trade of India and Africa. They established *Bernice* on the African side of the Red Sea, but when they could not induce traders to carry their shipment of spices from India and raw silk from China they captured Aden and named it *Emporium Romanium*. Later, when they found it impossible to maintain the place, they destroyed it. Aden remained in a ruined condition for some time, but regained its prosperity in A.D. 342 in the time of Constantine the Great, the King of the Romans, who renewed the old friendship with the King of Himyarites, and sent an embassy to him. This king permitted the erection of a church in the city of Aden for such of the Roman merchants who came to trade at Aden.

In A.D. 525 a religious war broke out in Yemen between the Himyarites and Christians. The Christians sought the help of the Abyssinians. Exasperated the Abyssinians sent an expedition under the command of Aryat, who came to Aden in Roman ships and conquered it. In A.D. 573, Madi Kareb, son of Saif bin D'Yazan persuaded the king of Persia to invade Yemen and Aden, describing the former as a country full of gold. The king sent a Persian army of 3600 strong, most of whom, were felons and malefactors, under the command of Waharz Pir Zada who, after a battle with

the Abyssinians captured Aden in A.D. 573.¹ The Persians ruled over Aden and Yemen from A.D. 573 to A.D. 632.

The first Muslim, sent by the holy Prophet, (P. B. U. H.), as a governor and administrator of Aden, was Abu Musa Ash'ari. He ruled over Aden for a short time. In A.D. 632 Akramah Aboo Sahl was commissioned to quell a revolt and Aden in the same year passed into the hands of the Umayyads.

II.—MEDIEVAL CYCLE

In A.D. 749, the Abbasides took up the reign of the Government of Aden, and appointed Daood Abdul Majid as the first governor of the place. Banu Zayyads then captured it in A.D. 817, and in A.D. 905 it was under the sway of the Karamite Caliphate. After 28 years (A.D. 933) the Imam of Yemen took up its administration, and after the lapse of a century (A.D. 1038), it was in the possession of Zaher Ayyah. In A.D. 1062 the Banu Ma'an captured it. In the 12th century the country was in a great turmoil, and it rapidly changed hands in the following sequence :—Successors of Ibn Omer governed it in A.D. 1137; captured by Bilal Yasir Mohamed, A.D. 1137; treacherously taken by Sultan-el-Mansoor Hatim, A.D. 1137; seized by Imam Mudaffar, A.D. 1149; governed by Banu Mahdi, A.D. 1159; besieged by Abd-an-Naby, A.D. 1173, who resisted the army of Turan Shah; invaded by the latter, A.D. 1173, and ultimately passed on to the Ayyubite Government. When *Marco Polo* visited Aden in about A.D. 1290, the trade seemed to have revived, so much so that horses were exported to India in large numbers and the Ruler of Aden levied heavy imposts on them. In A.D. 1325 Abdul Hasonali ruled over Aden. The yet to be known *Battle of the Arrows* was fought in A.D. 1387, and Imad Rabi marched on Aden when there was an earthquake; the famous Arab Lexicographer *Ferozabadi* visited the place, A.D. 1394, Badruddin rebelled and ransacked Aden treasure, A.D. 1399. About A.D. 1422 we find that the trade of Aden improved considerably and the Emperor of China sent an Imperial Envoy to Aden with a letter and presents for the King of Aden to permit a commercial intercourse between the Chinese and the Arabs. These Chinese brought precious commodities such as rubies, amber etc., for sale in Aden.

III.—MODERN CYCLE

Aden at a later stage passed into the hands of Imams and the most renowned of this line of rulers was Abdul Wahab bin Omer, who, in A.D. 1500, constructed an aqueduct to convey water from *Bir Mahit* into Aden, and built the *Round Tank* known to-day as *Playfair Tank*, situated outside the skirt of the other tanks.

1. A marble slab describing this battle in Himyaritic inscription was found by Commander Haines near the defunct Indian General Hospital at Crater in A.D. 1842.

All this time Aden had been an entrepôt through which considerable merchandise such as frankincense, alabaster, spikenard, spices, etc., passed on to India, China, Africa, Egypt and Syria. The discovery of the Cape Route in A.D. 1427, however, diminished its trade temporarily. Immediately after this discovery the Portugal Court became anxious to find a suitable port for its merchant ships and in A.D. 1513 Albuquerque arrived at Aden in command of a fleet ; but in spite of his *scaling ladders, bucklers and awe-inspiring swords*, failed to capture the stronghold. To wreak vengeance upon the enemy for the massacre of his soldiers, he plundered and burnt all the ships that were lying at anchor in the harbour of Sira Island. He was followed by Lopo Soarez, in A.D. 1516 ; but a stratagem of the Governor of Aden frustrated the plan of the Portugal Court for ever. The Turks and the Portuguese at this period were at daggers drawn for the supremacy of the Red Sea, and the Turks looked upon Aden as the best rendezvous and a commercial haven for the Turkish fleet. In A.D. 1538 the fleet of Suleiman the Magnificent, anchored in the harbour of Aden, and in order to avoid the fate meted out to the Portuguese Lopo Soarez, he decided to meet one trick by another. The Governor of the town was wheedled, and on boarding the Turkish war vessel hanged at the yard-arm. One hundred guns were landed and the place was fortified. The Turks ruled over Aden for more than one hundred years. But the commerce during their regime declined so much that when John Jourdain, William Revetts and Alexander Sharpey visited the place in A.D. 1609, they found Aden in a ruined state and contained, according to them, more *soldiers than merchants*. The merchandise was iron, tin, lead and broad cloth. The *Ascension*, in which Sharpey and his companions travelled, was the first British ship to visit Aden. In the following year (A.D. 1610), Sir Henry Middleton visited Aden and was given the same treatment as was meted out to Sharpey¹

The Turkish maladministration in Aden, however, scared away all the traders from the town, and Aden fell into an insignificant port, forlorn and deserted. Meanwhile many of the tribes revolted, compelling the Turks to evacuate Aden and Yemen. Mocha at this time took the place of Aden and acquired the position of a flourishing port of Yemen. On the departure of the Turks, Aden remained under the Imam of Yemen.

In A.D. 1708 the French first visited Aden, and in A.D. 1762 the famous Danish traveller Carsten Niebuhr, visited it and found the trade a trifling one, "for," he says, "*the sovereign is never at peace with his neighbours.*" The export of Aden then was coffee only.

The first American ship to visit Aden was in A.D. 1804 in quest of some convenient place to raise it to a commercial importance ; but failed in their endeavour. They, however, bartered piece goods etc., for coffee, gums, frankincense, myrrh and skin.

1. He was captured and sent in chains to Sanna.

IV.—THE BRITISH

Perim was occupied by Colonel Murray in A.D. 1799, in order to prevent a junction between Napoleon and Tippoo Sultan; but owing to water difficulties it was abandoned in September the same year. Murray came to Aden and was given a generous reception by Sultan Ahmed, the Chief of Aden and Lahej. In A.D. 1802, a treaty of friendship and commerce was concluded with the Sultan of Aden and remained in force till A.D. 1827. In A.D. 1820, negotiations for the establishment of a coaling station in Aden were begun, and concluded in A.D. 1829, when some coal was landed on Sira Island for S. S. *Hugh Lindsay*, the first British steamship built in India. Owing to labour difficulties, however, the idea was abandoned. An attempt was made to form Socotra Island as a coaling station but the scheme was not successful.

In A.D. 1837 (the year of accession of Queen Victoria), a ship *Darya-e-Dowlat*, flying the British ensign, was wrecked near Aden and was plundered by the subjects of the Sultan of Aden. The merchandise was found on sale in the markets of Aden at the time when Captain Haines came for making investigations. The Sultan pleaded ignorance about the misadventure of the ship and the looting of her cargo. Captain Haines demanded a reparation of 12,000 dollars or the return of the entire property of the ship plundered by the Bedouins. The Sultan after a good deal of haggling agreed to restore two-thirds of the goods and executed a promissory note for the payment of the balance at twelve months' sight.

Meanwhile Commander Haines, succeeded in inducing the Sultan to cede Aden in return for an annual subsidy of 8,700 dollars; but at the last moment the Sultan failed to keep up his words and machinated to waylay the Commander. Thus Commander Haines was forced in A.D. 1838 to blockade the town and threatened to bombard it if the Sultan failed to hand it over according to mutual agreement. Finding the Sultan nonchalant, Commander Haines attacked the place in A.D. 1839 and captured it on the 19th January of that year. Aden was the first town to be annexed to the British possession in the reign of Queen Victoria.

The British government built all the fortifications, and from A.D. 1839 to A.D. 1857 several futile attempts were made by the Arabs to recapture the place. In A.D. 1857 Sheikh Othman was added, and in A.D. 1882 it was purchased by the British from the Sultan of Lahej. In A.D. 1868 Jabal Ishan, (Little Aden), was purchased from the Sultan of Lahej. Aden was declared a free port in A.D. 1850. Since then custom duties are levied only on salt, wines, spirits etc.

The tanks were cleaned in A.D. 1874 by the British at a cost of many lakhs of rupees. Several improvements in town building, roads, water supply, sanitation, lighting, etc., have been made.

During the Great War the Turks occupied Lahej on the 3rd July, 1915, and on the 5th July they captured Sheikh Othman; but on the 21st of the

same month they were expelled from Sheikh Othman to the confines of Lahej. On the 11th November 1918 the Armistice was signed and Lahej was evacuated by the Turks. This was the end of the Turkish rule in Yemen.

For about 93 years Aden remained under the administration of the Government of Bombay, and on 1st April 1932 its control was transferred to the Government of India. On April 1937 it was handed over to the Colonial Government.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

SOME MYTHS

Aden is the traditional site of the Garden of Eden, a distinction which is shared by Ceylon and Yemen. At a remote age, after the expulsion of Adam and Eve, Aden became the abode of Satan and his Jinn.

Cain, after murdering his brother Abel, fled in fear of his father from India to Aden, choosing Sirah as his abode. He seems to have found Sirah dull, and Satan appearing before him, presented him with a lute and other musical instruments, with which he managed to keep himself amused.¹ After the lapse of some time the common enemy of mankind appeared again and induced him to become an idolator. Cain and his progeny, therefore, became the first adorers of fire, and the first fire temple is said to have been erected by Cain in Aden.² Cain lived in Aden for a considerable time and after his death was buried here. His last home can be seen to-day on the barren rim of the Aden crater, south of the Main Pass.³

The Indians say Aden was the prison of the Das Sir, the name of a jinn with ten heads, one of which was that of the deer Dilaeser. This jinn used to dwell on Jebel Mandher, and disport himself on the sand of Holkat Bay.⁴

According to the Hindu mythology, the well dug out in the heart of the Sira hill, and known as Bir Heramast, was excavated by a jinn named Hunweet. The cause which led to the accomplishment of this wonderful piece of engineering, was the frustration of the evil design of a powerful but disreputable giant, named Hedith, who stole the wife of Ram Hyder from the province of Oudh and flew with her through the air until he alighted on the summit of Sira Island. Hedith then wanted to change her form

1. JONES & BADGER, *Travels of Ludovico Di Varthema* pp. 59-60, and an Arabic MS: entitled *Ruh-er-Ruh*. by Essa bin Lutf-Allah Sharfuddin.

2. PRICE, *Essay towards the History of Arabia*, pp. 11-12.

3. BURTON, *Unexplored Syria*, Vol. I.

4. HUNTER, *Statistical Account of Aden*, p. 185.

from that of human being to that of a jinn. This suggestion was strongly resented by the lady. Now Hunweat, the engineer, whose form was that of an ape, was near by, and a witness to this wrangle. Pitying the lady, he tunnelled the whole passage from the city of Oojein (the capital of Bīkramī, King of Malwa), under the sea until it terminated in the centre of Jebel Sira completing the whole thing in one night. Issuing from the passage, he found Hyder's wife sleeping under a thorn tree on the top of the hill and carried her home to her desolate husband.¹ It is said that the well was so terrible that no one dared to look into it. Vapour used to come out of it and round about it snakes disported. A long story follows which is omitted owing to its length. It is also related in an Arabic manuscript² that the well existed there up to a comparatively recent period, from the bottom of which flames used to issue, and that the end of a rope, let down by way of experiment in the presence of many witnesses, was found to be burnt on being drawn up. There is nothing improbable in this story for the Peninsula of Aden is undoubtedly of volcanic origin and the same igneous agency still occasionally manifests itself among the Zebair islands in the Red Sea, and the opposite coast of Africa.

According to the tradition fire will be emitted from the Sira of Aden on the Day of Resurrection and drive the people of Aden to the place of judgment.³ Maulana Hason Nizami, a sage of India, interprets the word fire as if it meant "Railway," and fixed Aden as the place of starting. The line would extend to Syria via Yemen, and would be used for carrying the people to the place of judgment which is to be Syria.⁴

There is some diversity amongst historians about the naming of this town. Some say Aden was so called because the founder named it after his son, whose name was also "*Adan*", a descendant from the tribe of 'Ad. It is likewise held that the first man who was imprisoned⁵ in it bore the name 'Aden. Ibn Mujawir says, that as formerly Aden contained an iron mine (*M'adan*), people in course of time corrupted the original word into Aden by decapitating the letter 'M'. CHESNEY⁶ is of opinion that this, once celebrated commercial kingdom, was founded by Aden-bin-Senan.

Whoever might have been the founder, the site was happily selected, and well-calculated, by its imposing appearance, not only to display the splendour of its edifices, but also uniting a strength with ornament to sustain the character which it subsequently bore as the port and bulwark of Arabia Felix.⁷

1. HUNTER, *Statistical Account of Aden*, p. 186.

2. In the possession of the author entitled: *Tarikh Thaghr Aden* (History of the Valley of Aden), by Kadi Aboo Abdalla bin Ahmed Muhrim.

3. Mohamed Abdulla El-Keysani in HUNTER'S Account, p. 186.

4. HASON NIZAMI, *Kitab-el-Amr*, (Urdu edition), published several years before the inception of the Aden Railway.

5. Aden was a prison of the Pharaohs, but it ceased to be so under the Fatimites.

6. CHESNEY, *Expedition to the Euphrates and Tigris*, Vol. i.

7. WELLSTED, *Travels in Arabia*, Vol. ii. p. 384.

CHAPTER II.

A FEW LEGENDS

Since the early stages of civilization, from the days of 'Ad, Thamud, Jadis and Tasm, to the present day, Aden has been one of the main connecting links in the chain of commerce between East and West. The aim of this paper is to give a picture however inadequate of the ancient splendour of Aden, and the account would be incomplete if glimpses of its ancient fame are not visualised.

Amongst the ancient Arabs, who cruised the sea and built monumental works in Aden and its vicinity, were the 'Adites or the peoples of 'Ad, who were image-worshippers. They are said to have been gigantic in structure, and stature and full of vanity. They lived in Hadramaut, the province adjoining Yemen, and according to tradition were the settlers of the great desert *Al-Akhaf* or *Rub-el-Khali* (the Solitary Quarter). Shedad, the son of 'Ad is said to have performed many fabulous exploits; but we have room to mention only one of them—the erection of the magnificent city in the desert of Aden, begun by his father. This city is said to have been built in the vicinity of Aden near the village of Imad. It was adorned with sumptuous palaces and delightful gardens in imitation of the celestial paradise, and to inspire his subjects with a superstitious veneration for him as a god. This superb structure, we are told, was built with bricks of gold and silver alternately disposed. The roof was of gold inlaid with precious stones and pearls. The trees and shrubs were of the same precious materials. The fruits and flowers were rubies, and on the branches were perched birds of similar metals, the hollow parts of which were loaded with every species of the richest perfumes, so that every breeze that blew came charged with fragrance from the bills of these golden images. To this paradise he gave the name of *Arem*.¹ But divine wrath fell on Shedad on account of his pride and impiety, ere he could step in to see the grandeur of his paradise on earth.

And, if this tale of Shedad's city be disbelieved, some of the descendants of this extinct race still inhabit Mount Shamsham in Aden in the form of apes! It is said that the prophet Houd was sent to reclaim the tribe of 'Ad, and the people of Mahra in Socotra are descendants from the remnant of the Adites. Once a man named Kolabeh, while seeking for camels came upon the beautiful garden or *Irem-Dhatul-Imad*. He found and brought away a priceless jewel which came into the possession of the first Omayyad Khalif *Nourrejaht*. Those who embraced Islam by the preaching of the prophet Hound were spared, but the rest were either suffocated by a stifling wind or survived in the form of apes.²

It is just possible that a certain gentleman of Aden found kerosene in the vicinity of Shedad's paradise. But a jinn was the keeper of the source

1. CHRICHTON, *History of Arabia*, pp. 90-91.

2. BENTS, *Southern Arabia*, p. 131.

of this precious fluid, and as he required a human sacrifice, the prospector was obliged to abandon his project. This exploration in Aden is a twentieth century fable and the story of *The Jinn and the Oil*, is current up to the present day. Since these jinns are not willing to give up the pursuit of Adenites, even in an age when science makes us soar on metallic wings to the borders of heaven, and a voice from the other end of the world rides on ethereal chargers to give us the latest news, the legends of Shedad may not be denounced as absurd.

CHAPTER III.

ANCIENT ADEN

1. VERDANT ADEN

Long before the dawn of history and preceding the great upheaval of the volcano now extinct, Aden must have been a verdant place full of blossoming trees, with the eye-soothing carpet of grass covering the length and breadth of the present gaunt, lava-covered hills.

Sir Henry JOHNSTON says : " This region of South-western and Southern Arabia ten to fifteen thousand years ago, was probably an even better favoured province than it is at the present day, when it still bears the Roman designation of Arabia Felix—so much of the rest of this gaunt, lava-covered and sand-strewn peninsula being decidedly 'infelix'. It has high mountains, a certain degree of rainfall on them and was anciently clothed in rich forests before the camels and goats and sheep of Neolithic and Bronze Age men nibbled away much of this verdure. Above all there grew trees oozing with delicious scented resins or gums."¹

Aden must also have been in the same flourishing condition as that which we find Sir Henry JOHNSTON describing in the case of Ancient Yemen, although Dr. ANDERSON tells us that the growth of Aden resembles that *Arabia Patrea*, of which it is evidently the extension, yet it is queer how Yemen should be between *Arabia Patrea*, and Aden, when the latter is supposed to be a part and parcel of *Arabia Patrea*. We really doubt very much and are inclined to believe, that this "Cindrella of the East," as Colonel JACOB dubs Aden, must have been an integral part of Yemen, before nature robbed her ancient beauty.²

Even upto the 17th century Aden was so green and its valleys studded with small trees and shrubs, producing beautiful flowers, that it was no uncommon circumstance for the inhabitants of Sheikh Othman,³ to send their

1. Sir H. H. JOHNSTON, *Africa*.

2. BURTON, *Gold Mines of the Midian*, p. 284, & Anderson, *Florula Adenensis*, J. P. B. S. Vol. V.

3. A town about 9 miles from Aden proper.

goats and camels to find pasturage amongst the valleys on the west side of the peninsula when none was procurable in their own district.¹ How far Sir Henry JOHNSTON's description of ancient Yemen is applicable to our infernal "Coal Hole," an appellation given to Aden by Sir R. BURTON, is left to the judgment of the reader. But whatever little vegetation we have at present that might before long disappear like the primitive dodo on account of climatic changes of Aden, is the remnant of what was been left by the havoc of volcanic eruption described in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

ANCIENT ADEN

2. THE ERUPTION OF THE ADEN VOLCANO

In the course of time the never ceasing work of nature wrought an entire change in the shape and structure of Aden. After years of inactivity the Aden volcano might have suddenly belched forth torrents of liquid lava and blown up pieces of rock to distant places several miles around Aden ; and most probably the islets dotting the sea from Maalla harbour upto Little Aden, are the result of the havoc played by the volcano. VALENTIA remarks that the rocky peninsula on which Aden is situated resembles the fragment of a volcano, the crater of which is covered by the sea.² But this upheaval must have taken place thousands of years before the destruction of Pompeii.

The configuration and construction of the volcanic walls of the crater in which the town of Aden is situated, are highest toward the south and east ; but as the ridges of lava all radiate from the crater in these directions, the lower part of the lip of the volcanic cone must have been where the rocks are now highest ; and some violent disruption must have subsequently overthrown the sides of the cone toward the north and east which were originally the most lofty, and at the same time the weakest, as no floods of lava have issued forth from them to serve as supports and buttresses to their walls. The islet of Sirah, to the east of the town, is only a large fragment of the eastern side of the cone. The volcano must have been submarine in its original outburst, as the stratification around the peninsula and the elevation of limestone masses, even to the highest parts of mount Shamsham, satisfactorily show. The whole peninsula must have been raised from the waters like some of the islands of the Red Sea. Shells, such as are now procurable on the shore, are found near the summits of some of its peaks. That the volcano was active in the present geological era, there can be little doubt ; but it must have been long quiescent before it was chosen as the site of a commercial emporium. Abulfeda speaks of a report having come from Mecca of

1. PLAYFAIR, *History of Arabia Felix or Yemen*, p. 6.

2. Viscount G. VALENTIA, *Voyages and Travels*, Vol. ii. p. 86.

fire having been seen bursting forth near Aden, and from the adjacent mountains in A.D. 1253. It was particularly brilliant by night, he says, and sent up large columns of smoke.¹ This notice is however too general and refers to too evanescent phenomena to warrant any conclusion about the late volcanic action in the locality.² Dr. BUIST is also of opinion that Aden had clearly been submerged and elevated again from the water since the latest period of its activity. Up to the altitude of 500 feet it is thickly strewn with sea-shells mixed with scoriae and volcanic ashes, and in the bottom of the crater and all around the margins of the peninsula are masses of shells and gravel, the same as now prevail in sea around and exactly similar to those in the raised reaches of India and of Suez.³

CHAPTER V.

ANCIENT ADEN

3. THE EXTINCTION OF THE ADEN VOLCANO

We now proceed to explain, on the authority of oriental legend, how the volcano of Aden was extinguished. In an Arabic manuscript entitled *Tarik Taghr 'Aden*, i.e. The History of the Valley of Aden, by the learned and devout Kazi Aboo-Abdulla bin Ahmed Muhrim, we find that formerly from Kulzum⁴ to Aden and beyond the mountains of Socotra,⁵ all was dry land, there was no sea and no outlet; but when Dulkarnain⁶ in his voyage round the world came here, he opened a gulf wherein the sea flowed until it was arrested near the mountains of Bab-el-Mandeb, whereby Aden was engulfed by water and nothing was visible except the tops of the mountains jutting up into peaks. Then Dulkarnain cut a passage through Bab-el-Mandeb, whereby the water rushed in and filled the whole of El-Kulzum. When the rush was over Aden rose up and the land about it was drained in the direction

1. Abulfeda, *Annals*.

2. WILSON, *Lands of the Bible*, Vol. i, p.

3. Dr. BUIST, *Physical Geography of the Red Sea*, pp. 11-12.

4. This is the Red Sea and not 'Gulf of Seuz,' as BADGER puts it in his notes to the *Travels of Ludovico Di Varthema*, p. 58.

5. Professor J. Stanley GARDINER, describes the new discoveries which have been made by the "John Murray" expedition, under Colonel Seymour SEWELL, thus: "Gondwanland belonged to the reptilian period, and was the home, no doubt, of monstrous scaly reptiles. The 10,000-ft. high ridge, which runs south-west towards Socotra, was obviously a continuation of the Aravulli range (in Ajmere, India) and other mountains.

6. A celebrated personage in Oriental History who has been erroneously identified with Alexander of Macedon. He pushed his conquest to the remotest regions of the earth, vanquished nations of colossal stature, and subdued towns whose walls and towers were of brass and copper, so brilliant, that the inhabitants were obliged to wear masks to protect them from total blindness. CHRICHTON, *Arabia*. Vol. i. p. 110.

of Ash-Sham(Syria). Kazi Muhrim most probably copied this portion of his narrative from Ibn-el-Mojawar's work entitled *Tarikh-el-Mustabsir*, in which we find a further account of the opening of Bab-el-Mandeb. This author writes :—

"From the Red Sea to Aden and beyond Jabel Socotra was one united expanse of land. . . ." and proceeds to narrate what has already been described above, adding : " We have proofs of that.—Firstly it is known that the marks which the sea and the waves have left remain visible on the summits of *Jebel el-Kar* and on the mountain on which is the fort of *Takar* and *Jabel Akhdar*. And the second proof is that Shedad bin 'Ad did not build his Irem Dhat-el-Imad except between Lahej and the Gulf on one side, and Mawya which is on the road to Mafalis on the other, and that side which is toward Jabel Dareena is desert."¹ This shows that the hills were under water and pushed up by the pressure of the cooling surface of the earth, and the geological aspect of Aden shows that the waves did wash the summits of its hills as described by Arab chroniclers. Besides, Wells's well-known work *Outlines of History*, and the recent Murray Expedition, throw sufficient light in regard to the physico-geographical condition of Aden during the Pluvial or Lacustrum Ages. Wells says that the Persian Gulf extended very far to the north of its present head, and combined with the Syrian desert to cut off the Semitic peoples from the eastern areas, while on the other hand the south of Arabia, much more fertile than it is now, may have reached across what is now the Gulf of Aden towards Abyssinia and Somaliland. The Mediterranean and Red Sea were probably still joined at Suez.² Whatever truth there may be in the allegorical details of this account, it seems reasonable to conclude that Aden in pre-historic times was joined to Africa, and that the sea which now separates the two continents was formed by the opening of Bab-el-Mandeb. In this we are supported by the theory of Seymour SEWELL, the Leader of the Murray Expedition, who thinks that this hypothetical land, known as Lemuria or Gondwana, lying sunk below the mysterious waters of the Indian Ocean, once linked the Indian and African shores of the Arabian Sea, probably in remote ages long before Man made his first appearance. Logical deductions arising out of increased scientific knowledge have all tended to confirm this supposition. Similar fauna have been found on either side of the Arabian Sea.³

(To be continued).

1. HUNTER, *Statistical Account of Aden*, pp. 183-184.

2. WELLS, *Outlines of History*, Vol. i, p. 91.

3. "A Lost Continent," in the *Times of India*, Aug. 19, 1938, & "The Submerged Continent," in the *Illustrated Weekly of India*—July 29, 1934.

THE INTERPRETATION OF YASNA HA X. HOM YASHT

By

ERVAD MANECK. F. KANGA.

(1) Hereafter from here fly away the daēvas and the confrères of the daēvas. May the good Sraosha¹ stay (here) ! May Ashi Vanguhi² stay here ! May Ashi Vanguhi entertain delight here in this house which is of Ahura and of asha-increasing³ Haoma.

(2) In the first pressing I praise thee with the word, O wise one ! when the sprout is caused to be held. In the second⁴ pressing I praise thee with the word, O Intelligent One ! when I strike (thee) down with manly strength.

(3) I praise the cloud and the rain which both make thy 'kehrp'⁵ increase on the tops of mountains where thou, O Haoma ! hast grown up.

(4) I praise thy mother, the revolving, broad, bountiful earth, whose impulse for production is energetic, O Righteous Haoma ! I praise the earth where⁶ thou growest sweet-smelling and brave in the fields ;⁷ and as the good shrub of Mazdā,⁸ O Haoma ! thou art grown up on the mountains.

(5) And mayest thou flourish everywhere. Evidently thou art the fountain of righteousness. Increase thou with my word in every root, in every off-shoot and in every twig.

(6) Haoma grows up when praised. The man who thus praises him becomes more victorious. O Haoma ! even the most insignificant prepara-

1. *Sraosha*. lit. obedience, the obeying or carrying out of the Law of Righteousness which is Law of Ahura. Two Yašts were composed in honour of Sraosha ; one is Sraosha Yašt Hādhokht and the other Sraosha Yašt Vadi i.e. the Greater Sraosha Yašt. The latter is wrongly called *Yast-i-si-shab* or *Yašt* of the three nights. Ervad DHABHAR reads "*Sarosh Yašt i sar shab*" and translates "Sraosha Yašt (to be recited) at the beginning of the night." I propose to read thus : *Srōš yašt dēr sap*." I read *dēr* (= long) instead of "*sar*" as read by DHABHAR.

2. lit. the Best Holiness. As a proper name it indicates the incarnation of Piety and the resulting blessings. The word Ashi. lit. means "lot, merit, reward."

3. Pahlavi version is *ahrav-zāk* i.e. of holy origin. Skt. version translates 'muktijanani' i.e. having salvation as mother.

4. lit. meaning 'upper.'

5. *kehrpa*. 'celestial body' as distinguished from tanu-material body.

6. Pahl. version correctly translates '*ku*.' better *yathra*.

7. av. **Carānem*. acc. of place. BARTHOLOME (*AirWb*. 581) says doubtful. Pahlavi version *kartār* (= doer) for av. *caranem* is influenced by the false etymology of the av. word.

8. Av. *Mazdā*. lit. Omniscient. The Pahlavi version curiously renders it by '*mas*' meaning 'great.'

tion of the Haoma-Juice, O Haoma, even the most insignificant praise, even the most insignificant drinking (each) is a thousand-fold smiting of the daēvas.

(7) Contamination created by (the daēvas) at once disappears from this house where he really deposits, where one assuredly praises the origin of Haoma having-healing-properties. (He reveals) health and healing-virtues to his family as well as to his residence.

(8) For, all other intoxications are connected with Anger, of infuriate spear, but that which is the intoxication of Haoma is connected with righteousness and delight.¹ The intoxication of Haoma makes the man active when he adopts² Haoma as a young son. In-a-great-measure Haoma produces health for their bodies.

(9) O Haoma, grant me healing-virtues through which thou art the giver-of-health. O Haoma, grant me victoriousness through which thou art the killer with victory. I shall become thy friend and praiser, (for) the Creator Ahura Mazdā declared the friend and praiser better than the Best Righteousness.

(10) The well-working Lord has created thee active and wise. The Bountiful Lord has established thee in the Mount Hara Baraza agile and wise.

(11) Then from here the holy birds instructed (on this point) carried thee away in different directions, to the Mounts Ishkata³ Upāiri-Saēna⁴ to the peaks (called) Stārō-sāra, to away—from the hollow precipice—to the precipices roundabout, to the white gleaming mountain.⁵

(12) Then in these mountains thou growest in various kinds, O Sweet,⁶ golden-coloured Haoma! Thou hast been connected⁷ with health through the delight of good thoughts. Then deviate me from this slandering thought, then turn me away from such plot after plot which stands as wicked utterance.

(13) Obeisance (be) unto Haoma who makes a poor man equally high-minded as the richest one. Homage (be) unto Haoma who maketh a poor man equally high-minded when he reaches the aim⁸ of his desire. O golden

1. Compare Ashi yasht. § 5.

2. Pahlavi version explains the word by "take care of".

3. Av. *ishkata* in pl. means 'a mountain-range' and in sing. 'a rock.' BARTH. *AirWb.* 376. WINDISCHMANN and JUSTI take it in the sense of "ravine."

4. Name of the mountain range; lit. meaning "surpassing (the height of the flight of) an eagle." *AirWb.* 398.

5. The white gleaming mountains are, according to the opinion of Prof. BARTHOLOMAE, perhaps the Western Hindūkūsh and Ghoraband, north of Kabul. vide. *AirWb.* 398, 1599.

6. lit. meaning 'having milk, juicy, savoury.'

7. Perfect 3rd pers. pl. active from √*rāth*, to stick to, to be attached to.

8. *Vaēdhya*, locative sing. 'reaching attainment.' It is curiously translated into Pahlavi Version "*mānpatān mānpat*." i.e. chief of the heads of the families.

Haoma ! thou makest him who verily takes a share¹ in the Haoma-juice mixed with Jivām, rich in men, very holy and very intelligent.

(14) Mayest thou not go away from me enjoying at will² like a bull banner. Let them go forth³ inspired with thee and reach them whose activity is energetic. O righteous, asha-increasing Haoma ! I dedicate to thee this body which appears beautiful to me.

(15) I throw away the insufficiency⁴ (in the offerings for Haoma) of wicked women, deprived of understanding, who intend to deceive the 'āthra⁵ and the Haoma, and who having deceived (them) disappears. He gives neither a religious teacher as son nor the possession of excellent son to her, who sits down to eat the sacred cake⁶ (consecrated in the honour) of Haoma.

(16) Of the five I am, of the five I am not : I belong to good thought, I do not belong to wicked thought ; I belong to good word, I do not belong to wicked utterance ; I belong to good action, I do not belong to wicked action ; I belong to obedience, I do not belong to disobedience ; I belong to the righteous, I do not belong to the wicked even up to the time when in the end the decisive battle of the Two Spirits shall take place.

(17) Thereupon spoke Zarathushtra : 'Obeisance (be) unto Haoma created-by-Mazdā ; good is Haoma, created-by-Mazdā. Homage (be) unto Haoma ! I praise all Haomas : (those) which are on the tops of the mountains, those which are in the depths of the valleys, and also those whose keeping in captivity are in the fetters of women. I pour thee down from the silver saucer to the golden one ; I do not pour thee down on the ground as thou art precious in value.

(18) These are, O Haoma ! thy Gāthās,⁷ these are (thy) laudations, these are (thy) teachings, these are the rightly spoken words, health-bringing, victorious, bringing-opposition-to-enemies and health-giving.

(19) These indeed (are) for me. May they proceed further inspired with thee, may they go swiftly inspired with thee ; they drive quickly inspired with thee. Being victorious he praises (Haoma) along with this hymn worthy to be sung.

1. BARTHOLOMAE takes the word in the double sense 'to give a share' as well as 'to take a share.'

2. BARTHOLOMAE takes *āsita* as adjective nom. pl. from *āsīt*. "enjoying." *AirWb.* 338.

3. Imperative 3rd person pl. from *√ay*, to go with *fra*-prefix.

4. Past. participle passive. from *√vā* to be wanting, to fail. used as a noun.

5. Meaning 'priest.' See *Vendidād* Ch. XVIII. for the definition of the word.

6. lit. meaning "share, part." then sacred bread used in yasna and other ceremonies.

7. Songs from *√gā-* to sing. Psalms of Zarathushtra.

(20) Homage unto the cattle ! Obeisance unto the cattle ! Word unto the cattle ! Victory unto the cattle ! Food unto the cattle ! Clothing unto the cattle ! Agriculture unto the cattle ! Fatten her for our food.¹

(21) We revere the golden, exalted Haoma. We revere Haoma, the renovator, bringing-prosperity-to-the-world. We revere Haoma, warding-off-death. We revere all Haomas.² We worship here the Holiness and the Fravashi of the Holy Zarathushtra Spitama.

(That person) among the existing ones of whom Ahura Mazdā, in consonance with the Divine Immutable Law, knows (that he is verily better in acts of worship (and those women) too of whom (Ahura Mazdā knows likewise)—(all such) both men and women do we revere.²

1. Compare. yašt Varharān. Karda 20 ; also yasna Hā XVIII. 5.

2. Yenghē Hātām is one of the three holiest prayers of Avesta, and is regarded by GELDNER as a later imitation of yasna Hā LI 22. yasna Hā XXI is a commentary on this prayer.

*GM-SKŌ versus *GM-SKHŌ

By

C. R. SANKARAN

Elsewhere¹ I maintained that the proto Indo-European reconstruction *GM-SKHŌ as the antecedent for the Sanskrit *Gācchā-mi* is an improvement over the reconstruction *GM-SKŌ, for the former easily dispenses with the postulation of the change of *ts* into *cch* in primitive Aryan (which is questionable) and also it more easily and conveniently explains the presence of palatal voiceless aspirate stop phoneme *ch* in Sanskrit *gācchati*.

Attention must be drawn to the fact that an independent and striking proof² for the existence of the palatal guttural stop phoneme series in the proto Indo-European speech is furnished by E. H. STURTEVANT in his excellent article "Gutturals in Hittite and Indo-European" who points out that since Hittite shows *k* for Indo-European *k̂*, *ĝ*, and *gĥ*, there can be no further doubt that these were stops in the proto Indo-European speech. "Otherwise we shall have to assume either that *s* became *k* independently in Hittite and in the centum group of Indo-European or that Indo Hittite *k* > Indo-European *s* > Latin *k*. Either hypothesis is too improbable for serious consideration."³

It must also be clearly borne in mind that in the entire satem-group only voiceless non-aspirate as well as aspirate palatal guttural stop phonemes *k̂* and *kĥ* developed into palatal sibilants. Although in Iranian and Balto-slavic languages, we have good reasons to believe that the voiced non-aspirate as well as aspirate palatal guttural stop phonemes were changed into sibilants, yet in Sanskrit *ĝ* and *gĥ* came to be represented by *j* and *h* remaining thus in an intermediate stage of development. One is likely to confuse these with the secondary palatalization *j* and *h* of *ǵ* and *gh*.⁴

1. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras. Volume IX, Part III, pages 270-2.

2. For the earlier proofs, see HERMANN, "ÜBER das Rekonstruieren" in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, Volume 41, pages 38-46 (1907) and Leonard BLOOMFIELD, "Indo-European Palatals in Sanskrit" in *American Journal of Philology* Volume 32 (1911), pages 36-57.

3. Cf. E. H. STURTEVANT, *Language*, Volume VI (1930) page 223. "Indo Hittite is the inferred common source of Indo-European and Hittite." See also E. H. STURTEVANT "Can Hittite *h* be derived from Indo-Hittite *ǵ*?" page 151 f.n. 8. *Language* Volume VI 1930.

4. Primitive Indo-European labio-velars **gw* and **gwh*. "Skt. *j* & *h* are each of double origin though the difference in origin discloses itself even in Sanskrit in certain combinations". Cf. Carl DARLING BUCK, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, page 125, section 144.

The μ of the labio-velar as in *gumskheti*,¹ old Indian *gacchati* should have originally been syllabic in Indo-Hittite according to E. H. STURTEVANT (see his article quoted before, page 228) before another consonant, and in the proto Indo-European speech should have combined with the preceding guttural to form the labio-velar (see also E. H. STURTEVANT, *A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language*, William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series, Published by the Linguistic Society of America 1933, page 67. Compare also Walter Petersen, "Vowel Assimilation in Hittite" in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Volume 54, page 163 footnote 5)².

I wish to say now that I am more than ever convinced that my hypothesis is a definite improvement over the earlier one, mine being, that the proto Indo-European $\hat{s}k'h$ in **gm-skĥō* became $\acute{s}kh > \acute{s}kX' > \acute{s}t's$ which was then simplified to $t's'$ written *cch* and pronounced as a prolonged t' plus a decidedly spirant glide, compare *tacchivah* in later times from *tat'sivah*, but *tacca* pronounced *tat'-t'a* (with much slighter glide) and written without the *h*, from *tat+ca*—the *c* in *ca* being t' with a slight glide,³ for there is another evidence that I have quite unexpectedly come across, which I propose to give here and incidentally advance a new hypothesis concerning the combination of dental sibilant and voiceless guttural stop phonemes in Greek, especially in such morphemes like the suffix *skho* or *-sko*.

It has been already shown that the antecedent of the Sanskrit *chinád-mi* in the Indo-European has been assumed to be **skĥait* - *skĥaid* whence Greek *skhid*—Latin *scid*—Lithuanian *skid*—OHG. *scizan* and *sceidan* and *scītan*. Baltic *skiedžiu*⁴ (see Josef Zubaty, "Die altindische tenuis aspirata

1. K. BRUGMANN, *Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik der Indogermanischen Sprachen*, Sträsbürg, second edition, 1897-1911. I. I. Section 437 gives the theoretical reconstruction as **gum-ske-ti*. Also see MEILLET *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues Indo-Européennes*, 4th edition Paris, 1915, page 197. Suffix—**ske*—Greek—1st person sing. active *skō* Latin—*scō*—*sku*; Sanskrit *ccha*—Zend—*sa*—Skr. *gacchati* Zend *Jasaiti* Gr. *básko* Sanskrit *icchāti* Zend *isaiti*.

See also Holger Pedersen, "Das Indogermanische *s* im slavischen", *Indogermanische Forschungen*, Volume V (1895) page 71.

2. \dot{G} . $\acute{s}k$ and $z\acute{g}(h)$ = sl. *s* and *z* lith. *sz* and *ž*. Old slavian *iskati* Skr. *icchāmi* Lith. *jėszkau jėszkōti*.

3. Hittite usually presents *Kw* where IE gives evidence for a labio-velar before a vowel. Cf. E. H. STURTEVANT, *A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language*. William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series. Published by the Linguistic Society of America, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 1933, page 67.

4. See L. BLOOMFIELD, "Indo-European palatals in Sanskrit". *American Journal of Philology*, Volume 32 (1911), page 44 and footnote 1.

5. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras. Volume IX, part III, page 271. Karl BRUGMANN, "Der präteritale Bildungstypus" in *Indo-Germanische Forschungen*, Volume 6 (1896) page 92. And also compare *Grundriss* I, 1 section 599, page 548. 1, 2, section 701 page 630. Cf. also James Wilson POULTNEY, *The Distribution of the Nasal infixing presents*. *Language*, Volume 13, page 165. According to James Wilson POULTNEY Sanskrit *chinattī*, Latin *scindo*, and the Greek noun *skhindalmós* give good evidence for the existence in IE of a nasalized root-form *squind*—, from which must have been

palatalis” Kuhn’s *Zeitschrift* XXXI (1892), page 13). Greek *skedánnūmi*, Avestan *scindayeiti*, *skenda*, Lithuanian *skédziū skėsti*. The assumption that in the theoretical reconstruction, here, there was a voiceless guttural *aspirate* stop phoneme, has been made, because otherwise there would be a clash with Grimm’s Law of Germanic sound-shift.

But one thing is to be noted here. In the Greek forms *skhidē* and *skhizō*, we find the accent immediately after the voiceless guttural aspirate stop phoneme¹. On the other hand, in *báskō*, Sanskrit *ga’cchā-mi*, the accent is before the combination of the two phonemes—dental sibilant plus voiceless guttural *non-aspirate stop*. Similarly we find in the following instances too that the accent invariably precedes the combination of these two phonemes.

aréskō, *ehuriskō* (beside future *churē-sō*). In the reduplicated *gignōskō* *didáskō* from **didakskō* *diskos* from **dikskos* (cf. *didakhē*) *eiskō* from **uewiskō* *lāskō* from **lakskō* *ar-ari-skō*.

made a present stem of meaning and aspect similar to that of Sanskrit *bhināti*. Vide *Ibid* page 173.

Cf. ‘Skr. *chidrá* — “déchiré, fendu” Gr. *skhidanó*—pous “aux pieds déchirés (pour la forme des suffixes, cf. *riprá*—*liparós*)’ gr. *skianós*, *skierós* atteste **skigar* auquel s’adjoint. quoique avec vocalisme différent, v. Sl. *seni*.’ E. BENVENISTE *origines de la formation des noms en Indo-Européen* I Paris 1935 p. 14.

1. Compare, Carl Darling BUCK, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, section 38, page 35.

2. **gēn*—**gñē* **gnō*—Greek *gi-gnōskō* Latin *gnōscō nōscō*.

Karl BRUGMANN, *Grundriss*. I, i; Strassburg (1897) sec. 600.

3. *Ibid*, Section 707, page 637. K. BRUGMANN., I, ii, Sec. 744. Page 660.

4. Joseph WRIGHT, *Comparative Grammar of the Greek Language*, Oxford University Press, (1912), section 186, page 97. K. BRUGMANN, *Ibid*.

See C. D. BUCK, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, Chicago-Illinois, 1933 page 263, section 362, and also page 153, section 206.

Cp. also *misgō* from **mig-skō*?

But there seems to be an apparent exception in *pás-khō* (from **path-skō*) where instead of the voiceless guttural *non-aspirate* phoneme we find an aspirate phoneme. But a moment’s reflection would convince us that it is the law of compensation that operates here, for the loss of the original dental voiceless *aspirate* stop phoneme *th* (in **pathskō*) by dissimilation.

See C. D. BUCK, *Ibid*, section 206, page 152. Thus primitive Greek **path-skō* is itself from **pñthskō* < IE **qñthskō*.

See Wright, *Comp. Gr. of Greek Language* Section 109. P. 69.

Baskainō is a later formation after analogy with *onomainō* etc. from *n*-stems. Hence is the accent on the penultimate syllable (contrast it with the accent in *báskanos*) Cf. J. WRIGHT, *Comp. Gr. of Greek*. Section 490 page 300. Compare also *bōskē* : *bōskō*.

See the following diminutives also

anthrōpiskos, *despotiskos* *neūmiskos*, *oiktiskos*, *paidiskos*, *kōiriskos*, *aspidiskē*, *oikiskē*. *paidiskē*, *hudriskē* Vide J. Wright, *loc. cit.* Section 253. Page 125.

bōskós, *askós*, *phōnaskōs* and *skólion* and masculine *skoliós* oxytone with original accent are some other exceptions. See J. P. POSTGATE, “On Ancient Greek Accentuation.” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 1926. Volume XI. Page 20. But as against these,

(Cf. *ari-phmós*—) *haliskomai*, *steriskō*. We find the suffix—*skō* as a secondary addition to a stem ending in a long vowel *thnēskō*, (Doric *thnāskō*) *mimnēskō*, *thrōskō*¹. “A few have inchoative meaning, as *gērāskō* ‘grow old.’ ‘*hēbāskō*’ ‘grow young’ but this force never became dominant as in the corresponding Latin presents in—*scō*. An offshoot of this class, with a specialised use which must have started in some particular forms like *phāskon* from *phāskō*, is represented by the Ionic iterative imperfects and aorists like *phēúgeskon*, *phúgeskon*.”²

iskō from **wik-skō*. But in *misgō* from **mik-skō*, -g- for -k is after the analogy of *mīgñūmi*, *emīgñ* Cp. Latin *mis-ceo*³ *bōskō*, *gērāskō*⁴ *blōskō* *thrōskō* *ambliskō*⁵.

see the following *glaukiskos*, *leukiskos*, *lukhuiskos* *tragiskos* from *trágos*, *passaliskos* from *pássalos*, *meniskos* ‘crescent’ from *mēnē* ‘moon’. *oiniskos* ‘poor wine’, as we say ‘small beer’. In the following three, the specializing of the original meaning alone is apparent and it is not possible to discover the diminutive signification. It may be that the original diminutive sense might have faded away as in *obeliskos* for *obelós* in the sense of ‘spit-shaped pillar’ *sphēiskos* from *sphēs*, *sphēniskos* and *temiskos*.

[See Walter PETERSEN’S “Greek diminutives in—ion, a Study in Semantics” 1910. Sections 217 and 344, Vide also J. P. POSTGATE *op. cit.* page 21.]

1. Cf. *thrōskō* Ionic *klēiskō*, *khreiskomai*. See J. WRIGHT, *Comp. Gr. of the Gk. Language*. Section 470. P. 290.

2. C. D. BUCK *op. cit.* p. 264.

3. Cf. WRIGHT, *Comp. Gr. of Gk.* Section 470. P. 290.

4. See *ibid.* Section 458. P. 281.

5. *e-skēda-sa* is an exception. The dactylic oxytona ending in *aigoboskos* is also an exception [Cp. *aiskhrológos* WRIGHT *op. cit.* Section 32. P. 14.] *skōr* too is an exception, but it is so because all the monosyllabic neuters of the third declension offer the circumflex if the radical vowel is long or a diphthong *e. g.* *kēr*, *phūr*. Vide JERZY KURYLOWICZ “On the Development of the Greek Intonation”. *Language* Volume VIII (1932) p. 204.

Contrast it with *iskhūs*.

Vide. Jerzy KURYLOWICZ, “On the Development of the Greek Intonation.” *Language*. Volume VIII 1932. P. 205.

Vide. “Formation pareille pour *iskhi osphns* thématise en *iskhion*”.

Emile BENVENISTE, *Origines de la formation des Noms en Indo-Européen* I. Paris 1935. Page 7.

Compare also Gr. *skōr* gén. *skatós* “ordure”; formes exclusivement *a - r -* dans Skr. (*apa-ava-*) *skara-*, lat. *muscerda*, *sucerd* “crotte de rat, de porc”, v. norr. *Skarn* ags. *Scearn* “fumier”).

E. Benveniste, *ibid.* p. 9.

Again in the case of *aiskhistos*—*istos* (Skr.—*istha-*, Goth.—*ista-* from IE *—*isto*—, —*is*—*fā*) is the suffix. Hence it may not be regarded as a great exception. *aishkos* is only an apparent exception for it comes from the proto-Indo-European **aigyh-s*—*qos*=(*aigyhskos*) [*aigyhghos* > **aigyh-s*]. See K. BURGMANN, *Grundriss* I. ii. Section 700. P. 625. J. WRIGHT *op. cit.* Section 109. P. 69. Thus also *éskhatos* from **ēghskatos* **ēghs*—*qo*—=**ēghzgho*—(See K. BURGMANN, *Grundriss* I. ii. Section 744. P. 660) and *léskhē* from **leghzghā* < **leghskā* where we find the transference of aspiration to the voiceless guttural stop phoneme, by way of compensation for the loss of the aspirate stop phoneme preceding *s* in the proto-Indo-European speech. In a similar manner, exceptions like Boeotian. *hes-kē-dekáfē* thess. *es-kikhremen* [See K. BRUGMANN, *Grundriss* I. ii. Section 1018, P. 906] can be easily explained away.

These instances lead us to conclude that normally when the accent preceded the cluster¹ of the dental sibilant and the voiceless guttural stop phonemes, the voiceless guttural became *non-aspirate*; otherwise *aspirate* in Greek. Through à *posteriori* reasoning, since in *báskō* (Skr. *gácchāmi*) *báskei* (Skr. *gáčchati*) the accent precedes the cluster *sk*, we can safely infer that its antecedent in the primitive Indo-European speech was **gṃ-skḥó* (instead of **gṃ-skó*), for by a special law alone, (that of accent preceding *sk* in Greek,) the original aspiration of the guttural stop might have been lost, while in Greek *skhízō* (Skr. *Chinád-mi*) since the accent follows *skh*, the original aspiration (of the primitive IE voiceless palatal guttural stop) might have been preserved in tact.

ékhō < **seḡhe*. Contrast it with *skhetós*.

Cf. E. H. STURTEVANT's review of Jerzy KURYLOWICZ's *Études indo-européennes. Language* Volume XII (1936). P. 143.

1. By *cluster* is here meant that originally both the phonemes should have belonged to a particular morpheme, say a suffix like *sko*, and thus the division of it into two separate phonemes is felt to be unreal. In other words, the *cluster* must have been a *compound phoneme*. In exactly the same sense, I think Leonard BLOOMFIELD uses the word *cluster* in his article, "The Stressed vowels of American English" in *Language* Volume XI. 1935. Pages 97-116.

Compare, "*Compound phonemes* are combinations of simple phonemes which act as units so far as meaning and word-structure are concerned. Thus the diphthong in a word like *buy* can be viewed as a combinations of the vowel in *far* with the phoneme that is initial in *yes*".

Vide L. BLOOMFIELD, *Language*, London (George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1935) page 90. "A minimum unit of distinctive sound-feature is a phoneme" *ibid* page 79.

Again "*Compound phonemes* are sounds resembling a succession of two or more phonemes of the same language, but in some way distinguished from such a succession, and utilised as separate phonemes. Many compound phonemes consist of a stop plus a spirant or other open consonant; phonemes of this sort are called *affricates*."

See *ibid* page 120.

MORE ABOUT MOHENJO DARO

By

REV. H. HERAS, S. J.

After seven years or official silence about Mohenjo Daro, the Archæological Survey of India has published a report in two volumes on the last four years of excavation work at that place.¹ The Superintendent of those excavations was Mr. E. J. H. Mackay, who is the author of this work. Archæologists and historians both in India and all the world over will receive these two volumes with great enthusiasm; since they are a substantial contribution to the knowledge of that great civilization which is still shrouded in mystery.

The work purports to continue the one in "three volumes edited by Sir John Marshall entitled *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*" (p. XI), and thus presupposes the general information and the knowledge of the problems ably exposed and discussed in that work by Sir John and his collaborators. This is a mere report of the work of four seasons. Yet the materials discovered during those four seasons are of such great importance that the work of Mr. Mackay will be absolutely needed by all the scholars interested in the history of Ancient Civilizations and especially by those who work in the history of Ancient India.

Mr. Mackay is of opinion that a section of wall discovered during the last season is "a portion of the city wall with a small gateway" (p. 5). Unfortunately the excavations were then suspended and have not since been resumed. This discovery would, if the surmise is correct, be of unusual interest, as it would help to indicate the total area covered by the ancient city. A mound of rubbish discovered during the same season in the northernmost point of the city (p. 1), as far as we are able to judge, seems to suggest that this point was already outside the city wall. The mound consisted of broken pottery, ashes and humus, a circumstance that seems to indicate that the site was destined to receive the rubbish of the city or of a section of it. Such a site would not be within the city wall. Yet the fact that six inscribed seals, of which only one was broken, were found here seems to go against this theory.

In order to substantiate the very probable opinion of the late Mr. R. D. Banerji "that the river (Indus), or a branch of it, washed the city wall",

1. *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro. Being an official account of Archæological Excavations at Mohenjo-daro carried out by the Government of India between the years 1927 and 1931.* By. E. J. H. Mackay, M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A., Late special Officer for Exploration, Archæological Survey of India. With Chapters by A. S. Hemmy, B.A., M.Sc., and by B. S. Guha, Ph. D., and P. C. Basu, M.Sc., M.B. (2 vols.) Delhi, 1938.

Mr. Mackay brings forth the evident trade existing between Mohenjo Daro and the cities of Sumer "partly at least by sail", as "seals of Indus Valley workmanship have been and are being found in some numbers in the Sumerian cities" (p. 5). This is a very daring statement which should be studied carefully. There is no doubt that some of the seals discovered in cities of Sumer bear inscriptions in the same characters as those discovered in the Indus Valley.¹ Nevertheless this does not prove that those seals came from the Indus Valley, for signs of that script have been discovered elsewhere in India.² Moreover the shape of those seals found in Sumer shows that they do not come from the Indus Valley. All the seals discovered in Mohenjo Daro, Harappa and Chanhu Daro are square seals excepting 19, which are round. (In the volumes under review five round seals only are recorded). Just the opposite happens in Sumer. All the seals are round excepting 3, which are square. This shows that the trade between India and Sumer did not come from the Indus Valley, where the seals were square, but from another Indian site where the seals were round. A few of these round seals also found their way to the Indus Valley; just as a few square seals of the Indus Valley found their way to Sumer. But the bulk of Indian traders going to Sumer apparently proceeded from a site not yet known. The present writer has explained elsewhere what was the probable site from which these traders started.³

Mr. Mackay attempts to settle the important problem of the "duration of the city", though one must acknowledge that we have not yet sufficient data to arrive at a satisfactory solution of it. For the upper Mohenjo Daro levels he accepts the date 2,500 B.C. suggested by Dr. Frankfort while studying a cylinder seal of evident Indian workmanship unearthed at Tell Asmar in Sumer (p. 7). Dr. Frankfort, and with him Mr. Mackay, seems to presuppose that the Indus Valley sites are the only sites of this civilization in India. The fact that three cylinder seals only have been found in the Indus Valley (they are described in the volumes under study) seems to point to another Indian site where the seals were cylindrical. Consequently the study of the cylinder seal discovered at Tell Asmar cannot prove anything in connection with Mohenjo Daro until it is definitely acknowledged that Mohenjo Daro was the place of origin of the Indian cylinder seals as well.

As regards the lower levels Mr. Mackay builds an ingenious theory upon a "fragment of a vessel of a greenish-gray stone", the pattern of which is duplicated on a jar found at Susa (p. 7). Putting aside the fact that the

1 Cf. Gadd, "Seals of Ancient Indian Style found at Ur," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XVIII.

2. Bruce Foote, *Government Museum, Madras, Catalogue of the Prehistoric Antiquities*, pl. XXXV (Madras, 1901); Brecks, *An account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris*, pl. XLIVA (London, 1873); *Journal of the Hyderabad Historical Society*, 1917, p. 57; Heras, "A Proto-Indian Sign from Vala," *QJMS*, XXVIII.

3. Heras, "The Origin of the Round Proto-Indian Seals discovered in Sumer," *B. B. & C. I. Ry. Annual*, 1938.

dating of Susa II (to which the fragment belongs) is not yet settled, as Mackay himself points out; the pattern of a fragment of a vase seems to be too flimsy a foundation to build a chronological theory upon. Could not two different artists independently of each other invent the same decorative motive? Moreover the migration of a decorative pattern would presuppose either trade or racial migration. To build a trade theory upon a single pattern does not seem justified. Race migration would seem more likely. Now all such migrations in the East in ancient times have been from East to West. Elsewhere I have shown how the proto-Indians of the Indus Civilization period migrated to Sumer and other western lands.¹ We cannot suppose that the case of Susa was different. In any case the existence of the same pattern in Mohenjo Daro and Susa would, if connected in any way, prove that the Mohenjo Daro pattern must be older than the Susa pattern.

Coming now to the objects themselves found in the course of the excavations, one of the most striking specimens is the clay image of the Mother Goddess illustrated in pl. LXXV, nos. 21-23.² The fan-shaped, pannier-like headgear of this image is unique in itself,³ but seems to be the origin of the voluminous and complicated head-dresses of many clay images found in the Gangetic Valley and in southern Europe.⁴ The famous "Dama de Elche" of the Iberian period of Spain, kept now in the Louvre Museum, is still a much later development of this early headgear.

This image is of particular interest, for through it one may understand one of the signs of the Mohenjo Daro script. I refer to sign No. 190 of Sir John Marshall's sign list. Prof. Langdon describes this sign as "man under sun-shade?"⁵ Nevertheless this identification is not given as certain. The comparison between this sign and the figure under comment leaves no doubt as to the significance of the former: it is "the Mother", *Ama*.⁶

Another clay figure brought to light during these operations is of unsurpassed interest. It is a nude male figure illustrated in pl. LXXIII, No. 8. Other nude male figures have also been discovered. Yet the bow position of the legs, so well marked as to show a definite purpose, makes us compare it with a similar figure found on the representation of a charm or amulet published by Marshall.⁷ Sir John thinks that the image represents the Earth

1. Heras, "Mohenjo Daro—The most Important Archaeological Site in India", *JIH*, XVI, pp. 7-11.

2. This image was already published in Mackay, *The Indus Civilization*, pl. I. (London, 1935); Mackay, *Die Induskultur*, pl. 21. (Leipzig, 1938)

3. A similar head-dress but not so developed was published by Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, I, pl. XIV, No. 1.

4. Cf. Banerji-Shastri, "Remains of a Pre-Historic Civilization in the Gangetic Valley", *JBHS*, III, pp. 187-191.

5. Marshall, *op. cit.*, II, p. 446.

6. Cf. Heras, "The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People according to the Inscriptions", *Journal of the University of Bombay*, V, p. 17.

7. Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, pl. XII, No. 12.

or Mother Goddess.¹ If this figure is compared with similar figures found in Sumerian and Babylonian seals² and with the figure of the Egyptian God, Bes carved on the very early magical wand of the British Museum No. 18175, one may easily conclude that it is a representation of the fertility god. The clay image now brought to light by Mackay seems to be the same. Probably this god was also called *Bes* in the proto-Indian period. Images of a fertility god called *Betal* are very common all over the Konkan in Western India.³

Three small horned faces had already been found in Mohenjo Daro before 1927.⁴ Our report shows a number of them found during this second period of work (pl. LXXII, No. 7 ; pl. LXXIV, Nos. 21, 22 ; pl. LXXVI, Nos. 1-4). Mr. Mackay supposes that these heads or masks belong to a "horned deity" (p. 266). This is not an unusual danger for students of ancient archæology, to suppose that all strange and unaccountable figures should be deities. Horns have been a traditional feature in representations of the enemies of man. One of the most famous demons in Indian mythology was supposed to be horned and finally became a buffalo (*Mahiśāsura*). Horned demons are found in the paintings of the Etruscan tombs at Vulci (320-280 B.C.) Charon, the famous leader of the soul across the Styx pond, is also represented by the Etruscans with pointed ears that look like horns.⁵

A totally new discovery are the three heads with Mongolic features published in pls. LXXVI, Nos. 8, 9 and LXXXII, No. 7. This Mongolic resemblance seems to have escaped Mr. Mackay's notice. He speaks at length of one of these heads, but he only pays attention to the fact that it is double-faced (p. 268). The slit-eyes of these three faces may easily be explained by the intercourse between the proto-Indians and the inhabitants of Central and Eastern Asia across the Himalayan range. This intercourse has continued in the historic period of India as the history of the Kuṣāṇas and of Harṣavardhana discloses to us. A Mongolic head of the Gandhāra school has also been recently found in Haḍḍa, Afghanistan, by the French Archæological Delegation.⁶ Elsewhere I have shown how a number of signs of the Mohenjo Daro script migrated to China to enrich the proto-Chinese writing.⁷

1. *Ibid.*, I, p. 52

2. Von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell*, Nos. 177, 192, 206, 217, 221, 226, 261, 267, 329, 651 (Chicago 1934).

3. Cf. *Catalogue of the Savantwadi Museum*. One of these images, hailing from Goa, is kept in the museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. Another one of a colossal size is lying broken next to a public well not far from the church in the village of Betalbatim (Betalpati = village of Betal) in the Province of Salsette, in Goa.

4. Marshall, *op. cit.*, pl. XCV, Nos. 1-3.

5. Cf. Nogara, *Les Etrusques et leur Civilization*, p. 124 (Paris, 1936).

6. Cf. Heras, "The Origin of the so-called Græco-Buddhist School of Sculpture of Gandhāra," *JBBRAS*, (N.S.), XII, p. 80.

7. Heras, "The Origin of the Sumerian Script", *Journal of the University of Bombay*, VIII, pp. 1-26 ; Heras, "The Story of Two Mohenjo Daro Signs," *Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, II, pp. 7-8 ; Heras, "India, the Empire of the Swastika", *Coronation Souvenir* (Bombay, 1936).

As regards the symbols found on the seals, one feels bound to pass a few remarks on seal No. 641 which was already published by Sir John Marshall, and which appears enlarged in pl. C, (G). Mackay describes the strange figure carved on this seal as the "solar motif" or "the sun-disk" (p. 339). The comparison between this curious emblem and the sun symbols found on early Cappodocian and Macedonian pottery seems to have inclined our author to take this view. Yet the similarity is not complete. Nor is the stylization of the latter symbols to be expected in such an early representation as this seal of Mohenjo Daro. Elsewhere I have explained how this cryptic representation at first sight is the skin of the unicorn shown on other seals spread to the four winds.² The head of the unicorn is represented to the right not skinned as yet; the skin covering the tail is shown opposite, to the left. The skin that covered the legs of the animal is spread like two appendages on each side. What is the meaning of this strange representation? The tribe that had the unicorn as their *totem*, most probably the tribe of the Minas, seems to have been defeated, and their enemies to publish that defeat represent the *totem* killed and skinned. It is a trophy of war.

Mr. Mackay has been very wise in studying the remains of Mohenjo Daro in comparison with the remains of other ancient civilizations. The period of proto-Indian history was a period of migrations of nations and civilizations. To study that period with the spirit of isolation and exclusion which we sometimes hear mentioned now in some political circles, would be as erroneous in the study of history as it is suicidal in the actual making of history both racially and socially. In this connection it is gratifying to see in the bibliographical list a number of works referring to other civilizations from all over the world which have been consulted by the author. May I only remark that this list cannot be entitled "Bibliography"? It is a list of authors and titles of books not always faithfully transcribed.

But it is much easier to criticise what is written than to write a work of the importance of the present one. All the above remarks point to minor flaws. Let this be our final conclusion, that this work on the second period of excavations at Mohenjo Daro is a worthy continuation of the preceding one; one, indeed, of which the Archæological Department of the Government of India and especially its author, Mr. Mackay, may be rightly proud. "*Further Excavations at Mohenjo Daro*" will always be necessary to all students of ancient archæology and of Indian History.

1. Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, pl. XIII, No. 25.

2. Heras, "The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People according to the Inscriptions", *Journal of the University of Bombay*, V, p. 7; Heras, "Chañhu Daro and its Inscriptions", *St. Xavier's College Magazine*, XXIX, pp. 105-107.

NOTES OF THE MONTH

It has been one of the aims of the Editors of the *New Indian Antiquary* to devote special numbers of this journal to the memory of eminent Orientalists who by their life-long labours in the field of Oriental learning have advanced its cause and who consequently deserve the gratitude of the present and future generations of scholars. The Editors have accordingly devoted the two issues of the *New Indian Antiquary* viz. the issues for December 1938 and January 1939 to the memory of the late Prof. Dr. Jacob WACKERNAGEL, who devoted his whole life-time to the special study of Sanskrit grammar and produced work of first-rate importance, the like of which was never seen before. Though WACKERNAGEL has immortalised himself by his work it is our bounden duty to pay our humble tribute to his revered memory.

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Readers of the *New Indian Antiquary* will be interested to note that the centenary celebrations of the British conquest of Aden will be celebrated at Aden on the 19th of January 1939. In this connection the Editors take this opportunity of announcing their forth-coming publication *The Narrative and Critical History of Aden* from the earliest times prepared by A. Y. KHAN, the Sub-Registrar of Documents, Aden Colony. Mr. KHAN has a keen interest in this subject and has availed himself of every possible source of information bearing on the history of Aden. This history will be published serially in the pages of the *New Indian Antiquary* and in accordance with this arrangement the readers of the *New Indian Antiquary* will find the first instalment published elsewhere in this issue. The importance of maps, charts, diagrams etc., in a historical publication has a great value and the present history will have its full share of them as Mr. KHAN has spared no pains in procuring them from hitherto inaccessible sources. The total extent of this publication when complete will easily exceed 300 pages.

** ** ** ** *

Hemacandra, the celebrated Jain monk stands unique in the production of literary work in all branches of literary criticism. Though a devout Jain monk he has done much for non-Jain studies and has thus endeared himself to every Sanskritist irrespective of caste or creed. It is only latterly that with the advancement of Sanskrit studies in India and outside the real worth of his works is being appreciated and it is a happy augury that the province of Gujarat in which he lived, moved and had his being for over 80 years as early as the 11th century A.D. should at last wake up to their sense of duty to this Jain polymath by celebrating a festival in his honour after 850 years. The organisers of this festival which took place in Bombay on the 6th of November 1938, are to be congratulated on reviving the sacred memory of this Jain Orientalist of yore and associating with it the opening of the Seth Munglal Institute for higher Sanskrit studies. This institute started under the ægis of the Hon. Mr. K. M. MUNSHI, Home-Minister to the Government of Bombay is symptomatic of the new spirit engendered in India by the advent of the Congress Government. The Hon. Mr. K. M. MUNSHI, himself a littérateur of note, being mainly responsible for this laudable enterprise, the world of scholars can rest assured that this Institute will be able to give proper account of itself in the years to come and thus become an important feature of national life fostering a spirit of critical research among scholars carrying on research in Sanskrit and Indian vernaculars.

MISCELLANEA

INDIAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND LETTERS*

At the concluding plenary session of the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference held on December 22, 1937 in Trivandrum, it was resolved upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee and Council as follows :—

“ That the All-India Oriental Conference favours the early formation of an Indian Academy of Arts and Letters on lines similar to those of the British Academy, and requests the Executive Committee of the Conference to communicate with other Societies and Institutions interested in the project with a view to exploring the possibilities of its realization at a very early date.”

The matter had been the subject of a resolution adopted by the general body of the Indian Philosophical Congress on the 17th December, 1937, and it is well known that it has been ventilated in previous discussions and negotiations from 1933 onwards. In accordance with the terms of the resolution, the Executive Committee begs now to address you, with a view to ascertaining the attitude you would be likely to adopt in regard to the proposal and to learning your personal opinion concerning the matter. The same enquiry is being addressed to a number of societies and distinguished individuals, who may be expected to be interested.

No doubt you would wish to have some statement as to the character and functions of an academy such as it is proposed to institute. Briefly the object of the Academy may be thus stated :

The promotion of the study of the moral and social sciences, including History, Philosophy, Psychology, Religion, Law, Politics, Sociology, Economics, Archaeology, Anthropology, and Philology. A representation of modern creative art and literature is not excluded.

It is of course obvious that most of the subjects are already included in the operations of existing societies. But in the case of other countries it is not found that the existence of special societies for the study of particular branches of learning removes the necessity of a general representation of intellectual interests. An academy serves to encourage co-operation between the different departments of study and help in the formation of synoptic views ; and moreover, there are certain advantages attached to the existence of an academy suited to represent the general intellectuality of a particular country or area and to correspond with similar bodies in other countries. There exists, furthermore, an international union of academies, which meets from time to time and discusses questions of general theoretical interest to the civilized world. And finally, a single academy is in a position to give advice to Government upon such matters, when its advice is sought. It cannot but be felt that the influence of Indian thought in the world in general suffers from the lack of a common body, which might enter into consultation with the academies of other countries and be known, like them, as representative of the country to which it belongs.

It should be particularly noted that the idea of the promoters of the project is to have an institution of an All-India character and of an inclusive nature. By this it is meant that the scheme will include in its operation the Indian States and will be run on non-communal and non-provincial lines.

Among the particular activities which characterize the academies of other countries, the most obvious, perhaps, is the publication of proceedings and memoirs, which

* Published at the request of the General Secretary, Tenth All-India Oriental Conference, for the information of all scholars, societies and institutions concerned.

are not necessarily different in character and quality from the publications of special societies, but are understood to be in general more substantial or fundamental or recondite.

Moreover, the several academies in many cases issue important series of publications in the form of volumes, patronize great literary enterprises conducted by other agencies, administer funds for the encouragement of learning by special awards and prizes—awards and prizes, which are naturally held in the highest esteem. It goes without saying that the academies from time to time hold meetings for the hearing of lectures and for important ceremonies and functions. Frequently they provide the means for the carrying out of literary and scientific enterprises of a national character which otherwise might be hindered by financial difficulties. By reason of their permanent character and standing they are well fitted to attract donations and endowments for intellectual purposes.

In the case of India it would be possible to name a number of such enterprises which might be fittingly undertaken, but the enumeration thereof may best be left for later discussion. It may be at present sufficient to particularise the issue of an annual bibliography of Indian publications, a work which would probably be of great benefit in extending the knowledge and sale of Indian books, both inside the country and abroad. It might be hoped that for such a continuous work, which would involve the provision of a standing secretariat, a subvention might be granted by governments.

The constitution of the academy would, of course, demand careful consideration. It is practically the universal rule that the members or fellows of academies are a limited number, selected on grounds of intellectual suitability and merit and not as representatives of any organized body or institution—a rule which has been followed in the recent foundation of the Indian Institute of Science. On this important matter, as well as upon all other points raised in this letter, we should be glad to have an expression of your views.

By reason of the difficulty, in the case of so great a country as India, of discussing these proposals in general meetings, it is contemplated that the replies to this letter, to be addressed to eminent persons, learned institutions and societies, should be considered by a small committee who should be empowered to report upon the answers received and to draft, if it seems advisable, a scheme for the formation of the academy, to be submitted for observations to a large committee consisting of distinguished persons and experts to be appointed by the Executive Committee of the Conference, and subsequently, in case of sufficient approval, to make formal application to the Government of India for such recognition as is usual and appropriate in the case of similar bodies.

REVIEW

Evolution of Awadhi, by Dr. Baburam SAKSENA, M.A., D.Litt., the Indian Press, Allahabad, 1938. Price Rs. 14.

This work is based upon a Thesis accepted by the University of Allahabad for the Degree of Doctor of Letters in 1931. Many useful additions to the said thesis have been made in the present work.

The work is decidedly the best book of the year on Indian Linguistics. If I were asked to review the whole work in one word, I would use the word RICH, for the book has such a wealth of new phenomena, enormous variations, many-sided details, and copious suggestions, that I do not think of a better word to indicate the precious quality of the book. The style is very lucid and readable, the printing and get-up attractive, and the price, considering the linguistic treasures which the book contains, quite moderate. Another feature of the book is its admirable sense of proportion: it carefully avoids all well-established philological details, and gives only new facts in very short, but wonderfully substantial, chapters. But above all, it gives new perspectives to researchers in the field of Indian Linguistics, and it is particularly this feature of the work for which all workers in this field should be grateful to the author.

A few remarkable items in this great book may now be described :—

(1) For the first time in the history of Indian Linguistics, the work systematically and thoroughly records the phonetic features of an Indian dialect as obtained from the Phonetic Laboratory. The results obtained are very valuable, as I shall presently show.

(2) The Dialectology of Awadhi is the most substantial and thought-provoking portion of the work, and the author must have worked for years and years to collect these dialectal treasures. The most important section of Indo-Aryan Linguistics, in my opinion, is dialectology, for it is our DIALECTS which make India "the linguist's paradise", but it is only patience like Dr. SAKSENA'S which can reveal that paradise.

(3) The chapter on Intonation (pp. 101-2) gives many new facts. Particularly unusual is the intonation of interrogative sentences: chart 4 represents a considerable fall at the end of the sentence—a very striking, if not amazing, phenomenon.

(4) On p. 75 there occurs an interesting observation, "It (a whispered vowel) has a stronger whisper after a voiced consonant than after a breathed one". Now there are whispered vowels in Kashmiri as well, and on reading this observation of Dr. SAKSENA, I tried a Kashmiri speaker for the comparison of intensity of whispered vowels in Kashmiri under similar conditions, and the results obtained by me are almost identical. Cf. Kashmiri :—

After a breathed consonant

'gurəɪ t̪ɪ "brown" (oblique)

keɪ thɪ "of what sort?" (ii)

jɪ : t̪ɪ "this much" (ii)

After a voiced consonant

'k3. ʔɪ rɪ "Kashmiri" (oblique)

'go.ɪ bɪ "heavy" (oblique)

'hiwɪ "alike" (ii)

The ɪ after voiced consonants was heard more distinctly than after breathed consonants. Here is a confirmation of the above observation that Dr. SAKSENA'S work "gives new perspectives to researchers in the field of Indian Linguistics".

(5) On pp. 32-33 "General Notes on the Plosives" are very interesting. The faint voice in the initial and final stage of a breathed plosive (p. 32) may perhaps be the germ of vocalization in such a consonant—a vocalization in-the-making.

(6) The observation on p. 33, that "a long consonant is about sixty per cent, longer than the corresponding short one" will be an eye-opener to those who take all long consonants as double consonants.

(7) On p. 28 the observation "[b] is fully voiced and thus slightly differs in shade from English b" is only a specimen of the fineness of phonetic phenomena handled in the book.

(8) The phenomena of complete assimilation (pp. 93ff.) are, comparatively speaking, very unusual, e.g., voiced plosives, instead of becoming slightly devoiced, become breathed before breathed plosives. These phenomena of variations are a valuable addition to the meagre phonetic materials available about Indian dialects.

(9) The chapter on the "Word" (pp. 87ff.) is particularly original, being a scientific and acute presentation of the general structure of the "word" in the dialect.

(10) In grammar the examples from Early Awadhi are very illuminating, showing the gradual change from Apabhramṣa to Early Awadhi, and from early Awadhi to modern Awadhi (cf. pp. 132ff.). In this respect Dr. SAKSENA is lucky in securing so much of literary material.

(11) On pp. 110-112 we have the interesting phenomena of "three forms of the nominal stem" used in some of the Eastern dialects, e.g., for "dog" there are used three words: kut : a :, kut Λ wa :, kut Λ una. This reminds me of the definite and indefinite adjectives in Slavonic languages.

(12) The statistical method used in the investigation of the forms of the oblique case (pp. 125-26) and of post-positions (pp. 213-214) indicates, with comparative accuracy, the relative frequency and even chronology of various linguistic forms. The phenomena presented are interesting, and the results deduced convincing.

(13) On p. 317 the interesting preservation of Sanskrit *khalu* in the Awadhi inclusive emphatic affix -u- has been pointed out. This offers an opportunity for further investigation into similar preservation of *khalu* in other Indo-Aryan dialects.

A few critical observations on this important work seem also to be desirable :--

(1) At the end of the work, a general, broad conclusion was expected. For instance a chapter entitled "The place of Awadhi among Indo-Aryan languages"—with special reference to its relative chronology, its relation to the neighbouring languages, its distinctive innovations and the other languages which share them—at the end would have tremendously enhanced the value of the work.

(2) The "Evolution" of a language presupposes a thorough investigation into the Principles of its word-building. Exhaustive study of grammatical *terminations* has been made, but this important item has been neglected. Only on pp. 110-112 a few interesting forms of the stem [cf. (ii), p. 3 above] have been noted. No doubt the word-building of modern Indo-Aryan languages generally offers only a *debris* of words already formed in Sanskrit and middle Indian, but in every Indo-Aryan language there is a minority of words independently formed out of stems and suffixes which are innovations. An investigation into this item would have further increased the debt of gratitude which linguistic researchers in India owe to the author.

(3) Enumeration of dialectal forms, rich as it is, was not enough. Phonological *discussion* of these forms, their relative or probable chronology, the devia-

tions from the expected forms,—a consideration of these and similar items was also expected.

(4) The *plan* of enumerating the dialectical forms requires considerable improvement. These forms appear to be mixed up in straight lines. It is painful to the reader to study them connectedly. For instance I should follow the *tabular* method in the enumeration of these forms, e.g., I should thus tabulate the forms given on p. 234 :—

1st pers. sg.	1st pers. pl.
Lmp. h <u>ɪ</u> u	B & G. ho : i :
Br. h <u>ʌ</u> w	Fy. & Sl. <u>ʌ</u> hi :
Bgh. <u>ʌ</u> heū	Bgh. h <u>ʌ</u> ī.

By this plan the reader will discern at a glance the various agreements and differences.

(5) The name of the language "Awadhi" has not been happily selected, for although it is mainly spoken in Awadh, it extends considerably into the Central Provinces, even beyond Jubbulpur. I am unable to suggest a more suitable term, but perhaps "Pūrbi Hindi" would have been a lesser evil, for the particularity of Awadh will then be eliminated. The author himself says on p. 5, "Thus Awadhi stands between Western Hindi and Behari". If this is so, then "Pūrbi Hindi" would have been perhaps a more suitable term. And if sometimes Bhojpuri has also been included in "Pūrbi Hindi", this evil could be avoided by definitely pointing out that Bhojpuri is *not* to be included in "Pūrbi Hindi".

(6) About the origin of Awadhi, the author says on p. 7 "we can assume ... that this earlier Ardhamāgadhi was the basis of Awadhi". From the scanty examples like *-i-* and *-e-* (found in Western Hindi as well), it is perhaps safer to say that the basis of Awadhi was Śaurasenī, though it bears a few meagre traces of Ardhamāgadhi.

(7) A short explanation of the working of "palatograms", charts and inscriptions on nasalized vowels (pp. 21-24) was necessary. Though they are too technical for the layman, yet an explanation would have given some *idea* of these items.

(8) It is not clear on what grounds the author, on p. 23, includes [ɾ] and [ɽh] as semi-vowels. No doubt *y*, *r*, *l*, *v*, as they often become weaker elements of diphthongs, frequently emerge as vowels, but this cannot be said of [ɾ] and [ɽh]. The author himself, in a footnote on p. 27 says, "ɾ and ɽh have been dealt with here therefore, and not as semi-vowels".

(9) On p. 85 the author lays down an unusual principle of syllabication in his language : "An intervocalic consonant goes with the following vowel to make a syllable and two successive vowels make two different syllables." This statement requires careful revision. The intervocalic consonant can go with the following vowel necessarily only when that vowel is stressed, as in *apá*, but in *ápa*, the greater part of the consonant will go with the preceding vowel. Again, only those two successive vowels can make two different syllables if they are of equal sonority : if their sonority varies, the two vowels will become a diphthong.

(10) The chapter on Vowel Combinations (pp. 81-84) is somewhat disappointing, and is incongruous with the otherwise masterly thoroughness of the book. Thus on diphthongs we have a bare statement : "the two short vowels.... have a tendency to become diphthongs" (p. 83). Such a delicate subject could not be so easily disposed of.

(11) The interesting chapter on Accent (pp. 91-92) would have gained in value if the accent of compound words also had been discussed.

(12) In the treatment of *Ardha-tatsama* words the author on pp. 51 and 55 uses the term "epenthesis", as in *dhArAm*, *dAresən*. But it is not a case of "epenthesis" (which is an intrusive vowel brought sympathetically from the end as in Avestan *azaiti* "drives", Kāśmīrī *Abur* "cloud") but "Anaptyxis" (or Svarabhakti) which the author correctly gives on p. 64 *bhAgAt*, and 66 *gIrəhAn*.

(13) As is the custom in all philological works, a hyphen (-) must be placed at the end of every Sanskrit noun or adjective, as *kroś-a-*, *kārya-*, to ward off misunderstanding.

(14) The author on pp. 237, 56 derives [h] of *hAi* from *-st-*, through *-tth-*, but he has given no parallel examples in which *-st-* has become [h]. I think Professor Turner (in his article on *ach-* in BSOS—Studies in honour of Grierson) has now almost established the fact that this [h] can come only from *kṣ* of Sanskrit *akṣ-*.

(15) The author's derivation of the pronouns *ua* : *ui* (p. 180) is interesting, and more acceptable than the reference to the single R̥gvedic form *avoh*. [w] and [y] may be prothetic semi-vowels as they often occur in Kāśmīrī. Some difficulties, however, in the final acceptance of the author's derivation still remain. There seems to be no phonetic tendencies in Awadhī for a prothetic [y], [w] before [i], [e], [u]; then why did they occur only in these pronouns?

(16) The author on p. 135 derives the instrumental in *-en* from *-ēna*. If *-āni* (p. 132) has become *-ā* or *-Vi*, how could the TERMINATIONAL [n] of *ēna* remain in tact.

(17) The derivation (p. 134) of Early Awadhī oblique plural *-nha* from Sanskrit *-nām* is not convincing for although *-n* does survive in some Indo-Aryan languages (p. 135), whence did the [h] of *-nha-* come?

(18) On pp. 133-4 the author derives Early Awadhī oblique e.g. *-hi* from *-smīn*. This is more acceptable than *IE. dhi-*, *Pāli -dhi*, which is far from being productive in Pāli. But the author's case would have been stronger if he had given some parallel examples in any period of IA, where *-mhi* > *hī*, *hi*.

(19) The derivation of the present part. terminations *-Ati* and *-iti* from Māgadhi and Ardhamāgadhi nom. sg. in *-ē* is plausible, but not convincing. For if *-ē* was the original for the pres. part. mas. nom. sg., why is it not to be found in words like *sa* : *pu* (p. 132) and adjectives like *bu* : *ṛh* (p. 139)?

And now I must close. With a trembling heart have I ventured to criticize such a comprehensive work of paramount value. It is easy to criticize, but difficult to construct.

As the book is written in a very readable style and is full of interesting information, I suggest that it may be prescribed as a text-book for several University Examinations, as for M.A. (Sanskrit, Hindi) and B.A. (advanced Hindi). Every Library in India will be richer if it treasures this precious book.

September 13, 1938.

SIDDHESHWAR VARMA.

DUTCH AND ENGLISH PIRACIES IN EASTERN WATERS AND THEIR EFFECT ON THE COMPANY'S TRADE WITH INDIA (1620-1661)

By

J. C. DE

I have shown elsewhere * that even academic justification exists for separation of the period, 1620 to 1661, from other epochs of Modern Indian History. I have also tried to demonstrate that piracy is to be distinguished, as far as possible, from privateering ; from some plundering acts done in a state of quasi-war ; a state which is discoverable time and again in a history of the relations between European Powers in the East ; from acts done in a spirit of reprisal, from "adventuring" ; and from doings in exercise of maritime rights under certain circumstances and conditions. "The Law of the Sea, as then interpreted, classed all men as enemies whose nations were not formally allied to one's own."¹ I have also drawn the student's attention to the fact that English, French and Dutch, Berber, Arab and Turk, even Icelanders and others, kept the Western Waters unsafe for merchantmen during the period under review. During the preceding period, we find Indian corsairs also, infesting "the Straits of Gibraltar and the neighbouring coast of Africa."²

By about the beginning of our period, we come across a border-line case in Eastern Waters, relative to the Portuguese. Qualís Khán was appointed as Viceroy of "Lahor", in 1601. According to Father Pierre du Jarric's Chronicle, "the Portuguese had seized a ship loaded with merchandise which the Viceroy "was sending to Meque without having obtained from them any safe conduct." PAYNE remarks, "Even Akbar's ships which carried pilgrims to Mecca were obliged to sail under Portuguese licence." But in spite of the obvious justification, that of the exercise of the "Sword" of Sea-power—maritime rights—the act must have been looked upon as one of piracy by the Khán.³

To take another example. In April, 1623, Hall's squadron was sent to seize "Indian Junks". "Junks of Dábhól, Goghá, Diu and Surat fell by turns into the net ; and one belonging to Chaul, though released, was plundered of nearly "40,000 rials and a quantity of goods." "On Oct. 3, the Reformation joined Company, and two days later, Captain Hall anchored at Swally with eight Junks under his guns". Van der Broeck points out that "all the vessels thus captured held passes from the English which were sup-

* In my paper before the Indian Historical Congress at Allahabad, Oct. 1938.

1. HILL in *I.A.* 1923 (Sup.), p. 50.

2. *Osorio* II, 290, *I. A.* 1923 (Sup.), p. 29.

3. "Akbar and the Jesuits" (*The Broadway Travellers*), p. 153 and notes.

posed to guarantee them against molestation". If he can be believed in, these acts of the English may be regarded as piratical, as the Mughuls of those days considered them to be. But on the other hand, operations of this nature may be viewed in the light of acts of reprisal which a power strong on the sea legitimately does in "compelling compliance" from another power strong on land. This whole episode, which I am inclined to call that of the Battle of the Corals, is as significant a landmark, as the Battle of Plassy is, in modern Indo-British History.¹

Again some of the English express a desire to "the President and Council at Bantam" for a small vessel "in convenient tyme to look out for purchase upon the coast of Sellonna and other places where the Portuguese doe trade", in a letter of Jan. 22, 1629. That document also mentions that "by these courses the Dutch do daylie find greate benefite."² The capture of prizes by the Dutch may again be interpreted as lawful acts of war against a rival power, but not so, if the rival was at that time at peace with the mother-country. To take another instance. In July, 1658, news arrived in England "that four ships belonging to English private traders had been seized by the Hollanders, and taken into Batavia as prizes." "Three of them" were charged with "trying to enter Bantam", and the fourth with "trading at Indrapura, in Sumatra." The Protector "sent Downing instructions to make a peremptory demand for redress." On July, 27, the States-General determined to restore the vessels and their cargoes under protest.³ The English might have felt justified in regarding these captures as quasi-piracies by an organised state. The Dutch on the other hand, argued that the English "had lent gunners to the king of Bantam to assist in the war, and that the ships were therefore lawful prize."

Again, war could be carried on "in the irregular fashion of the Indies." This fashion in Oct. 1630 e.g., "resulted in a completion of the sea-victories by a land-triumph behind Swally."⁴ On Oct. 14, 1630, according to Vain, "the fleet anchored in Swally Hole. About sunset, the Portuguese came in sight." In the land action (according to Warden's account) "about six Englishmen" were "hurt", "but only one, named Baker", "becing a fate man, overheatein of his bodey and drinkein of colde watear, died, bein not shot at all."⁵

The English assisted the Persians in taking Ormus from the Portuguese, in spite of the fact that both nations were at peace. Digby, the English ambassador had to explain "that the East India Company's servants had acted

1. *Eng. Factories*, 1618-21, p. 325 ; E. F. 1622-23, xxix et seq. etc.; BAL KRISHNA : *Commercial Relations bet. India and England*, p. 112 et seq.

2. *Eng. Fac.* 1624-1629, p. 315.

3. *Thurloe Papers*, Vol. VII, p. 293 etc. ; *Court Min.* 1655-1659, p. xxviii, p. 216 etc.

4. THOMPSON and GARRATT : *Rise and Fulfilment of Bri. Rule in India*, pp. 18 & 19.

5. *Eng Fac.* 1630-33, p. 67 et seq. etc.

under compulsion from the Persians." In any case, Woodcock, the master of the *Whale*, "was accused of having gotten an unknown booty at Ormus, and though he denied this, the Court would not believe him innocent."¹ In Aug. 1623, the Spanish ambassador complained to King James that the *London* had brought home, spoils to the value of 500,000 L (sic.), and that even the dishes used by the crew were of silver, stamped with arms of many noble families of Portugal.² These private acquisitions at least, seem to be quasi-piratical in nature.

Then again, on the 25th April, 1657, the Society "being about 200 leagues to the south of the Cape of Good Hope homeward bound from Masulipatam was attacked by the *Oranger*, a Dutch Vessel" "from Amsterdam and bound for Batavia." "The attack was quite unprovoked, and very fierce." When the English Captain asked "the reason of such unwarrantable usage, he was told that at sea it is the custom of the weakest to submit to the strongest." "The English ship was then searched for Portuguese goods, but none being found, some books of accounts and letters directed to men in Holland were taken."³

"The *Olive Branch* commanded by John Brampton" (to discuss details) "was hindered from going there by the Dutch, who pretended to be at war with the Javanese. She therefore set sail for Sumatra and arriving near Pulo Lagundy was compelled to remain in hiding there for fear of the Dutch." The *Blessing*, (according to the "Deposition of Quarles Browne presented to His Highness" on Jan. 18, 1658.) "bound for Bantam" wished "to hear news" from that place, and "hailed up sails, intending to go aboard a large Dutch vessel riding at anchor off Mud Island." "Although the *Blessing* was flying English colours, the Dutch ship shot three guns at her—Coming near Bantam Road she was chased by two more Dutch ships."⁴

Quasi-piratical acts of this nature obviously hindered the smooth growth of the Company's trade with India.

In committing piratical and quasi-piratical acts, Europeans and Asiatics seemed to vie with one another in Eastern Waters, during the period under review. These are of course to be come across frequently during the preceding period, and "the *Calendars of State Papers, Domestic*, covering the reign of William III up to 1696, and the first Volume of the *State Papers Domestic, 1702-1703*" e.g., "show that the Indian Ocean was" still infested with pirates.

There were active Malabari pirates and those at the head of the Arabian Sea till the 19th century whom the Company's Marine found it hard to cope with.⁵

1. *Court Minutes*, Nov. 19, 1624.

2. *E.F.*, pp. xii, xiii etc., xii n. 1.

3. *Court Minutes* etc. 1655-59, p. 216 and p. 217.

4. *Court Min.* 1655-1659, p. 217 and p. 218.

5. KHAN : *East India Trade*, p. 210 ; PARKINSON : *Trade in the Eastern Seas*, p. 46 and 47.

By the close of the sixteenth century, to take an example, Van Linschoten's account says, "Two ships laden with ware set saile out of the haven of Chaul in India, that belonged unto certaine Portingalles inhabitantes of Chaul, the owners being in them : those shippes should have sayled to the straites of Mecca or the redde sea, where the said marchants used to traffique : but they were taken on the sea by (two) Turkish Galleyes that had beene made in the innermost partes of the straites of Mecca, by Cairo, on the corner of the redde sea, in a town called Sues : the said Galleyes began to doe great mischiefe and put all the Indian merchants in great feare."¹ We also find mention of an encounter in Indian Waters between "two Turkish Gallies that came out of the Straights of Mecca or the redde Sea" and English ships, by about the same time. The English however "did" the 'Turks' "no hurt." The English also "tooke sixe Foistes of the Malabares, but let them go againe."²

Writing on Sept. 29, 1617, Roe, to take another instance, said, "Some alteration is hapned in the Project of Dabule for that I vnderstand Fearnie hath Robbed their great shipp." Roe's supposition was however wrong.³ On Oct. 5, he reported that "two English Rovers" "the Francis and the Lion set out by" Sir Robert Rich and Philip Barnardi "were found in chase of the Queen Mother's ship returned from the Red Sea, which" English ships of the 1617 fleet "fortunately rescued and brought safe in, (if shee had bin taken, wee had all bin in trouble)."⁴ "I had professed to the king," says Roe on 18th Dec. 1617, "to give him the more feeling of our service and affection that wee had taken the ships and their Company that offered to robb the Beagams junck." But "our enemies replied to my face it was a trick : that we were all thieves." In a long letter to his "Honourable Frendes," dated 14th Feb. 1617 (-18) Roe says, "These Seas beginn to be full of Rovers, for whose faults wee may bee engaged." Referring to the English interlopers, he remarks, "Sir Robert Rich and one Philloppe Barnardoe sett out two ships to take Pirates, which is growne a common Pretence of being Pirates." "They missed their entrance into the Red Sea (which was their designe), and came for India, gave Chase to the Queen Mothers Juncke, and but that God sent in our Fleete, had taken and rifled her". "Barnardo", he adds, "getts the Duke of Savoyes Commission, but the faces are all English." "If you bee not round in some course with these men you will have the seas full," he warns them, "and your trade in India is utterly lost and our lives exposed to pledge in the hands of Moores." "If you suffer Rovers in these seas, there must be no traders."⁵

The Arabian Sea had been infested by pirates "at any rate" since "the time of Alexander the Great." So far as we are at present interested in, we

1. *The Voyage of.....Linschoten* (Hakluyt), Vol. II, p. 183.

2. p. 302.

3. *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe* etc. Vol. II, P. 418, and n. 1.

4. p. 420 and n. 2, and p. 421.

5. p. 480 and p. 481.

may note that as early as Feb. 18, 1620, we find in an English document, "Piracie upon the Mores junckes in the Red Sea will be required of our goods."¹ In this document there are again references to a plan of "intercept(ion)" of "the Holland ships coming out of the East Indies in the narrowe seas," and capture of English ships by the Dutch.

A letter of Jan. 3, 1646, e.g. from Swally Marine, says, "We have great occation to fear the Red Seas will this next year be infested by pilfering men of war."² Kerridge and his Council had cautioned Rowe, (on April 9, 1625) the Commander of the Star, on his way to England from Swally, "to be on his guard against pirates or others."³ Proceedings of the Company on Sept. 18, 1640, record the suggestion that the Crispian "might Voyage to the Red Sea to secure the Company's trade from pirates and other purposes."⁴

In 1615, the Dutch did not think it beneath their dignity to join the Arakan Fleet against the Portuguese.⁵

A letter of 15th Feb. 1617, from "Firando" (Hirado) says, "Last year, the Hollanders sent a fleet of ships from the Moluccas to Manila to fight the Spanish Fleet," which however did not immediately take up the challenge. The Dutch "therefore separated to look out for Chinese junks, of which some say they took and plundered 25, while others say 35." Another of July (from Ball of Bantam), says, "The Hollanders have covered the ocean with their ships from the Arabian Gulf to the coast of China, spoiling and robbing all nations in the name and under the colours of the English." In the month of October, 1619, the Company's ships under the command of Captain Bonner which had taken in their pepper at Tekoo were attacked. "Captain Bonner was killed, his ship was sunk, and the other three ships were compelled to surrender." The Dutch captured in all, eleven ships of the English by about this time. The English had also taken "a richly laden Dutch ship, the Black Lion," "in Bantam Roads." Whatever may be our verdict on these various captures and skirmishes, the Dutch depredations on the Chinese junks possess more than a flavour of piracy. "This event", says Bruce, "checked the indirect trade with China which the factors had been endeavouring to support."

Dutch attacks on Chinese junks are referred to by Brown "under date 26th, May, 1621." The English also captured another junk, but "took the precaution to secure the lives of the men by putting them ashore." Fox, Minors and others speak of various attempts by the English on Eastern shipping. On Sept. 26, 1624, e.g., they "chased a junk into shallow water", and "then drove a country boat into harbour at Danday." The English "boarded her," "but the multitude of people, beate" them "of with stones and

1. *Eng. Fac.* 1618-21, p. 185.

2. *Eng. Fac.* 1646-1650, p. 6.

3. *Eng. Fac.* 1624-1629, p. 76 and p. 77.

4. *Court Minutes* etc. 1640-1643, p. 89 and p. 90.

5. CAMPOS: *History of the Portuguese in Bengal* p. 124.

smale shott.' We must not however forget that Sir Edward Coke had remarked that "pagans were to be treated as perpetual and irreclaimable enemies of Christians." The opinion of the intellectually inferior can easily be guessed. The consideration that public opinion of those days would justify such operations, as we are discussing here, has therefore to be taken into account by us in pronouncing judgment on these. Not only that. A letter from Batavia to Surat, of March 27, 1624, speaks of the existence of a state of war between the Chinese and the Dutch.¹

A letter from Batavia of Jan. 11, 1622 says, "By letters which the Duche have receaved from Masulapatnam, they have advertisement that theire two shippes sent for the Red Seae had taken two riche shippes of Dabule." The Dutch are also reported in a letter to the Company of May 12, 1621, to have "chace (d) a frigat of the Danes, thineking them" (however) "to be Portugales," and surprised a "Frensh" ship (of Beaulien's fleet) "neere Jaquatra." They are also accused of detaining two Japanese ships in Formosa in July, 1630. Tavernier says that the Dutch treacherously killed the English garrison of Taiwan and occupied that place.²

A letter of Jan. 24, 1622, from Surat, says, "The Sampson leavinge her consort in port, getts out to sea, whear awaitinge oppertunitye, she most perfidiouslie surprised five of those junks who believed themselves proteckted, of whom one of Diue, another of Cannanore, a third of Kutchia, and other two of Dabull." The "Sampson" was "Englishe." But she was captured in July, 1619, and "retained in compensation for the Black Lion, which had been burnt while in the hands of the English." A Dutch record says that the Governor of Mokha imprisoned a number of Dutchmen on account of "the piracies committed by the Sampson and the Wesp." Swanley's Journal records, "There was a matter of 20 or 30 Duchmen prisoners ashoare which wer taken for the abuses and wrongs that the Sampson and his consort did to the junke the yeare before; which by reporte they being in Mocha Road gave passes to the junks, and when they came without the Babb, they tooke five of them and killed and hove overbord many of the people. So theis two shippes coming from Bantom, making account to have traded there, after they had landed their goods they tooke there master and men, being ashore, prisoners, making them slaves." "The Weazopp," (the consort of the Sampson), says a letter of March 17, 1622, "has arrived" "having spent some time on the Coast of Arabia, where she" "hath proved hiselfe as notorious a theefe as his fellow, by the roberrie of two other junks of Chaule and Diew, the latter yeeldirge only certaine Sindie toyes, horses, etc., of small vallew, but the other inricht with gould and silver to good worth, which proceeded from goods sould in Mocha". "According to report these amounted to not less

1. BRUCE : *Annals of the Hon. E. I. Co.*, pp. 215 and 216 ; *E. F.* 1618-21, p. xxxix et seq. etc. ; 1 A. 1924, p. 60 ; *Kerr's Voyages*, ix, 445-6 ; *E. F.* 1624-9, p. 11 etc.

2. *E. F.* 1622-23, p. 18 ; *E. F.* 1618-21, p. 255 ; *Tavernier* iii, 22, *I.A.* 1924 (Sup.), p. 66.

than 30,000 L. sterling". A document in the Factory Records, Surat, dated March 9, 1622, says, "Wee perseave the Dutches Wezoppes arrayvall with her fortunate robeinge". Another of the same series estimates the value at "27,000 rials", but admits "ite maye verely well bee" more. These piracies affected the English, though indirectly. It was feared, according to the same letter, that English interests would be "damaged by their proceedings."¹ Again in a letter of March 21, 1622, we find, "The other day wee weare called before Mammood Tukeye, the Princes Deuvan" (Díwán) "to the (sic.) answer to the demands of certayne Voras—who demanded but restetucion of 10,000 ryalls of eight which wee had robbed oute of a juncke of Choule." The English "tould them they should goe aske what they had lost of the Hollanders, another nation". "Whereunto" the Díwán "answered that wee weare joyned as one and that all wee tooke or stoole we shared". "Wee" "pray you thinke upon some course to make these" Indians "beleve treweth and that our negatiacions be not hindered".² On April 7, Halstead and Hill again wrote from Ahmedabad, "Saffie Chan and Merza Myna R (ustam?) Chan...in publicke sayd wee and the Hollanders weare not one people, and as it playnely appeared traded aparte; what trust their is to any of these greate ones sayeings or doeing we pray God wee never experyence". "We certaynely here and are perswayded we shalbe layd hould of on to satisfaxione (of?) the Dutches robberyes"³.

The English suspected the designs of the Dutch on Eastern shipping during these years. That letter from Surat of Dec. 10, 1622 e.g. refers to the "sinister intentions" "of the Hollanders", and anticipated "trouble from their proceedings".⁴ Another letter from Ahmedabad of Feb. 5, 1623, says, "The Dutch" "have noe resolutionn to bee at peace with any, yf voylence and theevinge may produce them profite"⁵ But statements of this nature made by a trade rival have to be discounted unless corroborated by other evidence.

In that connection we may note that it was also about this time that the Dutch "had been very roughly handled by the native officials in consequence of their depredations on Portuguese and other shipping trading with Masulipatam. Abraham Van Uffelen, the Dutch Governor, was carried off prisoner, and was so brutally used that he died on Jan. 22, 1624".⁶ But we must also remember that the truce with the Netherlands had ended in 1621, and that "the latter government lost no time in making an attack upon the Portuguese possessions in Macao". Some of the "depredations" therefore may be justified as acts or quasi-acts of war.⁷

1. *E.F.* 1622-23, p. 18, and n.; p. 26, p. 61 and 61n. 2; p. 64; p. 58, p. 112.

2. p. 68 and p. 69.

3. p. 71.

4. p. 164.

5. p. 190.

6. *P. XIL* j. 102, p. 259, p. 315 etc.

7. *DANVERS: The Portuguese in India*, etc. Vol. ii, p. 219.

"In 1643, a Dutch officer named Gayland plundered one of the Courteen ships, The Bona Esperenza, in the Straits of Malacca, and in the same year, another of these ships, the Henry Bonaventure was taken by the Dutch near Mauritius". "Letters of reprisal were given to the Courteen Company by Charles II". The loss of the Bona Esperenza (called Bone Esperanze) in a document of May 29, 1646, was estimated at 75,000 l.¹

"The Dutch" according to a petition of the Company to Parliament, of 14th Nov. 1650, "had committed" "outrages and piracies" upon the subjects of the Great Turk, "in the Red Sea under the English flag for which the Company had to pay 103,000 rials of eight." The Dutch were also accused of taking a great quantity of pepper "forcibly" out of the Endymion, "valued at 6,000 l. in 1649".²

"In Dec. 1659, Johan, Van Riebeck, Governor of the Cape, discovered a conspiracy among the garrison and settlers to master the fort, kill the chief officials, seize the ship, Erasmus, then in harbour, and turn pirates".³

These piratical and quasi-piratical activities of the Dutch with the probable exception of those in relation to Courteen's ships, undermined the Company's prestige "in those heathen countries", and destroyed a part of the commercial resources the Company possessed. The Indian authorities sometimes made them responsible for the "Hollander's" actions.

The Company's "representatives complained that" "the Dutch had taken from them...ships and goods to the value of 148,000 l in addition to the loss caused by the burning and spoiling of Factories, estimated at 87,000 l."

They had "seized the ships of the English and treated His Majesty's flag with indignity". "The loss on future trade", wrote the Company to Sir George Downing at the Hague on Sept. 28, 1664," and indignity to the nation were "soe great that wee know not how to put a sufficient value there-upon".⁴

The seizure of Chinese ships by the English and the attack on Ormus have already been noticed. But certain operations of some Englishmen of this period seem to be piratical or quasi-piratical. To take an instance. "In April or May 1628, a small English fleet off Mangalore saw a junk of some 70 tons, bound for Achin attacked by a Malabar pirate. The junk sought refuge with the English, but the latter ...confiscated the cargo".⁵

"King Charles I sent Captain Richard Quail of the Seahorse to the Red Sea with a commission",⁶ dated March 19, 1630.

1. I. A. 1924 (Sup.) p. 72; *Court Min.* 1644-1649, p. x; p. 148.

2. *Court Min.* 1650-1654, p. 73 and p. 74; BRUCE: *Annals* Vol. 1, .p. 447 and p. 448, I. A. 1924 (Sup.) p. 74.

3. DEHERAIN, p. 70; I. A. 1924 (Sup.) p. 74.

4. *Court Min.* 1664-7, p. v. p. 87, p. 88, p. ix, x etc.

5. HERBERT p. 334, I. A. 1924 (Sup.) p. 65.

6. P. 68.

Slade and others aboard the *Mary*, reported on Dec. 9, 1631, that he had found at St. Augustine's Bay on 30th May, 1631, "a small shipp named the Seahorse...belonginge to our Kings Majestie and ymediately sett out by him (one Capt. Richard Quaile commander), as by commission under His Majesties hand and seale appeareth". He had "instruccions alsoe annexed Majesties to goe for the Redd Sea and there to make purchase"¹, "as well as anywhere elce" "of any he could meete with that were not frends or allies unto His Majestie".

They had to release Quail and his crew because of "the force" of the commission, and because they found "nothinge that he had done" was "contrary to his comission". "I hope", writes Slade to the Company, "what wee have done wil be acceptable to your worships, although wee know his ymployment in their parts and upon such designs cannot be plcaseinge, nor hath not bin to any of us". On Oct. 17, the *Seahorse* was at Swally Hole.²

The same document of Dec. 9, 1631, says, "At our arrivall here at Port Swalley we understood by the President of Capt. Quayls arrivall some 20 days before us, and of his then beinge in the River of Suratt. Wee likewise understood that he had taken two Mallabarrs juncks on the coast of Arrabia... Since his arivall here he hath had great mortallity amonge his people... God send all noe better successe that come out on such designes"³. A (translated) Dutch despatch from "aboard the *Amboina*" of Dec. 11/21 1631, says, "Her is also arrived a small shipp called by the name of the King of England shipp with a strong commission, the principule comaunder thereof is called Captaine Quaile". He "came with his comission to our Governor and desired helpe and water from us in spyte of his owne nation, for his company is very sickly", "This captaine", he adds, "hath bin in the Redd Sea att, Mocha, and from thence hath brought store of ducketts, butt the certainty herof I cannot learne"⁴. On April 24, 1632, President Hopkinson and Council at Surat, wrote to the Company, "Capt. Quaile (under the name of Robin Goodfellowe) hath robd a Malabar that had" their "passe for safe conduct", "for which we have bin impleaded here and must satisfie it, and have paid 100 l. in composition"⁵.

In "the summer of 1633, the *Seahorse* returned to England after" her "marauding cruise in the East Indies"⁶. "The fact that the King should send one of his ships to the East on such an errand", says Foster, "was disturbing" to the Company. Secondly, "it can scarcely be doubted that the experience thus gained of the ease with which Asiatic junks could be" seized "led directly to the more serious" operations "of Cobb and Ayres a few years

1. = prize

2. *E.F.* 1630-33, p. 177.

3. P. 108.

4. P. 181 and p. 182.

5. P. 216 and p. 217; BAL KRISHNA : *Commercial Relations* etc. p. 339.

6. *E.F.* 1634-36, p. xix.

later". "Quail's commission", says Hill, "was wider and more sordid than that granted to Raleigh in 1554". In any case, the nature of these operations in the eyes of the Easterners of those days must have made them view the Company's servants with a certain degree of suspicion. The Easterner is not yet ready to distinguish between the English and the Dutch, let alone Englishmen and Englishmen. The Company had to pay 100 l. in compensation.

At the same time, Quail had a commission which satisfied, in any case, Slade, at the end of May, 1631. Secondly, he "made no attempt to molest vessels actually owned by the Mogul".¹ But so far as he exceeded instructions of his commission or attempted to do so, he was guilty at least of quasi-piracy, though we must again point out that the Law of the Sea (and Public Opinion) were different in those days from what they are to-day.

Shortly afterwards, the Samaritan of 250 tons and the Roebuck of 100 tons obtained a commission, dated Feb. 27, 1635, (succeeding a blind—the commission to Richard Oldfield (Ofield?) master of the Samaritan, "authorizing him to range and discover America"), "made out in the name of William Cobb as commander of both vessels" "to range the seas all the world over" (especially from the CAPE to China and Japan), "and to make prize of all such the treasures, merchandizes, goodes and commodities which to his best abilities he shall be able to take of infidells or of anie other prince, potentat or state not in league or amitie with us beyond the lyne equinotically, notwithstanding our former commission granted to our loyall subject, Richard Ofield". The Presidents at Surat and Bantam, the Agent in Persia and other servants of the East India Company were ordered to aid Cobb or his successor with "munitions, provisions or men, upon his giving satisfaction for the same", by a royal letter of the same date. "Captures" and "shares" were all taken into account by the commission. Both vessels were to wear "our collors appoynted for our royal navie". All English subjects, friends and allies were to help Cobb "in anything" he might "require".

"When returning", Cobb was authorised "if necessary" to "claim aid or convoy from any navy or merchant ships".² The terms of the Commission and the letter were therefore meant to cover a multitude of depredations.

According to an account of the "Proceedings against the Pirates at Johanna", it was at first decided that Cobb and his crew were not to be arrested, but when it came out that a Diu Vessel had been taken, and "a Surat junk" robbed of "8000 L." by Ayres, Cobb's lieutenant, the officers of the Company's ship, the Swan, decided to take both Cobb and Ayres prisoners. David Jones the mate of the Roebuck, however, had his men "up in armes, their drum beating, their ship well mannd, a fort raised upon the

1. *E.F.* 1630-33, p. xvii; *I. A.* 1924 (Sup.) p. 68.

2. *E.F.* 1634-36, p. 268 n. 1 etc.

side of a hill, where they had planted four great peeces to command the ship, and also some small shot, every man having three muskets ready laden standing by him," "and all of them binding themselves one to another by their oathes to loose their lives before they would part or surrender the monies."¹

The Surat junk was the Taufíqí and the Diu ship, the Mahmúdí. For obtaining the money which the Mahmúdé was believed to have on board, "they continually scerched her and found nothing". "Then they", according to a letter of Núr-uddín the captain (Nákhudá) of the Taufíqí "took the nochada and bound both his hands, and tyed match to his fingers which burnt them unto the bones; and then hee confessed where the money lay". To find more, "they burnt the nochada, boatswaines, the merchants and carpenters untill they were neare dead, and then they confest whatsoever they knewe". Núr-uddín also says, in his letter, "The English rummaged the Taufíqí for seven days, (seven days...The passengers). The passengers for Mokha returned in this ship. The English plundered all on board of money, jewellery, clothes and everything else of value. "Of the money, the captain reserved the one part, halfe the other was devided amongst the generalety, and much the English saylors consealed. Such violence was never done to any Musulman by any Portugall or other English before". According to his oral narrative, a ship belonging to "Neamun of Arabia" had been plundered "previously" by the English pirates.²

The "Journal of a voyage under John Weddell etc." at the same time, points out that Proud's action on behalf of the Company against Cobb was regarded in some quarters as piracy. "Cobb", it says, "had been rifled by the Swan, and the sum of 8,000l. taken from him by John Proud, master of that ship for the use of the East India Company, his masters".³ In any case, Proud was given 100 l. in recognition of "his extraordinary service". He took away 39,000 rials from Cobb's Company.⁴

But this is not the end of the story. A consultation held in Surat by President Methwold and others on April 23, 1636, that "fearing further claims the Council decide(d) to send the Blessing to search for and seize the offenders". In the same document however, they also ordered, "Any Indian junks encountered during the return voyage should be taken possession of" "for the procureing of our liberties in case of imprisonment".⁵ "Capt. Cobbes damned crewe" (according to Methwold's Diary) however gave the Blessing the slip. The Blessing "arrived at Johanna too late to achieve her errand. For the Roebuck had sailed a fortnight before, bound for the Red Sea". "And now even this very day", (Oct. 8, 1636), says

1. *E.F.* 1634-36, p. 266 and p. 267.

2. p. 197 et seq.

3. *Court Minutes* (1635-39) p. 253.

4. P. xxii and n; p. 290; *E.F.* 1634-6 p. xxviii and n. 2.

5. *E.F.* 1634-6, p. 196.

Methwold, "the towne was full of newes (dispeeded heether from Cambaia) that divers shippes were taken in the Redd Sea, amongst others two of Diobywhome it was not certainly related, onely the English are most suspectedwhich is not the least mischife which hath proceeded from this cursed Cobbes Practizes". A consultation was held, and the "unanimous opinion" was that "all was lost in India yf this wicked piratt was not prevented and surprized". The seizures were confirmed by the Captain of Diu. In his letters, "He bitterly complayneth of the continewed robberyes perpetrated by the English that had now againe this yeare in the latitude of Cape Guardefoy taken two shippes belonging to that port". "He advised besides that there was taken a vessell of Pore, which is a port belonging to this Kinge, as also a junke belonging to Dabulland all done by a small English shippe and a boate : he saith the same shippe that robbed thereabouts the former yeare, assisted with the Samaritans boate, built up higher and accomodated to this wicked purpose". Various devices "which might conduce unto Cobbes surprizall" were thought of, even that of camouflaging an Indian ship. The Blessing was to go again. "As she was much wormeaten, it was decided that she should carry with her a quantity of sheathing boards and be repaired at Mohilla" where the party of Cobb was supposed to be. Four days before Christmas, the Blessing reached Mohilla, and learned that Cobb was at Johanna. But Cobb escaped, and the Blessing came back to Masulipatam on June 12, 1637. The Roebuck, "arrived at Falmouth, early in May, 1637."¹

When the Roebuck returned to England in May, 1637, the Company "promptly petitioned for the seizure of gold and silver on board ; but only to be put off with a vague assurance of justice." The previous efforts of the Company to secure "justice" had also practically failed. The case against Cobb however "hung on at least as late as 1644."²

The terms of the Commission and of the royal letter, as I have shown above, were very wide. Their seems to be an implication in the Commission itself that the view held in those days was "that there was no peace beyond the line" " (Equinoctiall) ". "In the Treaty of Vervins between France and Spain, 2nd May, 1598, its provisions were made effective only north of the Tropic of Cancer and east of the Azores, beyond which tout serait á la force". Thirdly, "the constant warfare waged against all Christians by the Barbary corsairs, and the fact that hundreds of English captives were living in slavery in northern Africa, would be held sufficient justification for attacking the subjects of any Muhammadan nation with whom" England "had no settled commerce". But the commission seems to contemplate that the ships to be plundered must not be the property of "prince, potentat or state" "in league or amitie with" England³. In this case, the Diu ship

1. *E. F.* 1634-6, p. 300 et seq. ; *P.* xxix etc..

2. *P.* xxi, *P.* xxii ; *P.* 212, *P.* 213 etc. ; *I. A.* 1924 (*Sup.* 70.)

3. *E. F.* 1634-6, *P.* xx ; *I. A.* 1924 (*Sup.*) *P.* 69 ; *Ind. Off. O. C.* 1565.

belonged to "the Guzeratts our friends," and was under the protection of the Portuguese. The Taufíqí had in addition to the protection of the flag of a friendly power, an English "pass". The same reasoning probably holds good as to the other plundered ships.

Charles I himself technically admits this friendship with "the great Mogal" in his letter of January, 1637¹. He presumes even "a compact" between the two powers, towards the end of the letter. In the same document, he also says that the East India Company's servants had informed him that "an infamous piracie" had been committed "by some called English under English colours". "None that hath not withdrawn himself from our allegiance" dared so offend. "Some supposed to bee their factors" were "with the King's leave" being "prosecuted in the High Court of Admiralty".

The Company, of course, was more than eager to dub these operations as piracies. "On January 6, 1637, the Governor and others presented a petition to His Majesty at Hampton Court Palace". An entry in the Court Book of January 11, says that "the King offered to do anything by letters or otherwise, and gave leave for action to be taken by law."² Two promoters of the voyage were prosecuted by the Company in the Admiralty Court. Kynaston (one of them) was actually "arrested and lodged in prison". But the King interfered, told the Sheriffs not to delay, and peremptorily ordered him to be released on bail. (Letter of Windebank to the Sheriffs of London.).³

In this very letter, we find mention of "piracies pretended by the Company to have been committed in the East Indies". Charles did not admit⁴ that the acts were piracies, unless they were satisfactorily proved in a Court of law to be so. According to him if Cobb and Ayres had "exceeded their commission they were guilty. But the promoters (whether guilty or not?) were to be protected.

Charles at last announced "his intention of hearing the case personally at his leisure". When the Roebuck returned to England in May, 1637, the Company received information that she had brought back thirty to forty thousand pounds of gold and silver. A record of a Court of Committees of the same month says that a petition was to be sent by the Company to the King to seize all the wealth. "Mr. Secretary Windebank" had promised "to present it to the King"⁵ No satisfaction however could be obtained. The record of a Court of Committees with the Mixed Committees says that "what was done to the Moors was the work of Jones and Francklyn", and that "Ayres giving a bond of 1,000 l. not to go again to India

1. Public Record Office : *Royal Letters, Persia and Eastern Princes*, vol. xi, no. 12 ; *C. Min.* (1635-9) p. 217.

2. *Court Book*, vol. xvi, P. 234 ; *C. Min.* 1635-9, P. 213.

3. *C. Min.* 1635-9, p. 215.

4. nor did he wish to do so.

5. *Court Min.* 1635-9, p. 269, p. xxii n. etc.

without the Company's consent", it was ordered that "the actions in the Admiralty and the Sheriff's Court" against him "be stayed"¹.

But though the Company is so zealous in prosecuting these "priates", to take an example, the Company's servants officially ordered the Blessing to seize Indian junks as hostages, on her way back from the Red Sea,² thus showing perhaps that public opinion of those days was lenient in its definition of these acts of depredation. But the opinion of a group which had itself suffered the loss was perhaps different.

We may also note here an entry in Methwold's Diary, dated May 11, 1636, which refers to a letter from the Viceroy of Goa, "forwarding attestations taken at Diu of the robbery of a junk of that place by an English ship, and demanding restitution" of a large amount. Dutch documents tell us that "Methwold denied liability, as the robbery had been committed by an English rover, not by the Company's servants; and this is confirmed by the Portuguese records."³

Commenting on commissions of this nature, Methwold and Council wrote on May 1, 1636, that "although Kings are gods in some sense they are men in others", "and that His Majesty's confidence" was "abused."⁴

Methwold's Diary refers to another aspect on February 22, 1637, in pointing out that "the King's junk returned from Mokha, having seen nothing of the pirates." "I am heartily joyfull thereof", says Methwold, "for upon the safety of this junke depended all the hopes wee had of liberty in India".⁵

When news of plunder of the Taufíqí and the Mahmúdí reached the Indian authorities through one of the chief merchants, Mirza Mahmud,⁶ Methwold, the President at Surat, was, after some preliminary negotiations, thrust into a dungeon filthy with vermin where he and his companions "were almost suffocated for want of air." "The English goods and money at Surat" and a part of "the stock aboard the ships" were confiscated, Robinson "the chief factor" at Ahmedabad arrested, "the factory placed under a guard," "the caravan stopped," and the Company's goods "in the hands of native brokers at Agra and Tatta" "inventoried and sequestered."⁷ Robinson's frantic letter of April 24, 1636, says, "All this city is full of tumult, curses, exclamations against us before this governor about the junk of Dio".⁸ Methwold's narrative of April 30, 1636, which

1. *C. Min.* 1644-9, p. 24.

2. *E. F.* 1634-6, p. 196.

3. *Dagh Register* (1636) p. 271; *E. F.* 1634-6, p. 252 and notes; *I. A.* 1924 (Sup.) P. 70, etc.

4. *E. F.* 1634-36, p. 247.

5. *E. F.* 1637-41, p. 2.

6. *E. F.* 1634-6, p. xxii, p. 197 et seq.

7. *E. F.* 1634-6, p. xxii et seq; p. 190, p. 195, p. 232 et seq.

8. P. 196 and p. 197.

gives a graphic account, says that at one time the Hopewell was suspected. "They doe nowe vehemently suspect the Hopewell to have done the fact."¹ The President according to a letter to Drake, dated July 4, 1636, was released "after a detention of eight week."² But according to a letter of the Factors at Masulipatam to the Company of Sept. 20 1636, we find "Although in this place our persons and estates are free, yet our reputations are equally inthrall'd by this robbery; and if hereafter the like accident should happen there will be no living for any of our nation in these partes."³ The Viceroy of Goa also sent "a bundle of attestations with a demand for 117,000 rials of eight in compensation." The large sum that the English had in the hands of Vedor da Fazenda at Goa, it was feared, might "be seized in satisfaction."⁴

Besides the financial loss, the Company suffered in diminution of prestige, and even at a later date when charges of piracy were brought against some of the English by some Indian merchants, Fremlen says "He (the Governor) fell upon us with the Roebucks depredations."⁵

We may note here that when the Swan was searched by her master, Thomas Steevens, some "stolen goods" were found "in the possession of Thomas Gattaker."⁶

Captain Weddell is accused of seizing certain Chinese junks, but that was done in a fight. But whether Weddell had the right to declare a quasi-war or not is debatable.

"John Darell says that in 1634 the English seized and plundered two ships from the Red Sea belonging to the King of Cananore for trading with the Courteen ships. . . . Treasure (was) taken to the value of thirty or forty thousand pounds".⁷

Weddell was accused by Pero da Silva, the Viceroy at Goa of having "leagued himself with a corsair named Babia who infests the coast of Kanara and robs the small vessels of the Portuguese". The complaint was made to Methwold at Surat, and the threat held out that the Portuguese (could) not be expected to continue the commerce unless "this and other wrongs be righted".⁸

"The intrusion of the interloper's shipping", generally speaking, "into ports where the Company had long maintained factories was", in the first place, "a clear infringement of the rights reserved to the latter in the

1. P. 234.

2. P. 271.

3. P. 295.

4. P. xxvi etc.

5. *E. F.* 1637-41, p. 106.

6. P. 107.

7. *I. A.* 1924 (Sup.) p. 70; p. 71; *Peter Mundy's Travels*; BRUCE, Vol. I, P. 14 etc.

8. Babia=Dáúd Bahuyá. *E. F.* 1637-41, p. 31.

grant of 1637 to Courteen's Association". One of the employees of Courteen's called the Company "Cockenians", "illegal, monopolitical and by Parliament damnable".¹ Secondly, we have to consider some specific acts of these commanders which look shady. We may consider two examples.

There were several "interloping" vessels in Indian waters by the middle of the seventeenth century, and among these, the *Friendship* and the *Loyalty*. The former was commanded by Humphrey Morse who had been "for some years trading from port to port", and the latter by John Durson whose appointment is reported e.g. in a letter from the Company, dated March 24, 1642.² Durson is said to be "a most pestiphorus spirit" who took "freedom to abuse" Farren and others "without controule". He, in exchange for "fayre promises", managed to get his goods exempted from customs duties, thus violating the legitimate interests of the Company. From Basra, Cranmer and Walwyn wrote on September 22, 1645, "Durson brought from" "Bandar Rig" "a slave woman and her child, and forced from another Banyan a parcell of pearls worth some 10 or 15 tomands" "The owners of both were here before the ship to complayne". The Company's servants "advized the Governor etc. that they belonged not to" the "Company". "The factors" subsequently "persuaded Durson to restore the slave woman and the pearls."⁴ Again, Durson booked some passengers, declares a letter of November 16, 1645, but left them behind, and "departed at (? mid) night" with money from the passengers and their goods. "At news thereof the Sultan supposed his new entertained friend was no better than a piratt". But, three days later, "a storm in the Gulph" drove him back and he took the passengers on board. Durson had also probably misappropriated some property, including a civet cat. He had given "no satisfaction for an adventure sent by" an Indian personage "to Ormus of the value of 100 pagodas". He, according to a letter from Swally Marine of March 20, 1650, was imprisoned at Mirjan probably "for passing false pagodas". The principal cause of the "betrayal of the factory" at Karwar was "Durson's going ashore at Merge". "This is a great dishonour", says Edward Lloyd, "to the English and likely to be detrimental to their trade in these parts."⁵

This may have had some indirect effect even on the Company's trade. But if Durson's acts were shady, some of Morse's seem to be piratical.

The letter of October 24, 1650, from Surat speaks of how "Morse in the *Friendship* voyaged from Gombroon to Rájápur where he sold his rúnás to Vagge Shiput". "A dispute ensuing, Morse with some of his crew assaulted that merchant's house, killing natives and wounding many others includ-

1. *E. F.* 1642-45; pp. xxi and xxii; p. 276, n. 3.

2. *E. F.* 1642-45, p. 29.

3. *E. F.* 1646-50, p. 39.

4. *E. F.* 1642-45, p. 283 and p. 284.

5. P. 309; p. 306; *E. F.* 1646-50, p. 341 and p. 342.

ing Bhájí Shivpat himself". The Governor naturally had to interfere, and Morse and his sailors were arrested. "Money they were carrying off", was seized, and they were "put in irons". Morse however escaped, "and wrote not long since to Surat asking for assistance in recovering his men". "On the 17th news came that after vainly lying in wait for the Bijapur junks returning from the Red Sea, he had attacked and burnt" Jaitapura the port of Rajapura, "though the inhabitants had had time time to escape with most of their valuables."¹ Another letter of November 19, 1650, says² that Morse "in September last seized two Bijapur junks." It also points out that (according to a letter of October 21), Morse "made prize of a Malabar frigate, though she had a pass". Morse "hath thus dishonoured us", continues the letter, "and not only us but the nation and you, by such depredations as will make us odeiuous to these people". The influential merchant-prince, "Virjí Vora" who was much respected by the English, was displeased.³ According to a letter from Surat of December 24, 1650, Morse had not "made restitution" to the "Mallavars". "The President was summoned" "yesterday" "by the Governor who complained that the English deluded the Mallavars by giving passes which really ordered the capture or destruction of their vessels. The Governor further declared that unless restitution be made, he must inform the king who would doubtless be highly displeased with the English for disturbing the trade of his port, and would require the Company's servants to make satisfaction."⁴ A letter of January 31, 1651, says that even when the Company's servants "disclaimed all responsibility for the proceedings of Morse", the Indian authorities "retorted that the President and Council were responsible for all injuries done by Englishmen, instancing the case of Cobb's piracies and intimating that, if satisfaction were not made, similar treatment might be expected". The English were forced to threaten in their turn. They had however to promise "to intercede with Morse for the restoration of the captured vessels"⁵ This document incidentally demonstrates the inefficiency of Mughal naval power, a cause which led to the prevalence of piracy.

On the whole, Morse's "capture of Malabar vessels" "occasion(ed) trouble", and we may reasonably conclude that growth of the Company's commercial relationship with India was adversely affected by these injudicious acts.

From almost the first voyages of English ships to India and the Farther East, the harbours and inlets on the coast of Madagascar and the adjacent islands became known to the captains, as places where ships could refit, water, provision or land their sick men". The pirate ships also, developed regular bases in Madagascar. "While proceeding to or from Eastern Waters", depots

1. P. xxiv and p. xxv ; p. 324 and p. 325.
2. P. 328.
3. P. 330.
4. *E. F.* 1646-50, p. 340 ; *O. C.* 2193.
5. *E. F.* 1651-54, P. 39.

were opened to supply "arms, stores, ammunition, liquor" etc., the first one by Adam Baldridge, "an ex-pirate who had cruised in the Eastern Seas." "Even before the advent of Adam Baldridge there were other pirates settled ashore at different places," supplying slaves, provisions etc. He built "a fort and warehouses at the entrance, mounting a number of guns in the former, and enclosing the latter in a strong stockade wherein the pirates could find shelter whilst their ships were being treated, or they were having a spell ashore."

The Company was perturbed by the activities of these pirates especially when they became bolder and bolder with the passage of time. They describe the pirates as a "scandal to our Nation and Religion, being most of them English, at least four-fifths."¹

Innumerable pirates infested the Eastern Seas during the period under review, Portuguese, French, Malabari, Spanish, Berber, Arakani and others. Only a few of them were of English and Dutch origin. All of them however hampered the growth of the Company's commercial intercourse with India, in various ways, both directly and indirectly. The loss of prestige and the seizure of merchandise were not the only deterrents to smooth commercial development. The Company, for example, had to incur heavy expenses in fitting out their ships "like men-of-war, and manned in man-of-war fashion". Admiral Richmond is of opinion that "since the early seventeenth century, the armed merchant vessel has never been a vessel capable of meeting any but the smallest type of men-of-war." He argues that the East India ships had to be armed, "because they sailed in seas infested by pirates against whom they must furnish their own defence." "Indiamen were built with rows of gun-ports and carried trained gunners as in a man-of-war". But it is at the same time conceivable that the armament was useful in a fight with the vessels of Indian powers and those equipped in a like manner by European powers.²

1. GREY : *Pirates of the Eastern Seas*, P. 50 et seq ; BAL KRISHNA : *Commercial Relations* etc. P. 161.

2. Stanley ROGERS : "*The Indian Ocean*", P. 85 ; RICHMOND : *Sea Power in the Modern World*.

POST-VYĀSARĀYA COMMENTATORS (NON-POLEMICAL)*

By

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI ŚARMA.

1. LAKṢMĪNĀTHA TĪRTHA (c. 1643-63.)†

Lakṣmīnātha Tīrtha was Pontiff of the Vyāsarāya Mutt, after Lakṣmī-valḷabha Tīrtha.¹ He was the seventh in succession from Vyāsarāya. He was the recipient of two copper-plate grants, one in 1643 A.D. from Tirumala Nāyaka (1623-59) of Madura and another from Śrīraṅgarāya III (1642-67), the last of the Emperors of Vijayanagar who had his capital at Penukoṇḍa, in 1663.

He seems to have been a Pontiff of great influence and remained on the Pīṭha of the Vyāsarāya Mutt,² for over twenty years. The exact dates of his accession to the Pīṭha and demise are not however known. He seems to have been a contemporary of Rāghavendra and Satyanātha. He lies buried at Srirangam.

His only work is a commentary on the *Nyāyāmṛta* of which we have a couple of Mss. at the Madras O.L. (R. nos. 1302 and 388b). He gives the name of his preceptor as Yādavendra.³ His com. on the *Nym.* is said to be meant for the benefit of average students. One of the Mss. (1302), terminates at the end of the “Ajñānasya Vācaspatyukta-Jivāśrītattvabhaṅgaḥ”, (Pariccheda I) and runs to over 8000 granthas. On p. 65, of this Ms. is an interesting reference to and quotation from Vijayīndra Tīrtha's c. on the *Nym* : “Vijayīndra-Svāminastu. ” (Sāmānyato Mithyātva-nirukti). A fascinating feature of the c. is the lucid and elaborate exposition of several rules of Mīmāṃsā interpretation pressed into service in the course of the *Nym*.

* This paper is a part of my ‘History of Dvaita Literature.’

† These are merely the dates of Inscriptions.

1. Cf. लक्ष्मीवल्लभयोगीन्द्र गुरुराजमहं भजे ।

(introd. verse in his *Nym.* com.) This Lakṣmīvalḷabha wrote a *Prabhātapañcakastotra* (five verses) which has been printed in the S. M. p. 144.

2. Cf. श्रीव्यासरायर संस्थानाधिपतिगळाद श्रीरामचन्द्रतीर्थ × × × ×

श्रीलक्ष्मीनाथतीर्थश्रीपादस्वामिगळ मठद गोपालकृष्णस्वामि सेवेगे ।

(Yelahanka c.p. of Śrīrangarāya, *Ep. Car.*, Supple. to vols. 3-4, p. 252.)

3. श्रीयादवेन्द्रमनिशं वन्दे विद्यागुरुन्मम ।

This is probably the same as the Yādavendra already referred to as the rival of Rāghavendra Svāmin.

2. KUṆḌALA GIRI-SŪRI

One of Lakṣmīnātha's disciples,¹ was Kuṇḍalagiri Sūri, a powerful writer of the period. He was the son of Koṇḍubhaṭṭa² of Belūr and a protégé of Saundarya (Sundara) Rāja Paṇḍita, one of the ministers at the court of Seringapatam.³ The S. K. makes him a contemporary of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita and of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Tīrtha of the Vyāsarāya Mutt whom he is said to have met at Benares when he was studying there till his thirtieth year. This is evidently a mistake as Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Tīrtha was the second in succession from Lakṣmīnātha (Kuṇḍalagiri's avowed Guru) and is nowhere referred to by Kuṇḍalagiri. It is presumably Lakṣmīnātha himself that is meant by the S.K. His successor Lakṣmīpati Tīrtha is also referred to in Kuṇḍalagiri's c. on the *Nym*.

Tradition attributes to (Kuṇḍala) Giri Sūri, a criticism of the *Advaita-kaustubha*⁴ of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita, modelled upon the *Madhvamatavidhvamsana* of Appayya Dikṣita. This is presumably the same as the "*Bhaṭṭoji-Kuṭṭa-nam*", ** also ascribed to Giri Sūri.

His other works include commentaries on (2) the *TP*** and (3) *NS*⁵ of Jayatīrtha, (4) the *Tattvodyota-likā*⁶ and (5) the *Mbh. T. N.* (called *Kaṇṭhakodhāra*)⁷ etc. The most important of them are however, (6) the c. on the *Nym*.⁸ of which we have a Ms. at the Madras O.L. (R. No. 861), and another on (7) the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* of Madhva, entitled *Bhāṣyārtha-dīpikā* of which a fragment containing the I Pāda alone of the I Adhyāya, is available, at the Madras O.L. (D.C. Supple. XXIV, No. 14904). It is given to a good deal of technical discussions of grammatical and other points and quotations appear from the *Mahābhāṣya*, *Kaiyaṭa* (p. 46).

THE CHALĀRI FAMILY

Close abreast of Lakṣmīnātha and Kuṇḍalagiri come four generations of the Chalāri family, distinguished for their solid contribution to the commentatorial literature of the Dvaita Vedānta. They are : Chalāri Nārāyaṇa, Nṛsimha, Śeṣa and Saṁkarṣaṇa.

1. लक्ष्मीनाथमुनिं शान्तं मम देशिकमाश्रये ।

(Giri Sūri, com. *Nym*, Mysore 2192.)

2. Not "Kaṇḍibhaṭṭa as in Madras O. L. Cat. (Des).

3. Vide colophon to his works : इति श्रीमत्पद्मिनीराजधानीप्रधानी-सौन्दरराज-
पण्डितमान्येन × × ×

Also : सौन्दर्यराजसन्नामा पण्डितेनानुमोदितः (Sudhā com.)

4. Printed. Mr. Śrikanṭha SASTRI is wrong in giving the name of Bhaṭṭoji's work as "*Dvaitakaustubha-khaṇḍanam*" (p. 321, *Vij.*, *Sex. Com. Vol*).

** Double stars indicate that the work referred to is not attested by any Ms. or later reference : but only by tradition.

5. Mysore O.L. (2192 Nāgari).

6. Pejavar Mutt List., 232, Tulu, śrītāḷa.

7. S.K., 1896, p. 107.

8. This has a total of 6784 granthas.

3. CHALĀRĪ NARASIMHĀCĀRYA.

He was the son of Chalāri Nārāyaṇācārya¹ and a contemporary of Satya-nātha Tīrtha (1648-74) of the Uttarādi Mutt. He was a prolific writer and over fifteen of his works are known, of which some three or four only have so far been printed. Chalāri (reported to be a village near Malkhed), is said to have been the habitat of the family wherefrom it derived its surname. The members of the family were evidently all disciples of the Uttarādi Mutt as is clear not only from the numerous references to the Svāmīs of that Mutt in the *Smṛtyarthasāgara* of Chalāri Nṛsiṃha, but also from the fact that his grandson, Saṃkaraśaṇa, was a disciple of Satyābhinava Tīrtha.

Nṛsiṃha's works include commentaries on the TS.(m), (2) the *Īśa*² and the (3) *Praśna Up.*³, (4) the *Sadācāra-Smṛti*^{**}, and (5) the *Pramāṇa Paddhati*^{**}; (6) *Samgraharāmāyaṇa*^{**}; (7) *Sivastuti*; (p) and *Pārijātāpaharaṇa* of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitācārya; (9) the *Dvādaśa-stotra* and (10) *Yamakabhārata*^{**} of Madhva. The G. V. L. Cat. mentions also (11) a *Brahmasūtrādhikaraṇārthasamgraha*^{**} (12) *Bṛhat-tāratamyastotra*^{**} and (13) *Bhaṭṭoji-Dikṣita-kṛti-kuṭṭhanam* among his works.

Among his major works should be reckoned his com. on the (14) *Bhāgavata-Tātparya*⁴ and (15) the *Ṛg-Bhāṣya-ṭīkā* (p)⁵ which latter, is undoubtedly, his *magnum opus*. His (6) *Smṛtyarthasāgara*, is an independent work on religious law and observances, in four sections (taraṅgas) : Kāla, Āśauca, Āhnikā, and Vastuśuddhi (verse 6), dealing with fasts, pollutions, daily rites and purificatory ceremonies.

Nṛsiṃha's gloss on the *Ṛg-bhāṣya-ṭīkā* (granthas 6200) throws considerable light on many dark corners of the original Bhāṣya and several stiff passages in Jayatīrtha's com. thereon, furnishing a good deal of useful information of a miscellaneous character as well as critical and exegetic notes upon the hymns of the *Ṛg Veda*. He displays profound mastery over the Pāṇinian grammar and the *Uṇādi Sūtras* and is well acquainted with the commentaries of Sāyaṇa, not to speak of the *Nirukta* and other aids to Vedic interpretation, which enable him to offer suitable justifications for the many deviations of Madhva from the 'traditional interpretations'⁶ of Sāyaṇa and his ilk. One may therefore admit his claim that his work has been the result of a patient study of many interpretative sources. He seems to

1. Thé G. V. L. Cat. (p. 148) ascribes to him (1) a com. the *Mbh. T. N.*
(2) *Adhikarṇārthasamgraha*^{**} and (3) *Jāti-nibandha*^{**}

2. Printed, Kumbakonam.

3. MS. Baroda O. L.

4. Printed, Dharvar.

5. Bombay, 1901.

6. For example, in support of his plea that a departure from Yāska is no sin, he cites "Aruṇo māśakṛd vṛkaḥ" (R. V. 1 7, 23) which in the Pada-pāṭha of Śākalya is split into "mā" and "sakṛt" (and treated as two different words) while Yāska reads "Māśakṛt" as a compound.

hint at the existence of critics, who were only too anxious to discredit the line of interpretation adopted by Madhva and pick holes in it, somehow :

अविज्ञाय चेदूषयेत्कश्चिदेतद्भवेद्दूषणं नाग्रहः तत्र मे स्यात् ॥ p. 214.

(17) Yet another work of the author is the *Śābdika-kaṇṭhamani* (Jewel for the neck of Grammarians), referred to on P. 11, (i, 2) of his *Rg-bhāṣya-ṭippaṇi*. There are also two other references to the same work later on (pp. 14 and 29), judging from which the *Śābdika-kaṇṭhamani* would appear to have been devoted to an elucidation of topics like Vedic Accentuation, the seven Svaras, their definitions etc. There can be little doubt that this work, if discovered, would make a valuable addition to the existing literature in Sanskrit, on the subject of Vedic Accentuation.¹

Not the least important fact about Nṛsiṃha's gloss on the *Rg-bhāṣya-ṭikā*, is that it gives the date of its own composition which is Śaka 1583 (Plava)²—1661 A.D. This establishes Nṛsiṃha's contemporaneity to Lakṣmī-nātha, Satyanātha and Rāghavendra.

4. CHALĀRI ŚEṢĀCĀRYA.

Eleven works have been attributed to Śeṣa, in the G. V. L. Cat. (p. 147). These are (1) com. on the *Aṅu-bhāṣya*; (2) TS; KN; *Praśna-Up**; (5) BT., (6) *Tantrasārasaṅgraha**; as well as commentaries on (7) the *Vāyustuti*; (8) the *Madhvavijaya* (called *Mandopakāriṇī* (p) and (9) the *Nakṣastotra*; (10) The *Pramāṇa Candrikā* (p.) dealing with Dvaita Epistemology in the course of a small tract meant for beginners, is also a work of the same author; (11) A *Nirṇayaratna* (alias) *Bṛhacchalāriya*, is also attributed to him by AUFRECHT, who also mentions a metrical epitome of the *Gṛhya-sūtra* of Āśvalāyana, by Śeṣa's father Nṛsiṃha.

5. CHALĀRI SAṆKARṢAṆĀCĀRYA³

Śeṣa's son Saṅkarṣaṇa, wrote a life of Jayatīrtha in five cantos (*Jaya-tīrthavijaya*, Belgaum, 1881) and another metrical biography of Satyanātha Tīrtha (1648-74), entitled *Satyanāthābhyaudaya*, in eleven cantos. Two Mss. of this work are noticed by AUFRECHT (L. 807 and N.P. ix, 14, *Cat. Catal.* i. p. 689). The text is preserved in the T. P. L. also (VI, 3740) with a commentary (VI, 3741) by the author's brother Subrahmanya,⁴ also a

1. Most probably Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita, as may be gathered from the title of one of the works (no. 13, P. 120 ante) attributed to Nṛsiṃha, in the G. V. L. Cat.

2. Cf. शके त्रिवसुपद्येन्दुसम्मिते शकवत्सरे ।

मासि चैत्रे पूर्णिमायामर्पिता हरिपादयोः ॥ (concluding ver. 4)

3. He does not appear at any time, to have become a Monk. The title of "Tīrtha" which is applied to him by R. RAMA RAU, in his paper on "Hinduism under Vijayanagara Kings", (*Vij. Sex. Com.* Vol. 1936, p. 49) is thus entirely baseless.

4. Who wrote a com. on the *Maṇimañjari* (Belgaum 1890).

disciple of Satyābhinava (1674-1706), in 3700 granthas. The original is presumably the same as the *Satyanāthamāhātmyaratnākara*¹ that has been quoted in the (newly discovered) *Koṅkaṇābhyudaya* of Sāgari Rāmācārya.

6. SATYĀBHINAVA TĪRTHA (1675-1706).

To Satyābhinava, the successor of Satyanātha, we owe (1) a commentary : *Durghaṭabhāvadīpikā*,² on the *Bhāgavata*, running to 8160 granthas ; and (2) another on the *Mbh. T.N.* in 3220 granthas (TPL. No. 7898). He was a contemporary of Aurangzeb³ and of the Kaladī queen Cannamāmbā (1672-98). The *Koṅkaṇābhyudaya* mentions certain Bulls addressed by this Pontiff to the court of Keladī, referring to the Koṅkaṇī-Brahmin subjects of the Queen.⁴ Satyābhinava lies buried at Nārcharkoil, six miles from Kumbakonam.

Almost on every page⁵ of Satyābhinava's c. on the *Bhāgavata* we find certain criticisms on the *B. T.* of Madhva repudiated. The determination and persistence with which the commentator pursues the critics of Madhva, show that the *B.T.* had been severely criticised by some later-day commentator (probably Advaitic) of unknown identity. The commentary itself is not particularly attractive and its only value seems to lie in hunting up the criticisms against the *B.T.* and repudiating them.

7. RAGHUNĀTHA TĪRTHA (alias) ŚEṢA-CANDRIKĀCĀRYA (c. 1695-1742)*

Tenth in succession from Vyāsarāya and as one whose greatness is believed to have been prophesied by Vyāsarāya himself,⁶ Raghunātha Tīrtha occupies a very high place in the affections of the followers of Madhva. To his great learning and saintly life, he seems to have added a good deal of political sagacity and though he could not rise to such paramount height as his illustrious predecessor Vyāsarāya, in the political history of his times, his influence as a scholar and as a Saint were widely felt, for he lent fresh glory and light to the position he occupied as the representative of the Vidyā-

4. It has been indifferently ascribed by AUFRECHT to both Śeṣa and Saṅkar-
śaṇa. (p. 661 and 683).

1. Printed, Dharvar.

2. 1658-1707. Vide S.K., p. 67.

3. VI. 273-98.

पूर्वोक्तसुगुणोपेतैः सत्याभिनवतीर्थैः ।

केलदीचन्नमाम्बां राज्ञीमुद्दिश्य लेखिताः ॥ etc.

4. E.g. i, 7, 23 ; i, 12, 53 ; i, 12, 34 ; i, 16, 26, 5 ; i, 19, 12 ; iii, 1, 7 ; iii, 4, 11 ; iii, 8, 19 ; iii, 9, 25 ; iii, 13, 42 ; iii, 32, 43 ; iv, 3, 1 ; iv, 4, 13 ; vi, 2 ; v, 9, 11 ; v, 9, 6, 14, 40 ; vii, 4, 14 ; x, 54, 57 ; x, 90, 48 ; x, 93, 14 ; x, 100, 53 ; xi, 17, 43, xii, 7, 45 ; xii, 12, 34.

5. दशमो मत्समो भवेत् ।

śimhāsana of Vyāsarāya.¹ This is clear not only from the fact that it was he who successfully carried out the task of completing the *Tātparya-Candrikā* of Vyāsarāya, on the same elaborate plan, but also from the regard and recognition which he was able to obtain for himself and his Mutt from far off chiefs as (1) Vijayarāṅga Cokkanātha Nāyaka,² (1705-31) of Madura; (2) Vijaya-Raghunātha Setupati Kāttadevar of Rāmnāḍ³ (3) the townsmen of Kāraikkūḍi,⁴ and (4) Kolūr Kanakarāyar.⁵

We have a subsequent grant of the Setupati⁶ dated Śaka 1638 = 1716 A.D. which is made out in the name of "Lakṣmīnidhi Tīrtha" disciple of Raghunātha Tīrtha. This may lead one to suppose that Raghunātha Tīrtha was already dead by 1716. But we learn from other sources that he was living as late as the years 1726 and 1739 A.D. Copies of sannads issued by Kṛṣṇarāja Oḍeyars I and II, of Mysore, to Lakṣmīdhara Tīrtha, Pontiff of the Cannapatna Maṭha of Brahmaṇya Tīrtha (*Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1925, Bangalore Dt. No. 2) go to show that Raghunātha Tīrtha continued to be Pontiff of the Vyāsarāya Mutt between the years 1726-39.⁷ His demise therefore may be placed a few years later,—about 1742 A.D. No doubt, the mention of "Lakṣmīnidhi Tīrtha" as a successor of Raghunātha in 1712—and 1716 requires explanation. The matter is further complicated by the fact that there is absolutely no mention of this Lakṣmīnidhi Tīrtha anywhere in the

1. Cf. the following eulogy of Raghunātha, in the *Bhāṣyadīpikā* of his disciple Jagannātha Tīrtha :—

येनायं निरणायि मन्त्रगुरुमद्राष्ट्रप्रकाशाशयः

प्राखण्डि प्रतिवादिदर्शनगणः प्राबन्धि गुर्वर्णवः ।

शिष्येभ्यः समदायि वित्तमुभयं प्रालम्भि विद्यासनम्

सोऽयं श्रीरघुनाथतीर्थयतिराद् शुद्धिं विद्व्यान्मतेः ॥

2. Cokkanātha says in his grant that "whatever dues were being paid in the Madura Kingdom to the temple of Cokkanāthapura, were to be paid to the Maṭha also." (*Mys. Arch. Sep.* 1912, p. 55), showing the great respect in which he held the "Lord of the Vidyāśimhāsana of Śrī Vyāsarāya" :

श्रीमद्रासायलवारि विद्यामिहामनाधीश्वरलायन

श्रीरघुनाथतीर्थपूज्यपादलवारि मठं × ×

3. His grant registers in 1707, the grant of certain taxes on the exports and imports of the kingdom, on behalf of the Mutt to its Agent at Rameśvaram (*Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1912, p. 55).

4. Date 1709.

5. Date 1712 A.D.

6. *Ep. Car. Supple.* to Vols. iii.-iv. Mysore.

7. It would appear from the sannads that in 1726, the properties of the "Cannapatna Mutt of Lakṣmīdhara" were directed to be handed over to the keeping of "Raghunātha Tīrtha of the Vyāsarāya Mutt," in lieu of which an annuity was settled upon the former. In 1739, Kṛṣṇarāja Oḍeyar II, directs the restoration of these to the Cannapatna Maṭha issuing instructions that the annuity that was being paid to the said Lakṣmīdhara Tīrtha may now be discontinued. This makes it clear that Raghunātha Tīrtha was pontiff of the Vyāsarāya Mutt, between 1726-39 and for a few years before and after and incidentally that the Cannapatna Maṭha was never recognised as a Vyāsarāya Maṭha.

genealogical tables of the Vyāsārāya Mutt. But we cannot doubt the genuineness of the inscriptions. The only explanation of this puzzle is to be deduced from the tradition preserved in the Vyāsārāya Mutt, that Raghunātha Tīrtha was once very much incapacitated by illness and afterwards recovered and that Jagannātha Tīrtha (his acknowledged successor) himself was obliged to be heir-apparent to the Pīṭha for well nigh thirty years thereafter, before he could actually succeed to the Pontificate. The ordination of Lakṣmīnidhi Tīrtha of the inscription might therefore have taken place during the time of the illness of Raghunātha in or about 1712 or earlier, when the Guru was probably very old—say about 60. The disciple might have done some touring on his own account as Junior Pontiff of the Mutt, when probably he was honoured by Vijayaraghunātha Setupati, as the disciple of Raghunātha Tīrtha. The omission of Lakṣmīnidhi Tīrtha's name from the Mutt list can be accounted for by the assumption that he died even during the life-time of Raghunātha Tīrtha, in or about 1718. It was probably thus that Raghunātha came to be finally succeeded by his other disciple Jagannātha Tīrtha as Pontiff of the Mutt. There is a sort of parallel to this in the Yādavendra-Rāghavendra episode referred to in an earlier context.

As tradition gives Raghunātha a fairly long lease of life,¹ we may take it that he was on the Pīṭha from 1695²-1742 A.D. He passed away at Tirumu-kūḍḷu, at the junction of the Kāveri and Kapilā rivers, in the T. Narasipur taluq of the Mysore District, at a distance of three miles from Sosale, the present official headquarters³ of the Vyāsārāya Mutt.

Works.

Raghunātha Tīrtha wrote six works of which the most celebrated is the *Śeṣa-Candrikā*, a c. on the *TP.* of Jayatīrtha, in continuation of the (incomplete) *Tātparyacandrikā* of Vyāsārāya. He is therefore generally known as "*Śeṣacandrikācārya*", in virtue of the brilliant service thus rendered by him in bringing the critico-polemical literature of the Dvaita school, in the sphere of Sūtra-prasthāna, up-to-date.

His other works are (2) a *Padārthaviveka*** of which nothing more is known than its name (dealing presumably with the categories in the Dvaita system) (3) *Tattvaka*-(r) *ṇikā*⁴; a lengthy c. on the *Tantrasāra* of Madhva and commentaries on (4) the *KN*⁵ (5) the *Bṛhatī-Sahasra*.⁶ His fairly elaborate c. in 1700 granthas on the *Īśāvāsya-bhāṣya-ṭīkā* of Jayatīrtha, has been print-

1. He is said to have lived for ninety years.

2. His Parama-guru Lakṣmīpati Tīrtha received a grant in 1690 A.D. from Raṅga-kṛṣṇa Muddu Virappa, at Śrīraṅgam.

3. It was in the days of Vidyāvallabha that Sosale became the headquarters of the Vyāsārāya Mutt in or about 1809.

4. Mysore O. L. B. 533, Devanāgarī, ff. 353.

5. Ms. in private possession.

6. Mysore O. L. A—464.

ed.¹ KEITH and BURNELL (*India Office Cat.* ii, 1, No. 4868, Oxford, 1935), dismiss the c. as "a very elaborate and valueless" one "quoting from many recent texts". But the reference in this c. to the *Śrutaparakāśikā-Bhāvaprakāśa*² of Raṅgarāmānuja, is bound to be of value in placing that Viśiṣṭādvaitin commentator before 1700 A.D. The author commands a particularly engaging style and quotes from the various works of Jayatīrtha, from the *Candrikā* (p. 8) and from the c. of Raghūttama on the *Bṛh. UP.* (20b). He delights in grammatical discussions and quotes from the *Uṇādis*, the *Kāśikā-ṛṭti* (p. 28) and reproduces the discussion on the *Uṇādi Sūtra* V, I, already found in the works of Yadupati and Keśava.³

As many as five Mss. all incomplete, of his *Śeṣacandrikā* are found in the Mysore O. L. A complete Ms. (from ii, 3, 1 to iv, 4) is available in a private collection at Kumbakonam. The work is quoted by Jagannātha Tīrtha in his *Bhāṣyadīpikā*, but otherwise, it does not seem to have won as much vogue in traditional circles as might be expected having regard to its peculiar historical and literary interest.

The inherent value of the work is however undeniable. Its exposition is always refreshingly clear and the style forcible and telling. The author quotes from the *Kalpataru*, of Amalānanda, the *Bhāmali*, from Bhāratī-tīrtha, the *Śrībhāṣya*, *Śrīkaṇṭha-Bhāṣya*⁴ and Śaṅkara's bhāṣya (on *Yāvadadhikāram* iii, 6, 32), as well as from Pārthasārathi Miśra, Vyāsarāya (*Nym.*) etc. The plan of the work and method of exposition⁵ are the same as those of the *Candrikā* and there is obvious imitation of the latter even in the turns of expression: "Ityubhābhyām vyākhyātam tanna/Ṭikākṣarārthastu ..." etc. Raghunātha refers to three earlier commentaries⁶ on the *Sūtra-Prasthāna* (1) a *Nyāyamālā*; (2) a *Nyāyaratnāvalī* and (3) the *Sambandha-dīpikā* of Trivikrama Paṇḍita's brother Śaṅkarācārya. The first two are yet to be traced and identified.

1. Bombay, 1907.

2. "एतच्च-स्थेमा' स्थितिरिति श्रुतप्रकाशिकाव्याख्यायां भावप्रकाशिकायां स्पष्टम् ॥"
(MS. p. 211, I. O. Cat.)

3. न च प्रसिद्धोणादिवृत्तिषु 'अदिभुवो डुत्' × × × × ×

मूलकोशेषु—"अदिभूम्यां"—इत्येव पाठदर्शनात् । वृत्त्यन्तरे तथा पठित्वा व्याख्यातत्वाच्च । धातु-व्यतिरिक्तस्य अदीत्युपपदस्याभावेन 'अदिभुव' इति पाठस्यायुक्तत्वाच्च । निषण्णभाष्ये धातुद्वयसमुदाया-देकप्रत्ययस्य बहुशोऽभिहितत्वाच्च ॥ (P. 56). Raghunātha contends that there is no such prefix as "adi" other than the root.

4. शैवस्तु—"कामादयस्तत्र तत्र चायतनादिभ्यः" इत्यपपत्त्य × × × × ×

कैवल्योपनिषदि.....'त्रिलोचनं नीलकण्ठं प्रशान्तं × × × × × ॥
(p. 153 Ms). Śaṅkara reads 'कामादीनरत्र' ।

5. In giving the Pūrvapakṣa, Siddhānta and other interpretations and lastly the "ṭikākṣarārtha."

6. In dealing with the manner of fixing the "Adhikaraṇa"s in respect of B. S. iii, 3, 19-22. अत्र त्रयः पक्षाः—"दर्शयति च" (iii, 3, 22) इत्यन्तं सूत्रचतुष्टयमेकाधिकरणं × × × इति । अयं च न्यायरत्नावलीकारस्य सम्मतः ॥ (p. 77-8).

8. SUMATĪNDRA TĪRTHA (1692-1725)

Sumatindra belongs to the Mutt of Rāghavendra, being third in succession from the latter. The Mutt list places him on the Pīṭha between 1693-1725 A.D. By his learning, piety and geniality of disposition, he seems to have made a lasting impression upon contemporary rulers of the Tamil country, as epigraphic and literary evidences show. He raised the prestige of his Mutt to such an extent that it came to be called "Sumatindra (Tīrtha) Mutt" after him,—a designation which is still current.

He appears to have spent a considerable portion of his life as Pontiff at Kumbakonam, Tanjore and Madura. In 1698 A.D. he received from Maṅgama, Queen of Madura (1689-1706), the villages of Āyirdharma, etc., (*Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1917, p. 57) and certain concessions in 1699 from Uttamarāṅgappa Kālākatōla Vaḍayāri of Payaraṇippālayam (*Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1917, p. 58). His *Jayaghoṣaṇā*, a laudatory poem on the Mahrāṭṭa Ruler Sahaji I, (1684-1710) of Tanjore, affords ample proof of the fact that he was attached to the court of the King and was patronised by him. He spent his last days at Srirangam, where he died in 1725.

Works.

Over a dozen works are known to have been left by Sumatindra who was both a prolific and a powerful writer. He was however, no mere doctrinaire, but a keen Āraṅkārika and a poet. His Vedāntic works are five in number :

(1) a gloss entitled *Bhāvaratnakośa* on the *G.B. Prameyadīpikā*¹ of Jayatīrtha and similar glosses upon (2) the *Rg.*,² and *B. S.-bhāṣya*³ of Madhva and upon the (4) TP⁴ and (5) NS⁵ of Jayatīrtha. (6) A commentary on the *Tantrasāra*⁶ is also traditionally ascribed to him. His minor works in the form of Stotras, include (7) the *Yogindra-Tārāvalī*⁷, which, is in all probability, a laudation in 27 verses of Sumatindra's Guru : Yogindra Tīrtha ; (8) the *Rāma-Tārāvalī*⁸ and (9) the *Rāma-daṇḍaka*⁹ in praise of the tutelary deity of the Mutt and (10) a *Nṛsiṃhastuti*¹⁰.

The gloss on the *G.B.* throws welcome light on many passages in Jayatīrtha's commentary,⁷ besides quoting fresh authorities from certain Purāṇas.⁸ The commentaries of Narahari Tīrtha, and Padmanābha Tīrtha are quoted

1. *Cat., Catal.* p. 89. (RgB 666). A ms. is preserved also at the Rāghavendra Svāmi mutt at Nanjangud (*Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1917). Part of the com. on the *Gītā* iv, 4-5, has been published by T. R. KRISHNACHARYA of Kumbakonam.

2. No Ms. has so far come to light of this com.

3. Mysore O.L. A-354, Devanāgarī, ff. 196.

4. Mysore O.L. (1713) Devanāgarī ff. 190.

5. Called "*Vākyārtharatnakośa*." No. MS. has been brought to light, [G.V.L. Cat]

6. Vide *Pratāparudrīya* II, 78 cd.

7. Cf. Under 'तन्नामसु पाठात् । (J) 'तन्नामसु' वासुदेवसहस्रनाममये...' । (com.). i.e. in *Padma-Purāṇa*.

8. Such as *Pādma*, *Mātsya*.

many times under the names of *Prācīna-ṭikā* and *Bhāvaprakāśikā*. Reference is made in one of the opening verses to the author's teacher Veṅkaṭanārāyaṇa:

भूरिमनीषागमचितचरणान् श्रीजयतीर्थव्रतिकृतिशरणान् ।

सन्ततमीडे सुचरितवरणान् वेङ्कटनारायणगुरुचरणान् ॥ ver. 8.

The gloss on the *Tattvapraśāsikā* (Mys. 1713), is an elaborate though not quite so valuable a commentary. The Mys. Ms. ending with the first Adhyāya of the B. S. runs to 4640 granthas. The author refers to Vyāsarāya, Rāghavendra (ver. 7) and to his own Guru Veṅkaṭanārāyaṇa. Passages are quoted from the *Candrikā*, the NS and the *Tattvapradīpa* (p. 99) as well as from the various works of Madhva. Grammatical notes are provided where occasion demands them.

His works on Kāvya-Alaṅkāra are (11) *Madhu-dhārā*, a commentary on the *Alaṅkāraṃajārī* of Sudhīndra; and (12) *Rasikaraṇjini*, a com. on the *Uṣāharaṇa* of Trivikrama Paṇḍita and (13) *Jayaghoṣaṇā*.

The text of the *Madhudhārā* is preserved together with its original at the Tanjore Palace Library.¹ It is quoted on two or three occasions in the author's c. on the *Uṣāharaṇa*.² It appears from these quotations that the original work of Sudhīndra contained verses commemorating the deeds of Vijayīndra Tīrtha,³ and verses in various "Bandhas".⁴

The commentary on the *Uṣāharaṇa* is a very exhaustive and well-written one,⁵ teeming with quotations from various standard treatises on Grammar, Poetics, Lexicography, Kāvya etc. The following are some of the authors and works quoted:—

1. Vira-Nārāyaṇa (*Sāhityacintāmaṇi*) pp, 25, 26, 13, 14, 16, 22.
2. Śaraṇadeva (Vaiyākaraṇa) *Durghaṭavṛtti*.
3. Hari Dīkṣita.
4. Dakṣiṇāvartanātha. } Commentators on *Kumārasambhava*.
5. Rakṣita, p. 124.
6. Keśava, p. 30.
7. Kāñcinātha (*Ratirahasyadīpikā*) 206.
8. Vidyānātha *Pratāparudriya*
9. *Candrāloka*
10. *Amaru*, 11.
11. *Saundarya-laharī*,
12. *Ratnakośa*
13. *Rabhasa-kośa* 112.

1. TPL. Cat. X, 5129.

2. मदीयमधुधारायामस्य वाचनप्रकारः । (p. 324), Udiipi.

3. यथा—'विजयीन्द्रयोगिवर्य × × × × इत्यलङ्कारमज्ज्याम् । एतदर्थस्तु मदीयमधुधारायां द्रष्टव्यः ॥ p. 324.

4. चक्रवर्धे वलयद्वयं × × × × मदीयालङ्कारमज्जरीव्याख्याने द्रष्टव्यम् । (p. 333)

5. Udiipi, 1927. The page references are to this edn.

14. *Kavidarpaṇa*
15. *Rudrakośa*, p. 136.
16. *Alaṃkāra-maṇjari* (of Sudhīndra), 23, 30.
17. *Vāsavadattā*
18. *Subhodaya* (*Kāvya*) by Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitācārya 306.

There are many references to *earlier commentaries* on the *Uṣāharaṇa* : pp. 159, 193, 242, 246, 342, and 308.

The (Sumatīndra)-*Jayaghoṣaṇā*, is a special genre of laudatory *Kāvya*, whose definition is given by the author himself :

शौर्यादिगुणवानेष एवेति भुवि घुष्यताम् ।
घुष्यतामिति शब्दान्तैर्नेतुः शौर्यादयो गुणाः ॥¹

A complete Ms. of the work in 320 granthas is preserved at the Tanjore Palace Library (vii, 4237). The subject of the composition are the deeds of Sahaji I (1684-1710) of Tanjore.² It is divided into five sections : (1) *Jayaghoṣaṇā* ; (2) *Birudāvali* ; (3) *Gāthā* ; (4) *Prasaṅga* ; and (5) *Cāṭu-Śloka*s. The "*Jayaghoṣaṇā*" is just the title of the first section.

9. JAGANNĀTHA TĪRTHA (C. 1743-60)*

As already pointed out, Jagannātha seems to have succeeded his Guru Raghunātha Tīrtha, as Pontiff of the Vyāsārāya Mutt only long after his ordination as monk. We have no information about his early life and career. Tradition gives him a long life or nearly seventy years. From the facts already recorded of his teacher Raghunātha, we may presume that Jagannātha was ordained a monk in or about 1718. His date of birth may similarly tentatively, be fixed about 1685 A.D. We may assign to him a Pontifical rule of about seventeen years, between 1743-60. He is said to have stayed at Bhavāni, (near Erode) where he built a Mutt for his use.

He seems to have been an indefatigable writer to judge from his *Bhāṣya-dīpikā*, a very voluminous but useful commentary on the B.S.B. of Madhva. He seems to have spent the last years of his life at Kumbakonam where he passed away.³ His descendants are still to be found at Kumbakonam.⁴

1. गद्यैः प्रत्येकपद्यान्तैश्चतुर्भिर्वर्णयेत्कमात् ।
अवधित्वेन पूर्वादिचतुर्दिक्सीमपर्वतान् ।
ततः सप्तविभक्त्यन्तैः सप्रभिर्गौडरीतिकैः ।
पद्यगद्यद्वयैः सर्वे जनाः शृणुन मद्वचः ॥

× × × × ×

2. उद्यच्छण्डिमडिण्डिमध्वनिघनैरुद्दामधामप्रथावाचाटैर्लटहैश्च जैत्रपटहैः शुण्डालषण्डाहितैः ।

के लोके न नमन्ति भूमिपतयो यात्रासु गोत्रातुरासाहं साहमहीपमित्यपि जना भो घुष्यतां घुष्यताम् ॥

The title of the work should more properly be simply "*Jayaghoṣaṇā*" rather than "*Sumatīndra-Jayaghoṣaṇā*" as in the TPL. Cat.

3. His Tomb is at the Vyāsārāya Māṭha in the Big Street.

4. Śrī M. Rama RAU, sometime Secretary of the local Mādhva Association, is one.

Only three works have been traditionally attributed to Jagannātha, two of which have been printed. The third, a commentary on the *Rg-bhāṣya-ṭīkā*,¹ has not been discovered as yet. Of his two published works, the *Sūtra-dīpikā*, (p) is in the form of a short Vṛtti on the B. S. (granthas 1630), following the viewpoint of Madhva. It indicates the barest sense of the sūtras and is free from all digression, discussion or explanatory notes.

The *Bhāṣya-dīpikā*,² of Jagannātha is both literally and substantially his *magnum opus*. It is a gigantic work running to over 19150 granthas. It is a very elaborate com. on the B.S. Bhāṣya of Madhva explaining every word and quotation to be found in it. It takes no notice however of the interpretations of Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and other commentators. Within the ambit of his own system, the author quotes and sometimes criticises the commentaries of many early writers like Vādirāja,³ Rāghavendra,⁴ Raghūtaṁa⁵ and many less important authors⁶ (e.g. Śaṅkarā Śrīnivāsa, p. 93). There are numerous quotations from the *Tattvapradīpa* of Trivikrama, and the *Sattarkadīpāvali* of Padmanābha Tīrtha. The commentator tries, in many places, to reconcile the minor differences in interpretation between the commentaries of Trivikrama and Jayatīrtha.⁷ His study of Madhva is so close that attention is drawn frequently to the different interpretations of the same śrutis given by Madhva in his Bhāṣyas on the Ups. and in such other works as the *G.B.*, the *Nyāyavivaraṇa* etc. Among the works and authors mentioned by him are :

1. *Ānandamālā*
2. Viśveśvara Tīrtha
3. *Tattvamañjarī* of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita.
4. Vyāsātīrtha c. on the Ups.
5. *Nayacandrikā*
6. *Nyāyadīpikā* (p. 46, 58, 92).
7. *Prameyadīpikā*

10. VĀDINDRA TĪRTHA (1728-43)*

In 1725 Upendra Tīrtha succeeded Sumatīndra as Pontiff of his Mutt. He died early in 1728 and was succeeded by Vādindra Tīrtha,¹⁰ in the same

1. M. M. Sangha List.
2. Grove Press, Teynampet, Madras 1900.
3. p. 177.
4. ii, 2, 3 (See *Tantradīpikā*)
5. Pp. 779 ; 803 ; 237 ; 438.
6. ii, 3, 50 ; P. 728 ; 1037 and 180.
7. Pp. 237 ; 138 ; 250 ; 333 ; 378 ; 381-2 and 396.
8. Jagannātha has an evident partiality for the *Tattvapradīpa* whose interpretations he supports at all costs against more modern ones and tries to harmonise it if possible with those of Jayatīrtha : See Pp. 387 ; i. 4, 25 p. 976-7.
9. He is said to have composed a *Madhva-Tārāvalī*. See also verse 10 of the *Gurugunastava*.
10. He could not have been the grandson of Rāghavendra as stated on p. xviii, of the Introd. to the Mysore G. O. L. edn. of the *Tarkatāṇḍava* (vol. i. no. 74).

year. He is believed to have occupied the Pīṭha for 22 years and died at Man-trālaya, in Pramodūta 1750. There is evidently some mistake in the year of his demise as recorded in the Mutt lists ; for, a grant was made in 1746 A.D. by the Ariyalūr Chief to Vādindra's successor Vasudhendra (*Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1917). We may therefore agree to a slight revision of the Pontifical date of Vādindra's demise and place it about 1743.

Vādindra was the author of the *Gurugunastava*,¹ a poem in thirtysix *śṛgḍharā* verses, composed in praise of Rāghavendra and giving much useful information about his life and works. We have already seen that it ranks as one of the main sources for the life of Rāghavendra.

His other works are said to be (2) a gloss on the *Tattvodyota* ; (3) a *Madhvāryā* ; and (4) and a *Viṣṇusaubhāgyaśikhariṇī*.²

11. SATYADHARMA TĪRTHA (1798-1830)

Satyadharma marks practically the close of the History of Dvaita Literature, in the traditional sense of the term. He is the last of the Pontifical writers of the Mādhva school and a contemporary of Sujanendra Tīrtha of the Sumatindra Mutt (d. 1836), to whom is ascribed a *Candrikābhūṣaṇa*,³ in the Mysore Arch. Rep. 1917.

Within the Uttarādi Mutt itself, there was a lull in the religious and literary activities of the Svāmīs, during the 18th. century, which was only temporarily relieved by Satyavijaya Tīrtha⁴ (1726-37), for a brief space of time. After Satyābhinava we have really no writer of outstanding merit among the Pontiffs of the Mutt until the dawn of the nineteenth century. The first and in another sense, the last also of the writers of the old school, to meet the eye, in this century, is Satyadharma Tīrtha.

Life

According to the S.K., Satyadharma was a contemporary of the Peshwa Bāji Rau II (1795-1818)⁵ and of his adviser Ghorpaḍe⁶ who is said to have honoured him with presents at Poona. He was also the contemporary of Dewan Purniah of Mysore and the Svāmīs Vidyāvallabha and Vidyākānta of the Vyāsarāya Mutt. He is said to have patronised Kāśī Timmanṇācārya and other distinguished Pandits of the 19th century. He died at Holēhon-nūr in the Mysore territory, in 1830 A.D.

1. Printed in the S. M., Belgaum, 1923.

2. G. V. L. Cat.

3. G. V. L. Cat. "*Candrikābhūṣaṇam*" would appear to be the more proper title for the work.

4. His disciple Varakheḍi Timmanṇācārya was a powerful commentator and controversialist. His c. on the VTN (no. 8064) *Gajapañcānana* (8134) and *Sudhā-nārambhaṇīyakhaṇḍana* (8136) are to be found in the TPL.

5. The seventh and last of the Peshwas who surrendered to the English in 1818.

6. Said to have been a Mādhva Brahmin and a disciple of the Mutt.

Works

Some ten works have been attributed to Satyadharmā. His (1) gloss on the *TS* has been printed at Bombay. It refers to a host of earlier authorities like (1) *Sattattvaratnamālā*, (pp. 33, 40); (ii) Roṭṭī-com.; (iii) Satyānanda Tīrtha¹ (p. 35b); (iv) Paṇḍuraṅgī-com. on *NS* (34b) and quotes from the *Laghuśabdenduśekhara*, the *Siddhāntakaumudī* and its com. *Subodhinī*. His com. on (2) the *VTN*.** and the (3) *Sanatsujātīya*** are not available. His (4) ṭippaṇa on the *Bhāgavata*,² is in the form of a complement to that of Yadupati (Sk. i-5 and 7) and Sk. VI-XII. A private Ms. of his (5) com. on the *Udyoga-Parva* of the *Mbh.* is reported³. (6) His *Nityasaṃsāraṅgabhaṅga*,⁴ is a theological tract refuting a schismatic view that even the Nityasaṃsārin-souls, have to undergo the destruction of their "liṅga-deha". (7) The *Rāmāmṛtam* and (8) the *Gaṅgālaharī*** are evidently Stotras composed by him. His most outstanding contribution however is (9) a useful and running commentary on the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa Kāṇḍas* ii-xi., extracts from which have been published by T. R. KRISHNACHARYA, in his edition of the Epic (Bombay 1910). In this commentary, the author is found to refer to Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa's *Śabdendu-śekhara* (V, 48, 12) and to another important work of his own entitled "*Bhāṣya-dīpikā-Yuktivālyā*,"⁵ which, is presumably a refutation of the *Bhāṣyadīpikā* of Jagannātha Tīrtha and written in defence of the interpretations in the commentaries of Raghūttama Tīrtha, Śarkarā Śrīnivāsa, Satyanātha and other writers belonging to the Uttarādi Mutt, which have on their own merits been rejected by the author of the *Bhāṣyadīpikā*.

1. Commentator on the *Candrikā*. Author, a Svāmi of the Uttarādi Mutt for a brief interval of time after Satyanātha (d. 1674).

2. *Yādupatiyaviṃśti-śeṣapūraṇī*, Printed, Dharwar.

3. G. R. SAVANUR, Dharwar.

4. Mys. O. L. (C.-1692) Devanāgarī, ff. 14.

5. इदं प्रकारस्तु भाष्यदीपिकायुक्तिवात्यायामस्मत्कृतायां विस्तरेणोद्दिष्टः ॥

(V, 48, 12). The "*Vātyā*," is probably another (and a shorter) title of the same work. It cannot certainly be a commentary on the *Advaitakālānala* of the layman Nārāyaṇācārya, as reported in the G. V. L. Catal. (Kumbakonam).

**A WORK ON PROSODY BY MĪŚRA JAGANNĀTHA,
CALLED "CHANDAḤPĪYŪŚA" AND ITS
PROBABLE DATE**

By
P. K. GODE

AUFRECHT¹ records only one MS of a work on Prosody called the "*chandaḥpīyūśa* by Jagannātha, son of Rāma. Peters 5, p. 194." This MS is identical with No. 450 of 1892-95 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B.O.R. Institute, Poona. It is dated *Samvat* 1849 = A.D. 1793.² This date of the copy³ gives us, therefore, one terminus to the date of this work. The author defines the scope of the work in the following few verses at the commencement of the work :—

“न्यायव्याकरणादिशास्त्रमखिलं संक्षुण्णमेवास्ति हि
प्रायः प्राक्तननूतनैः सुकृतिभिश्छन्दस्तु नैवेभ्यतः ।
श्रीकण्ठस्मरणादवाप्य सुमतिं प्रीत्यै मया धीमतां
सत्सूत्रं गुरु तत्कृतं लघु पुनस्तस्याथ सारं ब्रुवे ॥ १ ॥
सालंकारगुणं विदोषमपि यच्छब्दार्थयुग्मं बुधा-
स्तत्काव्यं यश आद्यनेकफलकं कार्यं मतं धीमताम् ।
छन्दः शास्त्रनिबन्धना खलु भवेत्तत्रोपयुक्ता यति-
च्छन्दोभङ्गविहीनवाक्यरचनानेकप्रकारप्रथा ॥ २ ॥
सूत्रं संग्रहवाक्यमात्रमिह वै कर्तुं न कः शक्नुया-
त्स्मिन्नाद्यवतोनुवृत्तिरचना स्पष्टापरं कौशलम् ।
मात्सर्यं परिहाय तत्सुमतिभिर्द्रष्टव्यमत्रादरात्
तच्चाप्यन्तरनुप्रविश्य विपुलस्यार्थस्य यद्वर्णनम् ॥ ३ ॥
शुद्धस्वानुभवप्रसिद्धविषयेऽप्येतन्मुनिर्नाब्रवी-
देतद्वै मुनिरब्रवीदिति जडाः श्रद्धानिबद्धाग्रहाः ।
स्युः पञ्चद्विगुणा दशेति कथने किं मुन्यमुन्योर्भिदा
यः सद्रस्तु वदेत्तमेव सुमतिं विज्ञामुनिं मन्वते ॥ ४ ॥

1. *Catalogus Catalo.* III, 41a. There is another MS of *Chandaḥpīyūśa* at Ulwar (Vide *Peterson's Cata. of Ulwar MSS*, 1892, p. 46 Extract 238).

2. Folio 48 of MS No. 450 of 1892-95—

“इति श्रेयम् संवत् १८४९ कार्तिकमासे शुक्लपक्षे सप्तम्यां तिथौ लिपीकृतं ॥ इदं पुस्तकः ॥
लेखक बहादुरसिंह ॥”

3. Mr. KRISHNAMACHARIAR in his *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* (p. 911, Sec. 1102) refers only to this B. O. R. Institute MS viz. No. 450 of 1892-95. No information about its date of composition or the author is found in this History.

ज्ञाता दानदयादमानिजनिजाभिप्राय साहायका-
 त्प्र (प्रा ?) जापत्यवरैर्नरासुरसुरैः स्रष्टुर्दमात्रोक्तिः ।
 तस्मात्स्वाशयपाशवर्तिनि जने कस्मै किमाख्यायताम्
 बालक्रीडनतो जगज्जनयिता तुष्येन्मनुष्येषु कः ॥ ५ ॥

पूर्वाचार्यकृतच्छन्दःशास्त्रेणापरितुष्यन्मिश्रजगन्नाथस्तत्सूत्राणि प्राणैषीत् । तत्रेदमादिम्
 etc.”

The author makes the following references to previous writers and works in this work :—

- 1 “ मञ्जुशक्तिमनुरुन्धानानां नारायणादीनां ”—fol. 2, 33, 38,
- 2 हलायुधकृतपिङ्गलसूत्रवृत्तैः—fol. 2,
 5 (भट्टहलायुध), 9, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28, 33, 35, 37, 38, 39, 41,
 45, 46,
- 3 पाणिनि—fol. 3,
- 4 महाभाष्य—fol. 3, 4, 42,
- 5 काव्यप्रकाश—fol. 4, 5, (मम्मट उल्लास-7), 11, 41,
- 6 अमरः—fol. 4,
- 7 गोवर्द्धनः—fol. 4,
- 8 माघः—fol. 4,
- 9 श्रीहर्षः—fol. 4,
- 10 वृत्तरत्नाकर—fol. 4, 27,
- 11 सेतुकारभास्करोक्तं—fol. 5, 32, 39, 43,
- 12 वाग्भट्टेन—fol. 5,
- 13 काव्यालंकारसूत्रं—fol. 5, 8 (काव्यालंकारसूत्रं वामनकृतम्),
- 14 वृत्तकौमुदीकृन्नारायणोक्तं—fol. 6,
- 15 मञ्जरीरत्नावल्योः—fol. 6,
- 16 इति नारायणप्रलाप उपेक्षणीयः—fol. 9, 24, 33, 19 (इति नारायणोक्तं तु
 नादेयं) 22 (इति नारायणोक्तं तु न युक्तं) 42, 29 (नारायणादयः), 32, 33
- 17 भट्टि—fol. 9, 41,
- 18 “ मञ्जरीकारस्य प्रमाद एव ”—fol. 10,
- 19 काव्यकौस्तुभकारेण—fol. 11,
- 20 श्रीवत्सलाच्छनोक्तिः—fol. 11,
- 21 पिङ्गलमते, fol. 25, 27, 28, 29, 35, 40, 41, 42, 46,
- 22 केदारवाक्यं, fol. 28,
- 23 कर्णामृतोदाहरणे—fol. 36,
- 24 केदारवाग्भट्टादीनां—fol. 40,
- 25 वामननारायणयोः—fol. 41,
- 26 “ वृत्तरत्नाकरव्याख्यातृणां प्रमाद एव ”—fol. 45,
- 27 हलायुधदीपिकाकारादि—fol. 45,

- 28 “कौं न भांति रहिये विरुद अवदेखी मुरारेत्यत्र भाषाकविचक्रवर्तिविहारिकृते
द्विपथे etc.”—fol. 45,
29 माण्डूक्यभाष्य—fol. 46,
30 आनन्दबोधाचार्य—fol. 46,
31 दशकुमारचरित—fol. 46, 47,
32 कादम्बर्याम्—fol. 46

We have already stated that the date of the MS under analysis viz. A.D. 1793 is one terminus to the date of our author. The other terminus can be fixed on the basis of the references noted above.

Miśra Jagannātha criticizes some of the commentators of *Vṛttaratnākara*¹ of Kedārabhaṭṭa (fol. 45—“वृत्तरत्नाकरव्याख्यातृणां प्रमाद एव etc.”). In particular he severely criticizes Nārāyaṇa by such statements as— “इति नारायणप्रलाप उपेक्षणीयः (folios 9 and 24). References to this commentator of the *Vṛttaratnākara* will be found under item No. 16 in the above list of references. According to AUFRECHT Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa composed his commentary² on the *Vṛttaratnākara* in 1545 (A.D.). In view of this date for Nārāyaṇa the date of our author can be fixed between two limits viz. A.D. 1545 and 1793. We must now try to narrow down these limits.

We have seen above that our author refers to the views of “Setukāra Bhāskara” in no less than four places (see item No. 11 above). We presume that this Setukāra Bhāskara is no other than Hari Bhāskara, the author of a commentary on the *Vṛttaratnākara* called the *Vṛttaratnākaraśetu* composed in A.D. 1676.³ If this presumption is correct the limits for the date of our author get narrowed down to A.D. 1678 and 1793.

It appears to us from the foregoing evidence that Jagannātha flourished most probably in the second half of the 18th century, say, between A.D. 1750 and 1793.

Our author Jagannātha in the following six verses occurring at the end of the work records some information about himself and his family :—

1. For date of *Vṛttaratnākara* vide my notes in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. XVII, pp. 185, 397.

2. Printed Madras : P. P. S. SASTRI'S *Cata. of MSS in the Palace library at Tanjore*, IX, 3950.

3. AUFRECHT : *Cata. Catalo.* I, 597b. Haribhāskara completed his *Padyāmṛtaraṅgiṇī* on 12th June, 1673 i.e. 3 years earlier than his Commentary, *Setu*, on the *Vṛttaratnākara* (Vide my article in *Cal. Ori. Journal*, Vol. II pp. 33-35). Mr. KRISHNĀ-MACHARIAR in his *History of Classical Sans. Literature* (1937) p. 388, f.n. 4 states that the *Padyāmṛtaraṅgiṇī* contains 380 quotations from various Vaiṣṇava authors. Vide AUFRECHT's article in *ZDMG* XXXVIII, 544-7. Haribhāskara mentions many poets by name in his Anthology among whom Paṇḍitarāja (= Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja mentioned in the *Rasikañjvana* of Gadādharaḥṭṭa) is included. The genealogy of this author is as follows :—

पुरुषोत्तम > हरि > आपाजी > भास्कर (alias हरि) surnamed अमिहोत्री of काश्यपगोत्र.

fol. 48a. —“ सूत्राण्यशीतिः प्रथमे द्वितीये द्वासप्ततिः षण्णवतित्तृतीये ।

तुर्ये शते द्वेनवतित्तथेत्यं पञ्चशतान्यष्टात्रिंशच्च ।

शिष्टप्रयुक्तं यदतिप्रसिद्धं छन्दश्च वृत्तं च तदुक्तमत्र ।

ग्रन्थस्य भीत्या बहुविस्तरस्य कृतो हि सोन्यत्र तदिच्छुतुष्ट्यै ॥ १ ॥

श्रीरामात्तनयं यमिष्टविनयं विद्याधरस्यात्मजा—

छेमे श्रीहरिकृष्णदेवदुहिता साध्वी सुभद्रामिथा ।

गोपालीदयितेन तेन हि जगन्नाथेन संलोडिता

छन्दःशास्त्रमहाम्बुधेर्मतिमथा पीयूषमेतद्व्रतम् ॥ २ ॥

यत्पाप्यंबुजसङ्ग एव शिरसो बालोपि संप्राप्तवान्

वाग्देवीकरुणाकटाक्षपदवीं सत्साधनैर्दुर्लभाम् ॥

वागीशा अपि यद्वृणानवसितेर्वाचं यमत्वं श्रिता

वन्दे श्रीहरिकृष्णनाममहितं मातामहं तं सदा ॥ ३ ॥

ये तस्मिन्नपि नीललोहितपुरे संसत्सु सख्यावतां

श्रीमद्बुद्धिमदाख्ययाखिलविदां भूतार्थया विधुताः ।

यत्पादांबुजदर्शनादमलधीनिस्तार्णमोहार्णवो—

(ति ?) निखैगुण्यमुनिष्ठितश्च मतनं तेभ्यो गुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ ४ ॥

यस्मिन्नस्तगतिः समस्तकरणग्रामो यतश्चेष्टते

स्वप्नो जागरणं सुषुप्तिरिति वै यत्साक्षतः सिद्ध्यति ।

यस्मात्सर्वमनन्यदेतदुदितं यत्सर्वतोऽन्यन्मतं

शेषाशेषकथा यथातिगमयालम्बे परं तन्महः ॥ ५ ॥

जीवाख्या प्रकृतिः परा निगदिता यस्या परा चाष्टधा

खं वायुज्वलनो जलं क्षितिरहङ्कारो मनो धीरिति ।

यो वेद्यो निगमैः क्षराक्षरपरो वेदान्तकृद्वेदवि-

त्तस्य श्रीपुरुषोत्तमस्य करुणामालोचयामोऽनिशम् ॥ ६ ॥

इति मिश्रजगन्नाथकृतछन्दःपीयूषे वृत्तनिरूपणश्चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ॥ ४ ॥

समाप्तोऽयं ग्रन्थः ॥ इति श्रेयम् संवत् १८४९ । कार्तिकमासे शुक्लपक्षे सप्तम्यां तिथौ लिपी-
कृतं ॥ इदं पुस्तकः ॥ लेखक बहादुरसिंह ॥

Verse 2 quoted above informs us that Jagannātha was born of Subhadra, the daughter of Harikṛṣṇa, from Rāma, the son of Vidyādhara. His wife was Gopālī. His guru's name was Buddhimat (श्रीमद्बुद्धिमदाख्यया) who was famous at नीललोहितपुर (= Benares) [verse 4]. The parentage of Jagannātha, may be represented as follows :—

विद्याधर हरिकृष्ण (मातामह)

↓ ↓
राम × सुभद्रा

↓
जगन्नाथ × गोपाली (दयिता)

As Jagannātha had his guru at Benares it may be reasonable to conclude that he was a resident of Benares at least for some years of his life. In two places on folio 41 of the MS of the *Chandaḥpīyūṣa* our author refers to महाराष्ट्र in the expression “महाराष्ट्रविशेषोऽयम्”, but it is difficult to draw any conclusion from these remarks regarding the native place of the author or the province to which he belonged. On folio 45 there is a reference to ‘षाकवि चक्रवर्त्ति विहारिः—“कैन भांति रहिये विरुद अव खवी मुरारे त्यत्र भाषाकवि चक्रवर्त्ति विहारिकृते द्विपथे etc. This Bhāṣākavi may be the Hindi poet Biharilal who flourished at the court of Jaisingh of Jaipur (A.D. 1603-1663)¹ about whom we find the following appreciation in the *Imperial Gazetteer*² :—

“Sūrdās had many successors, the most famous of whom was Bihari Lal of Jaipur, whose *Sat saiṃyā* or collection of seven hundred detached verses, is one of the daintiest pieces of art in any Indian language. Bound by the rules of metre each verse had a limit of forty-six syllables and generally contained less. Nevertheless each was a complete picture in itself, a miniature description of a mood or a phase of nature, in which every touch of the brush is exactly the needed one and not one is superfluous.”

Our author criticizes “मञ्जरीकार” (fol. 10) when he states :—
‘मञ्जरीकारस्य प्रमाद एव.’ He also refers to मञ्जरी on folios 2, 33, 38 and 6 (मञ्जरीरत्नावल्योः). If this मञ्जरी is identical with छन्दोमञ्जरी of Gaṅgādāsa we have the following information recorded by M. KRISHNAMACHARIAR³ about him :—

“Gaṅgādāsa was the son of Gopālādāsa of Vaidya caste. In six chapters he describes in his *Chandomañjarī* the varieties of metres and illustrates them, by verses in praise of Kṛṣṇa. He also wrote *Acyutacarita*, a poem of 16 Cantos and *Dineśa Carita* in praise of the Sun. His father wrote a play, *Pārijātaḥaraṇa*”.

1. Vide मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश by Chitrava Shastri, Poona, 1937, p. 568 as also p. 108 of *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* by T. W. BEALE, London, 1904.

2. Vol. II, 1928, p. 423—Vernacular Literature.

3. *Hist. of Classical San. Literature*, 1937, 300, Sec. 243.

INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWAD*

By

D. B. DISKALKAR

DUDĀṆĀ

No. 1]

v.s. 1258

[5-4-1201

This inscription is said to have been found in the village Dudāṇā near Koḍinār, in south Kathiawad, but is at present missing. A copy of it was found in the Bhavanagar Museum.

It opens with the date Friday, the second of the bright half of Vaiśākha of v.s. 1258 and records the name Kṣemasirīha of a king and of Tejanāyaka his provincial governor (deśādhipati).

Text

- 1 सं १२५८ वर्षे वैशाख शुदि २ शुके । राज० श्री क्षेमसिंह ...
- 2 देशधिपतिश्रीतेजनायक...मानु किका पिता सूत्र०-चंद्र...

VISĀVḌĀ

No. 2]

v.s. 1262.

[20-1-1206

This inscription was found in a niche of the temple of Siddhanātha Mahādeva at Visāṇḍā in the Porbandar State. It measures 9½"×8".

It records that Vikrāditya(?) caused an image of Rāṇa Vikramāditya to be set up in the town of Visāṇḍā in the reign of Rāṇa Siha on Friday, the 10th of the bright half of Māgha of v.s. 1262. The inscription was written by Vaijāka of the Nāgara Brāhmaṇa community and was engraved by the mason Jālhaṇa.

Text

- 1 सं १२६२ वर्षे माघ शुदि १० शुके
- 2 अथेह वीसावाडाग्रामे राण श्री
- 3 सीहराज्ये राजश्री विक्रादित्येन
- 4 राण श्रीविक्रमादित्यमूर्तिः कारा
- 5 पिता ॥ नागरजातीय ब्राह्मण (ण)
- 6 वैजाकेन लिखितं ॥ सि(शि) त्यक
- 7 तृजाल्हणेन एषा मूर्ति (:) घटिता
- 8 प्रशस्तिः सुदंकिता [इ] ति [१*]

* Continued from Dec. 1938, issue p. 590.

AJAK

No. 3]

v.s. 1262.

[10-3-1206

This inscription is engraved on a pillar originally found in the village Ājak of the Junagadh State, but now preserved in the Watson Museum at Rajkot. The inscribed portion, measuring 1'5"×1'3", is much worn out. Above the inscribed portion is engraved a lotus flower.

The only legible portion in the inscription is the date, Friday, the 14th of the dark half of Phāgaṇa of v.s. 1[2]62, the name Bhūtāmbili, (modern Ghumli), of the capital of a ruler named Simha and the name Ājagi of the village where the inscription was found.

Text

- 1 सं १२६२ वर्षे फागण व १४ शुक्रयेह श्री
- 2 [भूतांबिल्यां...राण] श्री सिंहप्रति
- 3 पत्तौ ठ. [नागा] दित्ये आजगिरामे...
- 4 to 11.....

MAHUVĀ

No. 4]

v.s. 1272.

[5-6-1216

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of an image in a Jain temple at Mahuvā, a sea-port town in the Bhavanagar State. It is said that this image was originally brought from the Śiyāl Beṭ and set up in the Jain temple at Mahuvā. The inscribed portion is beautifully engraved and well preserved.

The inscription was once published in the *Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency* by COUSENS.

It opens with the date, Sunday, the fifth of the dark half of Jyēṣṭha of v.s. 1272 and records that in the reign of the Mehera king Raṇasimha at *Timbāṇaka* (modern *Timāṇā* in the Bhavanagar State, five miles north of *Talājā* the whole (Jain) saṅgha caused an image of Mahāvīra to be made. It was consecrated by Hariprabhasūri, disciple of Śāntiprabhasūri of the Candra-gaccha.

The Meher king Raṇasimha was probably the successor of the Meher king Jagamāl, a feudatory of the Caulukya sovereign Bhima II, mentioned in the copper-plate grant of v.s. 1264 found at *Timāṇā*, and published in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, p. 337.

Text

- 1 ओं ॥ संवत् १२७२ वर्षे ज्येष्ठ वदि ५ रवौ [।*] अयेह
- 2 टिंबानके मेहरराज श्रीरणसिंहप्रतिपत्तौ सम
- 3 स्तसंघेन श्री महावीरबिंबं कारितं प्रतिष्ठितं
- 4 श्रीचंद्रकगच्छीय श्रीशांतिप्रभसूरिशिष्यैः
- 5 श्रीहरिप्रभसूरिभिः ॥

GHELĀṆĀ

No. 5]

Valabhī Saṁ. 911.

[24-8-1229

This inscription was originally found in the Kāmanātha Mahādeva temple near the village Ghelāṇā, six miles to the east of Māngrol but it cannot be traced now. From its impression in the Rajkot Museum it seems to measure 1' 4½"×1½".

It was once published in the *Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kathiawad* on p. 160.

It records that Rāṇaka Raṇa..., son of Ṭhākura Mūlu granted an Āsana-paṭṭa for the worship of the god in the Bhrgu maṭha on the fourth day of the bright half of Bhādrapada(?) in the Valabhī Saṁ. 911.

Text

- 1 ओ [।] श्रीमद्रलभीसंवत् ९११ वर्षे [भाद्रपद !] शुदि ४ शुके प्रत्ययजनक ठ. मूल्-
सुत राणक रण...
- 2 श्रीभृगुमठे देवपूजार्थ आसनपट्टः प्रदत्तः

MIYĀNI

No. 6]

v.s. 1290.

[9-11-1234

This inscription is engraved on one of the southern pillars of the temple of the Nilakaṇṭha Mahādeva at Miyāni, a very old sea-port town, about eighteen miles to the north-west of Porbandar.

The inscription is considerably worn out thereby causing the great loss of the names of the local ruler and of his sovereign. Beyond its date Thursday, the second of the dark half of Kārttika of v.s. 1290 on which the *Maṇḍapa* of the Mahādeva temple was built and the old name Maṇipur of Miyāni nothing useful is preserved.

Text

- 1 ऽ विक्रमसंवत् १२९० वर्षे
- 2 कार्तिकवदि २ गुरावयेह
- 3 श्रीमणिपुरे
- 4
- 5 ... जयराज्ये महारा
- 6 ... देवप्रतिपत्तौ श्री
- 7 ... मंडप (:) कारितः
- 8 हाटकभीमभक्तविला
- 9 सदेव (?) चाहडेन लिखितं ॥ भद्रं
- 10 श्रीः

JASDAN

No. 7]

v.s. 1292.

[February 1236

This inscription is engraved on a stone pillar in the western wall of a masjid called Kālu Pir in Jasdān, the capital of a third class State in Kathiawad. The inscribed portion which is much worn out measures 1'2"×11". The date is however quite legible.

The inscription seems to record a monthly grant of six *drammas* by a king probably named Jayasimhadeva towards the building of Sahajigapur on the seventh day of the dark half of Māgha in v.s. 1292.

Sahajigapur in the inscription is the old name of Sejakpur about 20 miles south-west of Wadhwan. It is now an insignificant village, but the ruins of old temples, especially of the Navalaka temple, show that it was once of considerable importance. Tradition goes that Sejakji the founder of the present Gohel family of Bhavanagar received a holding from the Rā of Juna-gadh, which was named Sejakpur afterwards. The king mentioned in the inscription might be a Cūḍāsamā king of Jungadh named Jayasimhadeva.

Text

- 1 सं १२९२ वर्षे माघ व
- 2 दि [७] दिने [शुके ?] श्री...
- 3 प्रदे.....[महीप—
- 4 ति] श्री [जय ?] सिंहदेवेन
- 5 मासं प्रति द्र०: षट् ६ श्री
- 6 सहजिगपुरकरणे
- 7 शासनेन प्रदत्ताऽआचं
- 8 दार्कं सर्वैरपि पालनीया

WADHWAN

No. 8]

v.s. 1301.

[December 1244

This inscription was found near a very old well situated to the east of the Candravilāsa garden in Wadhwan. The inscribed portion, which measures 12"×11", has above it engraved a Śiva *linga*. It is in a bad state of preservation.

The only points of information that are known are a portion of the date viz., bright half of the month Pauṣa of v.s. 1301, the old name Vardhamāna[pura] of modern Wadhwan, the name Candrasingji, probably of a king of Wadhwan, and the name Mehetā Soma of his minister. The object of the inscription seems to record the repairing of the temple of Siddheśadeva.

The temple might have been originally built by or in honour of the great Caulukya sovereign Siddharāja Jayasimha, who subdued Kathiawad after a severe fight with the local chiefs in about v.s. 1171.

Text

- 1 संवत् १३०१ पौष सुद...
- 2 अयेह श्रीवर्द्धमान...
- 3 चंद्रसिंगजी राणश्री...
- 4 मंत्रि महं श्री सोम
- 5 प्रतिपत्तौ श्रीसिद्धेश
- 6 देवलिङ्गो [छ] रणा [य]
- 7 -श्रीहृदयसिंह
- 8 [श्रीसि-णकरकु]—
- 9 - पा ! उद्र ?...

VERAWAL

No. 9]

Valabhī Saṁ. 927.

[19-2-1246

This inscription is engraved in beautiful letters on the pedestal of a fine image of Govardhanadhārī (i.e. Kṛṣṇa uplifting the Govardhana hill) built up in the eastern wall of the temple of Harasiddhi Mātā in Verawal, now an important port in Kathiawad at a distance of 2½ miles to the west of Somanātha Pāṭaṇa. The inscribed portion measures 12" in length and 3½" in breadth.

The inscription opens with the date, Monday, the third of the bright half of Phālguna in the year 927 of the Valabhī Saṁvat. It then mentions that Gandhika Jojā, son of Seth Mūlajoga by his wife Mādhī, caused together with his wife and sons, an image of Śrī Govardhana to be set up in Deva-ṭṭana, which is another name of Somanātha Pāṭaṇa.

The expression सकलराजावलीपूर्व is sometimes found in the inscriptions of the Caulukya rulers of Anahilavāḍ (cf. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI, pp. 191, 194, 196, 199, 201, 203 and 208 ; Vol. XI, p. 71). The reigning king of Anahilvāḍ at the time of this inscription was Visaladeva, who succeeded in seizing the throne from the Caulukya king Tribhuvanapāla, the successor of Bhima II, just at the time of this inscription. He had not well established himself and his name, therefore, might not have been given in the inscription.

Text

- 1 ॥ १० ॥ श्रीमद्रुलभीसंवत् ९२७ वर्षे फाल्गुन शुदि ३ सोमे ॥ अयेह श्रीदेवपत्तने
- 2 सकलराजावलीपूर्व गङ्गकजानीय श्रेष्ठि मूलजोग भाया श्रे० माढी तथा सु
- 3 त गंधिकजोजा भाया येवई तथा पुत्र जयता द्वितीय पुत्र जसदेव तृतीय पुत्र
- 4 जसपाल प्रभृतयः¹ श्रीगोवर्धनमूर्ति (:) नमस्करणाथ स्वधेयसे पूर्वजानां श्रेयो
- 5 भिवृद्धये स्वभक्त्या कारापिता ॥ सूत्र० वीरलदेवपुत्र सूत्र० राघवेन घटितो ॥ ६ ॥

GIRNAR

No. 10]

v.s. 1305.

[17-4-1249

This inscription is engraved at the base of the statue of Pārśvanātha, in the central part of the Vastupāl Tejpāl temple on the Girnar hill. The inscribed portion, which is in a good state of preservation measures 2½' in length and 1½" in breadth.

It records that Sāmantasimha and Salakṣasimha, younger brothers of [Mahaṇa], sons of Padmasimha by his wife Prithivīdevī, and grandsons of Cāhaḍa, residents of Pattana and belonging to the Śrīmālī community caused an image of Pārśvanātha to be set up for the religious merit of their parents on Saturday, the first half of Vaiśākha of v.s. 1305. The consecration ceremony of the image was performed at the hands of Jayānandasūri, disciple of Mānadevasūri, disciple of Pradyumnasūri of the Bṛhadgaccha.

The Pattana mentioned in the record is Aṇahīlapāṭaṇa the capital of the Caulukya sovereigns. Salakṣasimha and Sāmantasimha were influential officers in the Caulukya Court and were afterwards appointed governors of Saurāstra successively as may be seen from an inscription of v.s. 1320 found at Kāntela in the Porbandar State. More details of their genealogy are given in the following inscription.

Text

- 1 ॥ ७० ॥ संवत् १३०५ वर्षे वैशाख शुदि ३ शनौ श्रीपत्तनवास्तव्य श्रीमालज्ञातीय ठ०
चाहडसुत महं पद्मसिंहपुत्र ठ० पृथिविदेवी अंगज [महणा¹] नुज महं०
श्रीसामंतसिंह
- 2 ॥ तथा महामात्यश्रीसलखणसिंहाभ्यां श्रीपार्श्वनाथबिंबं पित्रोः श्रेयसेऽत्र कारितं [।]
ततो बृहद्गच्छे श्रीप्रभुमसुरिपटोद्धरणश्रीमानदेवसुरिशिष्यश्रीदयानंद [सुरिभिः]
प्रतिष्ठितं [।*] शुभं भवतु ॥

GHUMLI

No. 11]

v.s. 1318.

[7-3-1262

These two inscriptions, of the same date, are copied from two of the many *pāḥiās*(?) lying near the Rāmapur gate of Ghumli, which was once the capital of the Jethvās, but which is now completely in ruins in the Bardā hills.

Both the inscriptions refer to the date, Tuesday the 15th of the bright half of Phālguna of v.s. 1318 when there was an eclipse of the moon. The first inscription mentions the name of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Śrī Sāmanta, who was most probably the same Sāmantasimha, as the viceroy over Saurāstra of the Caulukya sovereign Viśaladeva. From the Kāntela inscription of v.s. 1320 we know that he succeeded his brother Salakṣa to that post. The first inscription records the name of a man born in the Cāhamāna family and the second inscription of a man belonging to the Cāpotkaṭa, i.e. Cāvḍā family of Wadhwan. It is not sure whether these inscriptions record the deaths of

1. Mahanasimha was the eldest son of Padmasimha.

the persons or record donations made by them on the occasion of the lunar eclipse.

Text

- 1 ॥ ७१० ॥ सं० १३१८ वर्षे फा० शुदि १५
- 2 भौमे ग्रहणपूर्वे महामंड
- 3 लेश्वर श्री सामंत च्छोणसह
- 4 रिणमाणभूणीक (?) महाका
- 5 ये चाहुमाणवंशसंभुत सेल
- 6 आभा सु० ? श्रीसामको...
- 7

(२)

- 1 सं. १३१८ वर्षे फाल्गु
- 2 न सुदि १५ भौमे वढवाण [वा]
- 3 स्तवीय चापोत्कटज्ञानीय
- 4 सामतसुत तुणाकस य०

GIRNAR

No. 12]

v.s. 1319.

[18-4-1262

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of two small images at the feet of the Tirthankar image engraved on a pillar in the east wall of a Deri on the way to the Hāthi Pagalā on the Girnar hill. It measures 8"×6½".

The first two lines give the date of the record, viz., Tuesday, the 13th of the dark half of Caitra of v.s. 1319. It refers to the reign of a king whose name is very unfortunately lost but who was probably of the Cūḍāsamā family. The fourth line gives the old name Revatagiri of the hill.

Text

- 1 संवत् १३१९ वर्षे
- 2 चैत्र वदि १३ भौमे
- 3 श्री...राज्ये रे
- 4 वत्तगिरि महास्थाने
- 5 ...सत्यं ?...

LĀTHODRĀ

No. 13]

v.s. 1323.

[12-1-1266

This inscription is engraved on a *pālīā* standing at the entrance of the village Lāthodrā. The inscribed portion measures 17½" in length and 8" in breadth.

It refers to the date, Tuesday, the fourth day of the bright half of Māgha in v.s. 1322 and the rule of Mehatā PĀLA (Pālha) over the SAURĀṢṬRA Maṇḍala. The inscription further records the death of a warrior, named Ṭhā-

kur Plavanga(?) at the village LĀTHIUDRĀ, which was in the possession of Seṭh Rāja Vānā? appointed by the viceroy.

The viceroy over Saurāṣṭra, named Pāla, i.e. Pālha is probably the same as is mentioned in the Bharāṇā and Girnar inscriptions of the Caulukya sovereign Arjunadeva dated v.s. 1327 and 1330 respectively and in the Āmaraṇa inscription of Sārangadeva of v.s. 1333. The Caulukya sovereign by whose orders Pālha in our inscription was governing Saurāṣṭra was Arjunadeva, but his name is not mentioned here.

Text

- 1 संवत् १३२३ वर्षे माघ सुदि ४ भौमे
- 2 अयेह सौराष्ट्रमंडले मह० श्री पाले
- 3 व्याघ्रयिमाणे सति [तेन विदु]—श्रीला
- 4 ठिउद्रामामे सेठ राजववा (?) सुत ? प्रतिपत्तौ
- 5 ठा० राज घाउरा (?) ठा० प्लवंग (?) लोलाकुडेन य
- 6 ते सति अढ्यारे मृत्तः ॥ श्री ॥

PORBANDAR

No. 14]

v.s. 1334.

[12-9-1277

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab fixed in a corner of the temple of Padmiṇī Mātā in the Khārvāvād in Porbandar. The inscribed portion, most of which is worn out, measures 1'9" by 1'6½".

The record opens with the date, the 14th day of the bright half of Āśvin in v.s. 1334, when Porā was governed by a Pañcākula, appointed by Ṭhākur PĀLHA and Ṭhākur SĀMANTASIMHA. The names of some other officials in Porā seem to have been given in the record. As its latter portion is too much worn out the object of the inscription is not clear.

Pālha and Sāmantasimha are most probably the officers of the Caulukya sovereign, Sārangadeva, appointed to rule jointly over Sourāṣṭra. They are both mentioned in that capacity in the Bharāṇā inscription of v.s. 132[7] of Arjunadeva published in the *Poona Orientalist* Vol. III.

Text

- 1 ॥ ७० ॥ संवत् १३३४ वर्षे अश्विन शुदि
- 2 १४ (रवौ ?) पोरायां ठ० श्रीपालह [ठ०]
- 3 श्रीसामंतसीह पादानां मह० श्री फ—
- 4 —[सीह] प्रभृति पंचकुलप्र [ति] पत्तौ [यो ?]
- 5 ... देवसीह प्रभृति समस्त
- 6 ... उपविष्य स्वस्ववीकां—
- 7 ... खर—इया—रूम—
- 8 या प्रभृतीनां सर्वमि
- 9 पक्ष — — सुत —
- 10 जलधजतो परिम
- 11 नवपर—

- 12
 13 मूलकमेकं ॥
 14 — — जेन लिषितं ॥

KANSARI

No. 15]

v.s. 1348.

[26-2-1291

This inscription is engraved on a Kīrtistambha standing near a temple in the village Kansāri near Ghumli in the Barḍā hills. It measures $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8''$.

The record is dated Monday, the 11th of the dark half of Phālguna in v.s. 1348 and refers to the reign of Rāṇaka Bhāṇa, who must be the well-known king Bhāṇa Jethvā whose capital at Ghumli was invaded by Jām Bāmaniāji of Sindh in about 1313 A.D. (See *Kathiawad Gazetteer*, p. 625). The old name of Kansāri seems to be Sorasagrāma.

Text

- 1 संवत् १३४८ वर्षे फागुण वदि ११ सो
 2 मे राणक श्रीभाणराजे भेलडीउ
 3 राज० राज भारा
 4 मल की सोरसग्रामे रहिव्या ।
 5 बीजड . . .
 6 टापिता . . .

WADHWAN

No. 16]

v.s. 1350.

[8-10-1293

These two inscriptions are engraved on the pedestals of two images in two niches in the famous Mādhā vāv at Wadhwan.

The first inscription gives the date Thursday, the 8th of the bright half of Kārtika in v.s. 1350 and records the name of Sīdhu, son of Ṭhākur Soma of the Nāgara community.

The other inscription gives only the name of Taṣamādevī, daughter of Soḍhala, of the Nāgara community.

It seems that Sīdhu and Taṣmā are husband and wife. The building of the well is popularly attributed to Mādhava, the Nāgara minister of the last Caulukya-Vāghelā king, Kaṇa II. It may be suggested that Sīdhu and Taṣamā were the parents of Mādhava and their images were set up by him in the well built by him in v.s. 1350.

Text

- १
 1 सं. १३५० वर्षे कार्तिक सुदि ८ गुरा नागर
 2 ज्ञातीय ठ० श्रीसोमसुत ॥ महं श्री सीधू
 २
 1 नागरज्ञातीय महं० श्रीसोड
 2 लसुता महं श्रीतषमादेवि ॥

SOMANĀTH PĀṬAṆA

No. 17]

v.s. 1355.

[6-6-1299

This inscription is engraved on a memorial stone lying in the public library in Somanātha Pāṭaṇa. The inscribed portion measures 1' 4"×8".

It records that on Saturday, the seventh? of the bright half of Āṣāḍha in v.s. 1355 two Vājā warriors fell at the door of the Somanātha temple while fighting with the Turuṣkas when they had invaded and destroyed the town.

This invasion of the Muhammedans was most probably the one undertaken by Ulugh Khan, the General of Alauddin Khilji of Delhi. From the Kānhaḍadeva *prabandha* we know that he had plundered Somanātha (*Guj. Gaz.* p. 229). Our inscription gives the exact date of the incident.

Text

- 1 संवत् १३५५ वर्षे आषाढ शुदि ७ शनै [तुर]
- 2 कै भंगे सोनी ? बाजा मालसुत . .
- 3 ह बाजा पदमल भ्रा० देपा [ल] सी
- 4 ह श्रीसोमनाथद्वारि युद्धं कृत्वा
- 5 मृतौ

GIRNAR

No. 18]

(Date missing.)

[13th cent. A.D.

This inscription is built in the eastern wall of a *deri* facing to the south on the left side of the path to the *Hāthi Pagalā* on the Girnar hill. It was beautifully engraved but a considerable portion of it, especially in the middle has now become illegible. The left hand upper corner of the stone is broken away. The inscribed portion measures about 1' 5" in height and 10" in breadth.

This inscriptions was formerly published by BURGESS in *Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, p. 351.

The inscription records that there was in Śrīmāla family a minister named *Udayana*, whose son was *Cāhaḍa*. He had seven sons. The first of them named *Kumārasimha* was a treasury officer of the (Caulukya sovereign) *Kumārāpāla* (of Aṇahilapātana). The second son was *Jagatsimha*. The third was *Padmasimha*, who by his wife *Prithivīdevi* had four sons—*Mahaṇasimha*, *Sāmantasimha*, *Salakṣaṇa* and *Teja* and a daughter named *Sumatā*.

A connected information of the further portion cannot be obtained. It seems that *Sāmantasimha* made a pilgrimage to several sacred Jain places and built a Jain temple on the Girnar mountain, the consecration ceremony of which was performed by *Devasūri*.

Vijayasimhasūri composed this *praśasti* and *Haripala* engraved it.

It may be noted that the brothers *Sāmantasimha* and *Salakṣaṇasimha* are mentioned together with their parents in the Girnar inscription (No. 10) and in the Kāntela inscription of v.s. 1320. *Udayana* whose descendants they

were, is a famous figure in Jain chronicles. He was intimately connected with the Caulukya sovereign Kumārapāla, and his Jain preceptor Hemacandra.

Text

1 प्रभो मानं वभा
 2 समदुपलब्धपर
 3 [श्री] मालवंशमणिहज्वलकीर्तिः
 4 प्रभुरजायतावस्योदयन इत्यर्द्धिसं
 5 चाहडनामधेयः । श्रेयः पदं मंत्रिविभुर्बभूव
 6 सधर्मिणो निर्मलधर्मयुक्ता ॥ ४ तयोः सप्त
 7 चोद्गमाः । अजायंत सुताः सप्तगोत्रोद्धारकुलाचलाः ॥ ५
 8 [पालकु] मारक्ष्मापाल कोष्ठगाराधिकारवान् । कुमारसिंहः अर्थभोग्यु
 9 [त्तमः] पुरुषः सतां ॥ ६ जगत्सिंहोऽथ रम्यस्तु पद्मसिंहः श्रियः पदं । ततो जयंत
 10 पाताकौ धीणिग- [मिमप्रते ?] ॥ ७ ॥ युग्मं ॥ श्रीपद्मसिंहदयिता पृथिवीदेवीतनू
 11 रुहांश्चतुरः ॥ श्रीमहणसिंह [सामन्त] सिंह सल्लक्षतेजाख्यान ॥ अथ सूम्
 12 लामनुपमां सहितेव बुधे दिवे प्रसुवे-यः ॥ जयंतकाकृतिनगानधूतभी
 13 तां च सीतोदां ॥ ९ ॥ युग्मं ॥ सामंतसिंह स्य विधू इव अघ्यक्षौ सर्वा
 14 देशेषु मुहुर्जाती ॥ १० ॥ अणहिलपुरस्थलालाक
 15 विहितजने ॥ ११ घटपद्रके चव
 16 मभूपरिमालि कामुकारसंसार
 17 सिंधुतरी ॥ १२ ॥ शत्रुंजयगिरौ
 18 देवकुलिकांजलिः ॥ भवाधिवारिधिकि
 19 लीका या संलपंतः श्रिया जयति जन . .
 20 जयति तेजल्लदे भिषेयश्रीविल्ह . . .
 21 किंयुगमंत्रो जातनः ॥ सु . . .
 22 चरन्यययमु वशंन्यो न्याय . . .
 23 नः ॥ अनुवि तनकेपा . . .
 24 नेगफणमंडपः विभूषितः ॥ १८ ॥ वर्द्धमा
 25 नपुरे येन वा मनाथवाथखत्तकं ॥ १९ ॥
 26 पुरे च पेथलागा सद्रलानामजामेः श्री
 27 वीरखत्तकं ॥ २० ॥ नेमिवंशमेव ॥ मंडपश्रे
 28 यसे झाड-प्रथि देवकुलिकाद्वारि हारि वा
 29 महातीर्थेऽथ तीर्थे-लिगं मे देवकुलिका क
 30 लिताद्भुता ॥ २३ ॥ तत्रादिबधोः पुण्या
 31 य सवसनस्यादितीर्थकृत् ॥ जन क . . . किः श्रीवीरश्च विनिर्ममे ॥ २४ ॥
 32 जयानंदसूरिपट्टप्रतिष्ठितैः ॥ व्यधीयंत प्रतिष्ठा च श्रीम
 33 देवसूरिभिः ॥ २५ ॥ बृहद्रणोद्गतपिप्पलशाखायां श्रीधनेश्वरविनेयः
 34 श्रीवि [ज] यसिंहसूरिः प्रशस्तिमेतामिति व्यतनोत् ॥ २६ ॥ उज्ज
 35सिनिप्रभाः ॥ संवदास्तामसौ शस्ता प्रशस्तिः स्व
 36उ० हरिपालेन मालेयमुत्कीर्णति ॥ (To be continued)



Born : March 11, 1863]

[Died : February 6, 1931

His Highness Maharaja SAYAJIRAO GAEKWAR
Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur,

THE TEXT OF THE LAGHU YOGAVĀSISŪTHA.

By

P. C. DIVANJI

Introductory Remarks. I. Nature of Problem. II. Materials Collected for Solution. III. Evaluation of the Materials ; 1 (a) Nature of Contents of Sarga 44 as Appearing in the First Printed Edition ; (b) Contents and Extent of the Commentaries ; (c) Contents of the Mss. of the Work and Commentaries thereon ; (d) Possible Inferences ; (e) Conclusion. 2. (a) Contents of the Other Two Additional Sargas : (b) Ms. Evidence as to their Genuineness. IV. Final Conclusion and Suggestion of Lines for the Preparation of a Revised Edition of the Text. Closing Remarks.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

The work, the contents of the text whereof have been discussed in this article, is at present more widely known by the title thereof given in the caption, which distinguishes it from the *Bṛhat Yogavāsisūtha* or *Yogavāsisūtha Mahārāmāyaṇa*, a printed edition whereof is available with the commentary thereon of Ānandabodha Yati. Its original title however appears from the old Mss. thereof and of the commentaries thereon to be *Vāsisūtha Rāmāyaṇa*. The third alternative title by which it is referred to in itself is *Mokṣopāya-sāra*, that of the original work itself being *Mokṣopāya*.¹ Still other alternative titles by which it is referred to in South Indian Catalogues of Mss. are *Yogavāsisūtha-sāra*, or succinctly *Vāsisūtha-sāra*, *Vāsisūtha-sāra-samuccaya* and *Jñāna-Vāsisūtha*. The first of these titles is also given to a Ms. of the work of one Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī in the Catalogue of the Prācya Grantha Saṁgraha of Ujjain and to most probably the same work with the commentary of Mahīdhara in the Catalogue of the R. A. Society of Bengal, Vol. V. That is a very small work, written quite independently of the plan of the original, in 10 chapters containing in all stanzas varying from 208 to 229. It is therefore easily distinguishable from the work in hand which has the same six chapters as the parent work.

2. I had an occasion to consider the contents of the *Laghu Yogavāsisūtha* of Gauḍa Abhinanda when I penned my article on "Further Light on the Date of the *Yogavāsisūtha*"², which was a sequel to a paper on "The Date and Place of Origin of the *Yogavāsisūtha*"³ read before the seventh session of the Oriental Conference at Baroda in December 1933 and embodied my

1. The title of Ātmasukha's commentary on this work is *Vāsisūtha-candrikā* and the expression "*Vāsisūtha-vivarāṇe*" occurs in the colophons to almost all the Sargas in the commentary of Mummaḍideva. In Sarga 44. 32 of the first Nirṇaya Sāgar Press edition thereof, which is the same as VI.16.31 in the second edition, it is stated that this work is spoken of everywhere with admiration as the *Sāra* of the *Mokṣopāya* and that name occurs in all the colophons of the Sargas thereof.

2. *Poona Orientalist*, April 1938, pp. 29-44.

3. *Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference*, Baroda, 1933, pp. 15-30.

conclusions that Gauḍa Abhinanda, who had made the said abridgement, seemed, from the several data mentioned therein, to have made use of an earlier recension of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* than that known as the *Devadūtokta saṁhitā*, which Ānandabodha Yati has commented upon, that whether he was identical with the author of the *Kāḍāmbarī-kathā-sāra* or with that of the *Rāmacarita*, he could not have lived earlier than 900 to 950 A.D.¹ and that therefore even though he may have made use of the Devadūta recension, so long as we do not know in which particular year of the 10th century he was born and in which particular year he died, the fact of his having made use of that recension which contains a distinct reference to King Yaśaskara-deva of Kāśmīr, who according to the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* ruled over that province from 939 to 948 A.D., does not militate against the conclusion that the said recension could not have come into existence earlier than the second quarter of the tenth century because it is quite possible that he may have been born in either the first or the second quarter of that century and may have lived upto an advanced age, by which time the said recension may have been out and available to him and he may, looking to the disinclination of people to study that extensive work, have abridged it in order that the teaching inculcated therein may be accessible to people in a handy form.

I. NATURE OF THE PROBLEM.

3. Amongst the materials then available to me, there was an edition of the abridged work published by the Nirmaya Sāgar Press, Bombay in Śake 1810, Saṁvat 1944 (A.D. 1888) and four Mss. of the work and the commentaries thereon by Ātmasukha and Mummaḍideva at the Sanskrit Library, Baroda. As on the one hand the printed edition contained in all 51 Sargas, some of which had been left unnumbered and two of which bore the same number, as no commentary appeared under the last 3 of those Sargas and as two Sargas appeared to occur even after that entitled "Śāstra-grahaṇa-phala-nirdeśaḥ" (Statement of the Fruit of Studying the Treatise) and as on the other the two last Sargas seemed on a comparison of their contents with the corresponding portion of the big work to contain copious extracts from Sargas 127 and 128 of the Pūrvārdha of the Nirvāṇa-prakarṇa and as the same two Sargas were found even in the oldest paper Ms. of the work at the Baroda Sanskrit Library,² it was a puzzle to me as to what must have been the real extent of the work as originally composed by Gauḍa

1. Sten KONOW having identified him with the former in his "Essay on the Life and Writings of Rājasekhara" forming Part III of his edition of the *Karpūramañjarī*, as translated by C. R. LANMAN (Harvard Oriental Series No. 4), placed him in the middle of ninth century and other European scholars like WINTERNITZ accepted that view.

2. This is Ms. No. 1c 12810 at that library. Though some of its folio pages are entirely missing such as Nos. 21-22, 189-99 &c., and though some of those that are there are injured at places, it can be definitely stated from the remaining portions of the last two folio pages, Nos. 203-04, that the Ms. had been completed in Saṁvat 1656 (A.D. 1600).

Abhinanda and therefore I was on the look-out for materials which would enable me to solve it.

II. MATERIALS COLLECTED FOR SOLVING IT.

4. Since the publication of my said article in the *Poona Orientalist* I came across a second edition of the work purporting to have been accompanied by the same commentary *Vāsiṣṭhacandrikā* by Ātmasukha, pupil of Uttamasukha, published only last year by the Nirṇaya Sāgar Press. It did not appear from the Preface thereto that the learned Śāstrī who had edited it had availed himself of any additional manuscript materials while preparing a press copy thereof and yet when its contents were compared with those of the preceding one some differences between the two could be noticed. It was a source of satisfaction to me to find that an attempt had been made to remove the discrepancies that existed in the numbering of the Sargas. Unfortunately however I cannot congratulate the learned editor on his achievement in that respect because while on the one hand there was no Sarga left unnumbered and no two Sargas bore the same number as in the first edition, owing to the inclusion of the four unnumbered ones in that relating to the episode of Śikhidhvaja in the Sixth chapter, which is supported by several Mss. of the text and of the commentary of Mummaḍideva, and to the exercise of proper care in the numbering of the Sargas, there was on the other hand the adoption of a separate serial order for the Sargas comprised in each chapter e.g. Sargas 1 to 3 in Chapter I, Sarga 1 instead of 4 in Chapter II, Sargas 1 to 9 instead of 5 to 13 in Chapter III and so on, which, so far as my investigation went, did not seem to have the sanction of any old Ms. either of the text alone or of any of the two commentaries alone or of the former with any of the latter. Further as the result of this new method of enumeration the total number of Sargas came to 46 out of which 43 preceded that setting forth the fruit of studying the work and two succeeded it. This did not render any help in arriving at a definite conclusion as to the exact extent of the text as originally fixed by Gauḍa Abhinanda himself because the commentary such as it was, extended only upto the 43rd Sarga entitled “Yogasaptabhūmikopākhyāna” and did not contain any remark at its end as to the work having ended there, because there was not a distich in any of the 34 stanzas comprised in Sarga 16 of the Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇa (44 according to a continuous serial order) which could be deemed to have been imported from the big *Yogavāsiṣṭha* and because the occurrence of two additional Sargas, having 58 and 84 stanzas respectively, large numbers out of which could be easily identified with stanzas occurring in Sargas 127 and 128 of the Pūrvārdha of the Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇa in the big work as printed by the N. S. Press, could not be explained on any reasonable ground. Ordinarily the fact that the commentary ended with the 43rd Sarga should have served as a good ground for holding that the work as originally composed and as known to the commentator must have ended there but it could not in this case because in the first place, it was possible that though the Sarga as to the fruit of study may have been composed by the

author and have thus formed part of the original text, the commentator may not have known of its existence or may have omitted to comment upon it in view of the fact that it contained no part of the exposition of the doctrine embodied in the big work and secondly, because the full contents of the commentary of Ātmasukha, pupil of Uttamasukha, entitled *Vāsiṣṭhacandrikā*, which the label on the cover of the book, the title on the title-page and that at the top of every alternate page in the body of the work throughout from p. 3 to 851 announced as having been printed below the text, were themselves unknown. On a comparison of the two editions it appeared distinctly that in none of them had the full text of the said commentary been printed below the text of the work but in both the commentary that had been printed below the 4th to the 6th chapters ending at the 43rd Sarga in the first and the 15th of the 6th chapter in the second was not the one which, from the announcements above-mentioned, we would expect to find but that of Mummaḍideva, son of Allāḍasūri alias Allālasūri, entitled *Samśāratarāṇi*.¹ Therefore the only conclusion which, I thought would be justified by the printed editions, was that the latter commentary ended with the 43rd Sarga. But even that conclusion did not seem to be unimpeachable because ordinarily the end of a work in Sanskrit is indicated by a distinct remark to that effect following a statement of the full name of the author and that of his Guru, if he was a recluse, and that of his father, if he was a householder, but in this case there was neither such a complete colophon at the end of the commentary on Sarga 43 nor such a remark following it. I therefore felt the necessity of considering in details the contents of the three Sargas, following the end of the commentary of Mummaḍideva on Sarga 43,² and those of the commentary itself and also that of collecting as many Mss. of the work and the two commentaries thereon as I could and of obtaining such and so much information about others as the scholars, to whom it was within easy reach, would be kind enough to place at my disposal. I am glad to be able to acknowledge my indebtedness in that respect to Mr. P. K. GODE of the B. O. R. I. Poona, Dr. V. RAGHAVAN, Member of the New Catalogus Catalogorum Committee, Madras, Mr. G. SADASIIVA MURTI, Hon. Director of the Theosophical Society's Oriental Mss. Library, Adyar, Mr. R. B. KAK, Chief Secretary to the Government of Kāśmīr and Jammu and Prof. P. P. S. SASTRI, Curator, Government Manuscripts Library, Madras. The materials and information which they had the courtesy to place at my disposal have added considerably to my knowledge

1. In order to be convinced of this one has only to compare the colophons to I. 1, 2 & 3 ; II. 1 ; III. 1 to 4 and 7 to 9, which contain both the names of the author and that of the commentary, and even those to III. 5 & 6 which contain that of the latter only, on the one hand, with those to IV. 2 to 5 which contain the names of the author and the commentary and even those to IV. 1 ; V. 1 to 5 ; VI. 2 & 15 which contain the latter only, on the other.

2. No discussion is necessary as to the contents of the first 43 Sargas and their division into chapters as appearing from the printed editions because all available evidence points to their correctness, apart from the wrong numbering in the second edition above-mentioned.

of the vicissitudes through which this work seems to have passed and I am glad to be able to offer a plausible solution of the problem which, in the light of my limited knowledge derived from the printed editions and the four Baroda Mss. referred to in the article in the *Poona Orientalist* above-referred to, seemed to be almost impossible of solution.

III. EVALUATION OF THE MATERIALS.

1. (a) *Nature of Contents of the Phalanirdeśa Sarga.*

5. Taking up first the Sarga containing a statement of the fruit of studying the work, it has been numbered 44 in the first printed edition thereof. Between it and that numbered 16 in the Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇa of the second edition the only difference is that stanza no. 19 in the former having been omitted from the latter, the total number of stanzas therein is 34 instead of 35 as in the former. These stanzas must be considered in two parts, namely the first four together with the remark "Vasiṣṭha uvāca" preceding them and the subsequent thirty-one preceded by the remark "Vālmīkiruvāca." The second group must again be considered in several subsidiary parts owing to the difference in the nature of their contents.

6. Now the first four stanzas, preceded in the second edition by the remark above-mentioned, represent Vasiṣṭha as comparing the poet to the Creator, opining for the reasons given therein that he has excelled Him¹ and further referring to a calumny by certain contemporaries of the work metaphorically called "the ocean of the nectar of the grace of Hariharārya" and in view of the poetical and philosophical merits mentioned therein, extolling it as one worthy of study by all seekers of the truth and as a means for attaining purity and peace of mind. If this "Hariharārya" was a Guru of Ātmasukha, author of the *Vāsiṣṭhacandrikā*, as stated by AUFRECHT,² it is impossible that either Vālmīki or for the matter of that, Gauḍa Abhinanda should have made Vasiṣṭha utter these stanzas because in that case the name and work of that man could not have been known to any of them and there was no reason for any of them to set forth the merits of such a work in the *Laghu Yogavāsiṣṭha*. Even if "Hariharārya" was another name of Vālmīki, as I believe, still Gauḍa Abhinanda, who in that case could be the author of those stanzas, could not have placed them in the mouth of Vasiṣṭha because he cannot be believed to have forgotten that it was not Vasiṣṭha who had been reciting a work of Vālmīki but it was Vālmīki who had been re-producing in his own language a discourse which was alleged to have occurred between Vasiṣṭha and Rāmacandra. Even if those stanzas had not been preceded by the said remark, as was the case in the old edition, still they seem quite out of place as preceding the 31 stanzas introduced by the remark "Vālmīkiruvāca" and beginning with that in which the sage says that while the sage

1. For the word "Prasahya" in the beginning of this stanza in both the editions, which does not seem to me to yield an intelligible sense to the stanza, I prefer to read "Prasṛtya" and to construe the stanza as above.

2. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Pt. I, p. 42.

(Vasiṣṭha) was so saying the day passed away, the audience having bowed to the sage left for a bath. &c.,¹ which connects the 31 stanzas with the preceding Sarga, not with the praise of the work contained in the first four stanzas. There are amongst those 31 also some in praise of the work and therefore if those which appear as the first four had been found anywhere else they would not have seemed so incongruous as they do in their present setting in the printed editions. But in none of the Mss. examined by me are they found anywhere else except as immediately following the colophon to the 43rd Sarga.

7. As for the said subsequent 31 stanzas they are in the first place introduced by the remark "Vālmīkiruvāca"; secondly, the first of them states that after the day's recitation was over the audience left the place on that day and re-assembled on the next day² and the six subsequent ones narrate that after the recitation lasting for 18 days was over and Rāma had expressed his gratitude to Vasiṣṭha, the latter by the exercise of his spiritual power invoked the gods who had come to listen to the discourse and made them manifest to Rāma,³ that the Yakṣas, Gandharvas, Siddharṣis, Vidyādhara and Mahoragas (literally meaning big serpents) who are meant by the term "gods," having become manifest, Rāma bowed to them, and that being pleased they in turn bowed to both the teacher and the pupil and eulogized the discourse between them as imparting highly elevating knowledge.⁴ Upto this stage the stanzas appear as if they had been taken from the original work. That they are not found to have been extracted from the said work as printed is quite a different matter, for, if not in the printed recension thereof, they may be in any other older recension, whose existence is pointed at by other data. But at any rate the speech of Vālmīki must be deemed to end there for the next stanza speaks of the Siddhas having heard at Ayodhyā,⁵ and brought down the work to Kāśmīr out of compassion for the inhabitants of that province,⁶ a statement which appears inappropriate in the mouth of the original author. The next two or three stanzas, according as the first or the second printed edition is borne in mind, relate how Rāma discharged his royal duties after he had listened to the teaching of Vasiṣṭha.⁷ These stanzas again, like

1. I believe the reading "Snātum samākṛtamuni prapātir jagāma" of the second line of the stanza to be faulty as it yields no sense and prefer to read "Snātum sabhā kṛtamuniprapātirjagāma" which fits in with the context. I also believe that to be the third line instead of the second because it is so in the big work wherein this very stanza occurs very often, e.g. see III.14.86, 22.33, 41. 69, 70, 84.

2. *Laghu Yogavāsiṣṭha* (N. S. P. edition, 1937). VI. 16.5.

3. *Op. Cit.* 6-12.

4. *Op. Cit.* 13-15.

5. The printed editions have the reading "Ayodhyāyām stutvaitat" which ill-accords with the previous statement that the Siddhas were among those who had heard the discourse which had taken place at Ayodhyā. I therefore prefer to read "Ayodhyāyām śrtvaitat" which yields the sense above-mentioned. Cf. also *Yogavāsiṣṭha* VI | 1. 128.77.

6. *Op. Cit.* 16.

7. *Op. Cit.* 17-18 ; First edition, 17 to 19.

the first four, seem to be quite out of place in this context for they are preceded by the narration of a tradition as to how the *Yogavāsishtā* had found its way into Kāśmīr and followed by a statement in 16 stanzas as to the merit of the work in the abridged form. Those 16 again seem to form a compact series because the first four mention the qualifications of the persons to whom the Śāstra should be taught and the disqualifications of those who should not be initiated into its teaching,¹ the next two explain the reasons for that restriction, which are that the work embodies the teaching imparted by Maheśvara, by the Goddess, and even by Viṣṇu to Nārada and other sages and that it is the nectar extracted from the ocean of milk known as the *Mahārāmāyaṇa*, whose other name is *Mokṣopāya*,² the next six set forth the effects which a study of this work and a reflection over its teaching is likely to have generally on the minds of all who read it and particularly on those of persons of dull intellect, on those of persons with a slightly refined intellect and on those of Yogis;³ the next three state as the reasons for that optimistic view that Vasiṣṭha is believed to be the highest knower of the meaning of all the Āgamas, that this work is praised everywhere as the *Sāra* (quintessence) of the *Mokṣopāya* (the work known by that name i.e. the *Yogavāsishtā*), that there is no other treatise than it which would be a source of solace to the lacerated heart of one bereft of his beloved objects &c., that this Śāstra is verily a full moon who has risen from the Cidākāśa,⁴ is a treasure-house of joy, has good phases, contains abundant nectar, is one from which radiates the splendour of poetic sentiment and which has a light which has dispelled darkness,⁵ and the last winds up the whole encomium by setting forth the merit accruing from a steadiness of the mind achieved even for a single moment while reflecting on Brahma.⁶

8. It thus appears on the one hand as if the stanzas in this Sarga had been put together on being collected in groups from various sources, and on the other as if most of them at least had been composed by Gauḍa Abhinanda himself in order to set forth the merit of the work. It would not therefore be proper to discard this Sarga as a spurious one and it is necessary to examine the other available evidence.

(b). *Extent and Contents of the Commentaries.*

9. One remarkable circumstance against the existence of any Sarga in the text as composed by Gauḍa Abhinanda is that the commentary of Mum-

1. *Op. Cit.* 19 to 22 ; First edition 20 to 23.

2. *Op. Cit.* 23-24 ; First edition 24-25.

3. *Op. Cit.* 24 to 29 ; First edition 25 to 30.

4. The phrase "Śāstram nūrānandanidhiḥ" occurring in stanza 34 of the first edition and 33 of the second seems to be meaningless and makes it impossible so to construe the whole stanza as to make it yield an intelligible sense. If instead of that the phrase "Śāstrendurānandanidhiḥ" is read in its place, it, when split up into the words "Śāstrenduḥ" and "Ānandanidhiḥ" makes the whole stanza yield the sense given above.

5. *Op. Cit.* 31 to 33 ; First edition 33 to 34.

6. *Op. cit.* 34 ; First edition 35.

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5. *Op. Cit.* 31 to 33 ; First edition 33 to 34.

6. *Op. cit.* 34 ; First edition 35.

maḍideva is found to end at Sarga 43. But from that circumstance alone no inference as to the genuineness or otherwise of the Sarga in question can be drawn because that of Ātmasukha is found to end even with the 13th Sarga. But there is another more weighty circumstance also pointing to an adverse conclusion and that is that Mummaḍideva has, in the commencement of his commentary on each of the latter 3 chapters, mentioned the number and names of the Ākhyānas (episodes) therein, that there is invariably one Sarga to each Ākhyāna,¹ that in his introductory remarks before his commentary on the Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇa he says that it contains 15 episodes, namely, those of Bhuṣuṇḍa, Devapūjā, Bilvaphala, Śilā, Arjuna, Śatarudra, Vetāla, Bhagīratha, Śikhidhvaja comprising three subsidiary ones of Kirāta, Cintāmaṇi and Gaja, Kaca, Mithyā (-puruṣa), Bhṛṅgi, Ikṣvāku, Vyādha, and the Bhūmikās, that consequently there must according to him be not more than 15 Sargas in that Chapter and as upto the end of the 5th Chapter there are 28 Sargas only according to all available evidence, the Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇa as composed by the author must, according to Mummaḍideva, be ending at the 43rd Sarga. If that was so, there could not be a 44th Sarga in this work as composed of 35 or even 31 stanzas, known to Mummaḍideva. If he had known of any such, he would have said in the above introductory remarks that the Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇa had 16 episodes. True, "Śāstrāgrahaṇa-phalanirdeśaḥ", which is the title of that Sarga found in the printed editions only, is not an episode strictly so-called. But in the first place this title is not found in the Devanāgarī Ms. of A.D. 1600 at Baroda or in the palm-leaf Mss. at Adyar or in the Devanāgarī Ms. of 1683 at Baroda, though an additional Sarga without number is there. Secondly, that is not a valid reason for negating the above view because though the titles of the last Sargas of the Upāsama and the Nirvāṇa are "Jīvanmuktasya ākāśa-gamanādyabhāvaḥ" (Non-migration of the Soul of the Jīvanmukta to the Sky &c) and "Yogasaptabhūmikā" (seven Stages of Yoga) respectively, which two are not episodes strictly so-called, they are included in the category of Ākhyānas in the said two chapters by the commentator. I therefore feel myself on solid ground in recording a conclusion that he did not know of the existence of any Sarga after the 43rd, composed by Gauḍa Abhinanda, whether as containing 35 or 31 stanzas. That circumstance would have been sufficient to justify a finding that the work as composed by Gauḍa Abhinanda must have ended at the 43rd Sarga, had there been as usual a closing remark at the end of this commentary on that Sarga. But there is none such. Moreover Mummaḍideva, son of Allāḍasūri, or Allālasūri, appears from his name to be a South Indian. It is possible also that there was a very wide gap of some centuries between his time and that of Gauḍa Abhinanda. For these two reasons it seems possible that this commentator may not have come by a complete Ms. of the work when he wrote his commentary thereon, and if that was so, it is easily intelligible why his commentary though not extending beyond the 43rd Sarga, does not contain a closing remark at the end of the

1. *Op. Cit.* Pp. 284, 362 and 546.

colophon to it. The problem before us cannot therefore be satisfactorily solved until a fairly large number of old Mss. is critically examined, which I now proceed to do.

1 (c). *Contents of the Mss. of the Work and the Commentaries thereon.*

10. Amongst those which have been so examined, there is one in the Devanāgarī character at the Sanskrit Library, Baroda, namely No. Ic. 10561, which contains the whole of the 44th Sarga consisting of 35 stanzas exactly as in the first printed edition. It bears the date Phālguna Śuddha 8th, Saturday, of the year Saṁvat 1739 (A.D. 1638). This no doubt bespeaks a high antiquity for the belief that the work did contain the Sarga in that form. As against that however there are two palm-leaf Mss. in the Grantha character at the same library, namely Nos. Ic. 6394 and 9809, which are apparently complete and yet stop at the 43rd Sarga, where the commentary of Mummaḍideva ends.¹ Between these two extremes there are two other groups of Mss., one of which contains only the first four stanzas after the 43rd Sarga and the other only the subsequent 31. In the first fall Mss. Nos. 280|1892—95, 177|1884—87 and 72|1882—83 in the Devanāgarī character at the Government Mss. Library at the B. O. R. I., Poona. The first two are complete so far as the Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇa is concerned and while the former of them is dated Saṁvat 1661 (A.D. 1605) the latter is dated Śake 1596 (A.D. 1674). The last does not bear any date and has in it the commentary of Mummaḍideva on the last three chapters tacked on to that of Ātmasukha on the first three, as in the printed editions. Independently therefore it is not of much value but it does serve to corroborate the testimony afforded by the first two Mss. which bear definite dates and contain the same commentary on the Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇa. Here then we have Mss. which point to the conclusion that between the years 1605 and 1674 there prevailed a belief that there were the first four stanzas known to some students of the work as attributed to Gauḍa Abhinanda but not as forming part of or constituting an additional Sarga. In the second group fall three Mss. namely No. IC. 12810 in the Devanāgarī character at Baroda and Nos. 40 H. 18 and 30 B. 2 at the Theosophical Society's Library at Adyar, Madras, the first in the Grantha and the second in the Telugu character.² The dates of the two latter are unknown but they are on palm-leaves while that of the first is definitely Saṁvat 1656 (A.D. 1600). Although we may not believe that a palm-leaf Ms. must necessarily be older than A.D. 1600, although it is so in the case of Jain Mss. in Gujarat, the latest available palm-leaf Ms. being of Saṁvat 1498 (A.D. 1441-42), according to the *Praśastisaṁgraha*, p. 2 in Gujarati of the Appendix thereto, the said two palm-leaf Mss. can be availed of for supporting the conclusion pointed at by the Baroda Ms., which is that ever since A.D. 1600

1. Ms. No. 9465 at the Tanjore Sanskrit Library noticed in the Tanjore New Catalogue by P. P. S. SASTRI also seems to be in the same category as it is stated to end with the 43rd Sarga.

2. Mss. Nos. D. 1984-5 at the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras, seem to be of the same category because they contain a 44th Sarga.

there were students of the work who had reason to believe that the work did contain an additional Sarga though not commented upon by Mummaḍideva and that it had, to their knowledge, been made up of the subsequent 31 stanzas introduced by the remark "Vālmikiruvāca." That reason can be no other than the existence in their time of older Mss. of the work containing the said stanzas either arranged exactly as they appear in the first printed edition or in a scattered condition like the first 4 stanzas.

1 (d). *Possible Inferences.*

11. One result then of this scrutiny of the available Mss. is that ever since A.D. 1600 and most probably also since a date earlier than that there prevailed a belief that besides the 43 Sargas known to and commented upon by Mummaḍideva, the work did contain one additional Sarga at least and that it was the one relating to the statement of the fruit of studying the teaching of Vasiṣṭha to Rāma supported by that of a tradition as to the divine origin of that teaching and as to its having been put in the form of a treatise in his own language by the sage Vālmiki and by that of another as to how the said treatise had found its way into Kāśmīr. Another result thereof is that acting on that belief the scribes of those Mss. had made attempts to find out the whole of the contents thereof but some had not succeeded in getting any of the stanzas contained therein, some had got the first four only and others the subsequent thirty-one in groups of 5 to 16, 17 to 19 and 20 to 35, some of those who followed the latter put all the thirty-one stanzas together and some of them even assigned the number 44 to the Sarga made up of them and lastly, one coming after those of the two later groups collected together the two groups of stanzas and put the first immediately above the second without giving any thought to the question whether it could or could not have been there in the text as originally composed by the author. But what can be the reason for the existence of such fragments of that Sarga in the old Mss. ?

12. One possibility is that the commentator Ātmasukha who, from his name and his Guru's name and from the fact of his having referred to the temple of Viśvanātha at Benares,¹ appears to be a North Indian Sannyāsi may have composed the first four stanzas which are found only in some of the Mss. in the Devanāgarī character and may have appended them to his commentary in order to wipe off the blame attached to the work by some of his contemporaries and that Mummaḍideva, who from his name and that of his father appears to be a South Indian householder, may have composed the subsequent 31 stanzas in order to glorify the work of a Kāśmīri Paṇḍit on which he had exerted his brain. This possibly however does not deserve a serious consideration because so far as the first four stanzas are concerned, if Ātmasukha may have composed and appended them to his commentary, the whole of that commentary to which they may have been appended should have been

1. Introductory stanzas 3 and 4 at the commencement of his commentary on the work, at p. 1 of the N. S. P. edition, 1937.

available in a Ms. form but as a matter of fact not only in the printed editions but also in Ms. No. Ic. 10561 at Baroda, which is dated Śaṃvat 1739 (A.D. 1683) and in No. 72 of 1882-83 at Poona, which does not bear any date, this commentary is to be found upto the end of the third chapter only. In Mss. No. 2157—59 at Jammu even that on the third chapter is incomplete. Mummaḍideva too, who was a South Indian householder, can be the least expected to have composed the subsequent 31 stanzas because they contain a statement of a tradition as to how the big *Yogavāsisūtha* had found its way into Kāśmīr and because all those stanzas do not seem to form a compact group though 20 to 35 thereof do.

13. A second possibility is that the scribes of the old Mss. themselves may have composed and appended the two groups of stanzas to the copies of older Mss. made by them. This too does not deserve much consideration because the nature of the contents thereof above-stated and the poetic flavour present in the first four and some of the other 31 exclude it.

14. A third possibility is that those old scribes may have copied them out as they may have found them in still older Mss. although they may not have believed them to form parts of the work of Gauḍa Abhinanda, because of their anxiety to preserve them from oblivion. That the scribes in those days were in the habit of doing so is apparent from Ms. No. IC. 6394 at Baroda which after the colophon to the 43rd Sarga contains certain stanzas which, on a comparison, are found to have been taken from the *Vairāgya-prakarana* of the *Bṛhat Yogavāsisūtha*. That is also a fact generally well-known to scholars who have studied Pothis which contain copies of one or more complete works and fragments of others, a typical example of which fresh in my memory is that of Ms. No. 8771 at the S. P. P. Library, Srīnagar, to which I had drawn the attention of scholars in my article on "Ms. No. 623 Vishram (i) at the B. O. R. I. Poona" published in the *NIA*. for October 1938 at pp. 460-62, which contain some stanzas covering one folio-page even after the 14 Khila-sargas following the end of the *Nirvāṇa-prakarana*. That possibility too is however excluded in this case because the subject-matters of the stanzas show that the scribes of the old Mss. must have copied whichever of these stanzas they had found in still older Mss. for the sake of rescuing them from oblivion, not because though they believed that they were unconnected with the work but deserved to be rescued but because they believed that they were valuable fragments of a lost portion of the work as originally composed by Gauḍa Abhinanda himself and that therefore they particularly deserved to be rescued for the benefit of posterity.

I (e). *Conclusion.*

15. Was this belief correct is therefore the question to which I address myself last. After a mature consideration I have come to the conclusion that it was. True, we cannot believe that Gauḍa Abhinanda, who has been acclaimed in most of the colophons to this work as not only a sound philosopher but also as an eminent poet and who has been acknowledged

as such by his contemporaries and successors mentioned in my said article in the *Poona Orientalist* for April 1938, could have been so illogical and devoid of a sense of propriety as to have composed and arranged the 35 stanzas in the way in which they are found in the two printed editions and the Baroda Ms. of A.D. 1683, or even the subsequent 31 stanzas in the way in which they are found in the Baroda Ms. of A.D. 1600 and the two palm-leaf Mss. at Adyar, Madras. A more plausible conclusion therefore is that he must have composed not one *Sarga* containing either the 35 or the 31 stanzas but must have composed three *Sargas* after the account of the philosophical discourse was over and that the 35 stanzas now available consist of three groups preserved out of a larger number of those contained in them. This conclusion is supported by the fact that *Ātmasukha* having stated in his introductory remark that this work contained 6000 stanzas and the total of those in the first 43 and even the three additional ones occurring in the printed editions, being 5013 only, there is a possibility of some stanzas having been completely lost. Another fact supporting it is that the first printed edition gives the number 48 as that of the last *Sarga* of the work, presumably on the strength of an old Ms. and that number would be made up if after the 43rd there are 5 additional *Sargas* instead of 3 as in the printed editions. Now, if these stanzas are fragments of three such *Sargas* it remains to be ascertained which the remaining two could be.

2 (a). *Contents of the Other Two Additional Sargas.*

16. As to that the 43rd *Sarga* which relates to the statement of the seven stages of Yoga contains extracts from *Sarga* 126 of the *Nirvāṇa-pūrvardha* of the *Bṛhat Yogavāsiṣṭha* right upto its end. Therefore, if in the time of Gauḍa Abhinanda there was an earlier recension of that work which contained beyond that *Sarga* only two more i.e. the 127th and 128th *Sargas* of that half of the *Nirvāṇa*, as appears to be the case from several other data mentioned in my said previous articles on the date of that work, there could not be more than two *Sargas* even in the *Laghu Yogavāsiṣṭha* between the 43rd and the three *Sargas* of which the stanzas above-considered formed parts. A comparison of the contents of the *Sargas* entitled "*Bharadvājānuśāsanam*" and "*Śrī Vasiṣṭha-Rāmacandrasaṁvādaḥ*," printed last in the N. S. P. editions with those of the said two *Sargas* in the original work shows beyond the possibility of a doubt that Gauḍa Abhinanda must have compressed those very *Sargas* of the original work as found in the recension before him into those two *Sargas* of his abridgement because VI|1. 127. 1 of the former corresponds with a slight variation in readings with VI. 45. 1 of the latter, some of the following stanzas in both e.g. nos. 11, 13, 15, 20, 27, 28, 30, 31, 35, 38, 39, 46 and 52 are word-to-word the same in both, the others with the exception of no. 48 in the latter also correspond to certain stanzas in the former with some variations and the second line of no. 58 in both is the same and similarly although VI. 46. 1 to 5 of the *Laghu*. correspond to VI|1. 127. 59 to 63 of the *Bṛhat*..

extracts from Sarga 128. 1 onwards of the latter immediately follow in the *Laghu.*, nos. 46 to 54 in the former are word-to-word the same as nos. 55 to 63 in the latter, the same is the case with nos. 58, 68, 70, 75, and 78 to 82 in the former, the corresponding stanzas in the latter being nos. 67, 95, 97, 103 and 106 to 110 and all the others too in the former have corresponding stanzas in the latter with some variations right upto the last, namely no. 111, the only stanza in the former not found to have a corresponding one in the latter being no. 84, which says that "In this Vāsiṣṭha there are six chapters named respectively Vairāgya, Mumukṣu-vyavahāra, Utpatti, Sthiti, Upāsama and Nīrvāṇa." I therefore feel convinced that there must be these two Sargas only between the 43rd and that the contents whereof have been discussed above.

2 (b). *Manuscript Evidence as to Their Genuineness.*

17. But it is a point for consideration whether there is a sufficient ground for including even these two Sargas in a critical edition of the work because besides the printed editions they are as yet found in only one Ms. namely No. IC. 12810 at Baroda out of those which I have examined or got examined for myself by kind friends and because even in the latter they are found copied out after the remark that the work ends there, which follows the Sarga above-considered in which there are the subsequent 31 stanzas. I have considered it and come to the conclusion that they are entitled to a place in a critical edition of the work because we cannot believe that Gauḍa Abhinanda could have been so forgetful or wanting in a sense of propriety as to omit to draw extracts from the Sargas in which the introductory episodes had been appropriately wound up and because even though these Sargas of the *Laghu.* are found in one Ms. only besides the printed editions, that is the oldest dated Ms. yet found and on a comparison with the first 43 Sargas, they seem to have been made up of extracts drawn on the same lines as the others.

IV. FINAL CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION OF LINES FOR THE PREPARATION OF A REVISED EDITION OF THE TEXT

18. Thus on a careful consideration of the contents of the two printed editions of the work, the commentaries of two commentators so far as they are available and more than one dozen Mss., 6 out of which are palm-leaf Mss. and four of the paper Mss. out of which are of dates ranging from A.D. 1600 to 1683, I have been of opinion that if any Research Institute or Society of Oriental Scholars or any University having an Oriental Research Branch or any enterprising firm of cultured publishers or any such individual publishers agrees with me in the view that even works like this in which the philosophical element preponderates, deserve to be re-edited on collecting and collating all the available Mss., with suitable foot-notes as to other *variae lectiones* and an Introduction setting forth the facts as to how the various Mss. had been acquired and dealt with and how the results embodied in the edition had been arrived at and in another a summary of the teaching contained in the work,

the contribution which it had, in the opinion of the editor, made to the development of religious or philosophical thought in India and the place which should consequently be assigned to it in a History of Indian Philosophy, and includes this work in the programme of the works¹ to be so re-edited, I would recommend the adoption of the following lines for the revision of the text of the *Laghu Yogavāsiṣṭha* namely :—

1. The Vairāgya, Mumukṣu, Utpatti, Sthiti and Upaśama Prakaraṇas should be re-printed as they are in the N. S. P. edition 1937, subject to such minor alterations in stanzas and colophons as a collation of the Mss. may seem to justify, with comparative foot-notes as to readings but the Sargas therein should be re-numbered as Nos. 1 to 3, 4, 5 to 13, 14 to 18 and 19 to 28 respectively, as they are found to have been so numbered in all Mss. without exception.

2. Sargas 1 to 15 of the Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇa should be similarly revised and re-printed but the numbers thereof should be altered into 29 to 43.

3. Sargas 17 and 18 as they are in the said printed edition should also be similarly revised and re-printed immediately after No. 43 with the relevant colophons and assigned the numbers 44 and 45 and a note should be added at the end of the latter, agreeably to the contents of stanza 84 therein, that the extracts from the original *Yogavāsiṣṭha* ended there.

4. Thereafter should be re-printed stanzas 5 to 15 and 17 to 19 rearranged as follows :—

षट्चत्वारिंशः सर्गः ।

वाल्मीकिरुवाच —

इत्युक्तवत्यथ मुनौ दिवमो जगाम
सायंतनास्तविधयेऽस्तमिनो जगाम ।
स्नातुं सभा कृतमुनिप्रणतिर्जगाम
श्यामाक्षये च रविकरैश्चसहाजगाम² ॥ १ ॥

अष्टादशेति दिवमान्विदधे गरिष्ठां
गोष्ठिं वसिष्ठमुनिना सह रामचन्द्रः ।
हित्वा भवप्रभवमोहमथावतस्थे
निर्वातवारिधिनिवाचलसत्त्वपूर्णः ॥ २ ॥

1. The *Bṛhat Yogavāsiṣṭha* also deserves to be so re-edited in view of the observations made by me in my three papers above-referred to. I have also called attention to the necessity of settling the text of the *Pañcadaśī* in a paper on the "Problems of *Pañcadaśī*" published in the Annals of the B. O. R. I. Vol. XIX Pt. III. The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* are two other such works which stand in need of revision for several reasons.

2. Vide foot-note 1 at p. 702 *supra*.

तस्मिन्क्षणे कल्पतरुप्रसूत-

प्रसूनसंघस्य पपात वृष्टिः ।

संतुष्टगिर्वाणगणप्रमुक्ता

मुक्ताकलादभ्रमिताभ्रपूर्णा ॥ ३ ॥¹

प्रबुद्धेनाथ रामेण संपूज्याभिष्टुतो मुहुः ।

मातृपितृसमेतेन प्रणम्याभिहितो मुनिः ॥ ४ ॥

त्वत्प्रसादाद्भो भगवन्निःसंशयमिदं मनः ।

विज्वरं शीतलं शान्तं संजातमविकारि मे ॥ ५ ॥

सर्वार्तिहर्ता सर्वज्ञः सर्वदेवाश्रितो गुरुः ।

मोहोदधकारविध्वंसः सवितेव भवानिति ॥ ६ ॥

ततस्तदानीं मुनिना रामाय गगनस्थिताः ।

श्रोतुमभ्यागताः देवाः आहूय प्रकटीकृताः ॥ ७ ॥

यक्षगन्धर्वसिद्धर्षिविद्याधरमहोरगाः ।

रामेण प्रणताश्चितमूचुः संतुष्टमानसाः ॥ ८ ॥

श्रुतमस्माभिरखिलं ज्ञानमेतन्महोदयम् ।

त्रैलोक्यमोहार्तिहरौ भवन्तौ प्रणता वयम् ॥ ९ ॥

भवद्गुरोर्वसिष्ठस्य भवतश्च महात्मनः ।

मिथः संवादमखिलं ज्ञानमेतन्महोदयम् ॥ १० ॥²

अवतीर्य स्वयं विष्णुर्मानुष्यो रामनामवृकृ ।

खिन्नः संसारजालेऽस्मिन्योगज्ञानेन बोधितः ॥ ११ ॥³

× × × ×

× × × ×⁴

अथ सर्वाणि कार्याणि ज्ञाततत्त्वो गतव्यथः ।

निर्ममो निर्ममे रामो निष्कामो जनको यथा ॥

यथाम्बु बिसिनीपत्रे सज्जते नाम्बुमज्जनैः ।

तथाऽस्य राज्यभोगेन न चेतो रज्यतेऽमलम् ॥

1. These are stanzas nos. 5 to 7 in the printed editions.

2. These are stanzas 9 to 15 in the said editions.

3. This is stanza 8 therein.

4. These lines of crosses indicate that some stanzas are believed to have been originally in existence but are now missing. It is for that very reason that the subsequent stanzas have been left unnumbered.

नास्य भूतिमतो भातिर्भव भवभोगिनः ।

यथा जाङ्गलिकस्यादिमुखदत्ताङ्गुलेरपि¹ ॥

×	×	×	×
×	×	×	× ²

इति श्रीतर्कवागीश्वरसाहित्याचार्यगौडमण्डलालङ्कारश्रीमदभिनन्दपण्डितसमुद्धृते श्रीवासिष्ठ-
रामायणमोक्षोपायसारोद्धारे देवप्रकटीकरणं नाम षट्चत्वारिंशत्तमस्य सर्गस्य यावत्प्राप्तः खण्डः ॥

5. Next to it should be printed the following fragment of Sarga 47 that is available, namely :—

सप्तचत्वारिंशः सर्गः ।

×	×	×	× ³
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ततः सिद्धैरयोध्यायां ध्रुत्वैतदवतारितम्⁴ ।

काश्मीरमण्डलस्यान्तर्भूतानामनुकम्पया ॥

×	×	×	×
×	×	×	×

×	×	×	×
×	×	×	× ⁵

प्रसृत्य⁶ वेधसः सृष्टिं यत्कटाक्षरसाञ्जनम् ।

वादी वाग्मी कविश्चायं रामकीर्तिं सृजत्यहो ॥

निन्दन्ति ये हरिहरार्यकृपामृताब्धिं
स्वच्छन्दसञ्चरणसञ्चितवाञ्छितार्थाः ।

निदन्ति ते जलनिधिं बहिरुत्क्षिपन्ते
स्तानुं समागतवतोऽपि तरङ्गहस्तैः ॥

मज्जन्तमप्यनुदिनं द्विजराजमेक-
मद्यापि नैव जलधिं विमलीकरोति ।

सृष्ट्रोऽप्यहो हरिहरार्यं कृपाम्बुधिस्ते
प्रक्षालयत्यमतिपङ्कमपि द्विजानाम् ॥

1. These are stanzas 17 to 19 in the first edition. The last has been omitted from the second.

2. Vide foot-note 4 *supra*.

3. Vide foot-note 4 at p. 711 *supra*.

4. Vide foot-note 5 at p. 702 *supra*. This is stanza 16 in the said editions.

5. Vide foot-note 4 at p. 711 *supra*.

6. Vide foot-note 1 at p. 701 *supra*.

मन्यामहे हरिहरार्थं गुरो त्वदीय-
वाणीसुधा जलधिमेव वरं वरेण्यम् ।
आनन्दकन्दलितनन्दनप्रारिजात-
निष्यन्दमानमकरन्दमहानदीनाम् ॥¹

×	×	×	×	×
×	×	×	×	× ²

इति श्रीतर्कवागीश्वरसाहित्याचार्यगौडमण्डलालङ्कारश्रीमदभिनन्दपण्डितसमुद्धृते श्रीवासिष्ठ-
रामायणमोक्षोपायसारोद्धारे वसिष्ठस्य काश्मीरमण्डलान्तरवतरणं नाम सप्तचत्वारिंशत्तमस्य सर्गस्य
यावत्प्राप्तः खण्डः ॥

6. Lastly, the revised stanzas 20-35 should be reprinted in the following order which is the same as that in which they are found in the first printed edition and should be renumbered as follows :—

अष्टचत्वारिंशः सर्गः ।

शास्त्रं त्विदं विरक्ता ये सत्सङ्गाः सत्क्रियापराः ।
तेषां धर्मात्मनामेव प्रदातव्यं प्रयत्नतः ॥ १ ॥
सर्वा सर्वोपकाराय मतिश्चेदस्ति वै शुभा ।
तदेदं सर्वथा देयं विद्यादानं महाफलम् ॥ २ ॥
दुर्ग्रहप्रस्तमनसामसाधूनां प्रमादिनाम् ।
निन्दकानामिदं शास्त्रं रहस्यं न प्रकाशयेत् ॥ ३ ॥
पूर्वं नाराधितो येन भगवानिन्दुशेखरः ।
हरिर्ब्रह्मा रविश्चापि न लभेदिदमद्भुतम् ॥ ४ ॥
महेश्वरेण यत्प्रोक्तं देव्या यच्चापि विष्णुना ।
मुनीनां नारदादीनां तदिदं ज्ञानमुत्तमम् ॥ ५ ॥
महारामायणाख्यं यन्मोक्षोपायपराभिधम् ।
ततः क्षीरनिधिप्रख्यात्पीयूषमिदमुद्धृतम् ॥ ६ ॥
सामान्येन विचारेण क्षयमायाति दुष्कृतम् ।
सम्यगस्य विचारेण को न याति परं पदम् ॥ ७ ॥

1. These are stanzas 1 to 4 in the said editions.

2. Vide foot-note 4 at p. 711 *supra*.

3. The second distich of the first line of this stanza in the printed editions reads :—“Matīścedasti vaḥ śubhā.” The word “vaḥ” therein which would be equivalent to “yuṣmākam” does not seem to fit in in the context. I therefore prefer to read “vai” in its place. Similarly the first word of the third distich there is “tadidaṁ.” Thereout ‘tat’ is not the correlative of ‘cet’ in the first line. I therefore prefer to read “tadedarṇ” which is made up of “tadā” “idaṁ” out of which the first is the correct correlative of “yadā” = “cet.”

एकवेल्मधीतेन शास्त्रेणानेन किल्बिषम् ।
 प्रणयति नृणां सर्वं क्षिप्रं बोधश्च जायते ॥ ८ ॥
 अप्रबुद्धोऽपि यश्चेदं भावयेद्भक्तिभावितः ।
 तस्य निर्मलतासिद्धं चित्तं नास्त्यत्र संशयः ॥ ९ ॥
 मूढैर्मुमुक्षुभिर्वापि संयतैर्वाप्यसंयतैः ।
 परमार्थमिदं चिन्त्यं दुर्लभं ब्रह्मदर्शनम् ॥ १० ॥
 किञ्चित्संस्कृतबुद्धीनां श्रुतं शास्त्रमिदं यथा ।
 सौख्यापहं तथा शास्त्रमन्यदस्ति न किञ्चन ॥ ११ ॥
 भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदमिदं योगिनां परमं प्रियम् ।
 हस्तस्थं प्राप्य चिद्रूपं प्राक्पुण्यैरेव लभ्यते ॥ १२ ॥
 सर्वांगमार्थसंवेत्ता वसिष्ठः परमो मतः ।
 मोक्षोपायस्य सारोऽयमिति सर्वत्र गीयते ॥ १३ ॥
 प्रियार्थादिवियोगेन जातखेदस्य देहिनः ।
 शास्त्रं विना किमत्र स्यादन्तःसंतापशान्तिदम् ॥ १४ ॥
 चिदम्बरात्प्रोदित एव पूर्णः
 शास्त्रेन्दुरानन्दनिधिः सुपादः ।¹
 सान्द्रामृतः काव्यरसोपशोभा-
 स्फुरन्प्रकाशः क्षपितोऽन्धकारः ॥ १५ ॥
 स्नातं तेन समस्ततीर्थसलिलैः सर्वापि दत्तावनि-
 र्यज्ञानां च कृतं सहस्रमखिला देवाश्च संपूजिताः ।
 संसाराच्च समुद्धृताः स्वपितरर्चलोक्यपूज्योऽन्यसौ
 यस्य ब्रह्मविचारणे क्षणमपि स्थिर्य मनः प्राप्नुयात् ॥ १६ ॥

इति श्रीतर्कवागीश्वरसाहित्याचार्यगौडमण्डलालङ्कारश्रीमद्भिनन्दपण्डितसमुद्धृते श्रीवासिष्ठ-
 रामायणमोक्षोपायसारोद्गारे शास्त्रग्रहणफलनिर्देशो नाम अष्टचत्वारिंशः सर्गः । समाप्तमिदं पुस्तकम् ॥

This re-arrangement is tentative only. It may have to be revised again if any fresh materials justifying its revision may come to light in the meanwhile. It is also possible that even without such materials some other re-arrangement may suggest itself to some other student of the work. I invite such suggestions and will be very glad to re-consider the above in their light.

CLOSING REMARKS.

19. It has already been stated that it has so far been discovered that this work had been commented upon by two persons, Ātmasukha, pupil of Uttamasukha, a North Indian Sannyāsin and Mummaḍideva, son of Allāḍasūri or Allālasūri, a South Indian householder and that *Vāsiṣṭhacandrikā*,

the commentary of the first, has yet been found upto the end of the Utpatti-prakaraṇa, Sargas 1 to 13, only and *Saṃsāratarāṇi*, that of the second, upto the end of the 43rd Sarga in the Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇa. It has been ascertained from several data that the latter did not extend beyond that Sarga even as originally composed. It is possible that a complete Ms. of the former may yet be found. From a list of Mss. kindly supplied to me by Dr. V. Raghavan of the Madras University, I also find that there is a Ms. of a third commentary on this work by another South Indian Sannyāsin named Rāmendrayamin at Adyar, Madras and probably another copy of the same at the Government Oriental Mss. Library, at Madras, as the name of its author given in the list is Rāmabrahmendra Yogin, disciple of Upendra Yogin. I have yet to gather sufficient information about him. It also appears on a study of the fragment of Ātmasukha's commentary which has been published that he was aware of the existence of at least one previous commentator.¹ As regards his own date I have been able to ascertain so far only this much that he cannot have flourished earlier than the middle of the 11th Century A.D., as he has quoted Kṣīrasvāmin, the author of *Amarakośodghāṭana*, the earliest known commentary on the *Amarakośa*, several times and that commentator has been ascertained to have flourished not earlier than the above period.² But Ātmasukha has also quoted several other named and unnamed writers. I have yet to ascertain whether any of them is later than Kṣīrasvāmin and if so, how much, so that the *terminus ad quem* of his own date can be brought down as nearer as possible to A.D. 1683, the date of Ms. No. IC. 10561 at Baroda, which is the earliest Ms. containing his commentary on the first three chapters which I have yet come to know of. Lastly, I have also to ascertain as accurately as possible how much earlier than A.D. 1605, the date of Ms. No. 280 of 1892-95 at Poona, Mummaḍideva, palm-leaf Mss. of whose commentary are available in abundance in the Grantha and Telugu characters, could have flourished. For these reasons I cannot offer any suggestions at present as to how to print any commentary below the text. Looking to the title of this article, it would also be beyond its scope to do so. I therefore reserve my full observations with regard to the commentaries on the work and my suggestions as to how to print one or more of them, for a subsequent article.

1. N. S. P. edition, 1937 Pp. 98, 120, 129, 136, 270 and 273 where there are quotations in verse and prose explaining some of the technical terms occurring in the text. Vide also p. 78 where there is a mention of another way of construing the stanza II. 1. 11 which is said to have been adopted by "kecit" (some).

2. Introduction to *Kalpādrukośa* (G. O. Series No. XLII) p. XVIII.

TWO MALAYĀLAM PHONEMES

By

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

I

The “spread-contact” dental¹ nasal and the “point-contact” alveolar nasal are two different phonemes in Malayālam and in Old Tamil. Modern Tamil (both when it is spoken and when old texts are read) does not have this phonemic difference, since the value given for the sounds is (except in the group *ḥd* where the “spread-contact” value is preserved for the nasal on account of the *d* following) that of a “point contact” alveolar *ṇ*, though correct writing distinguishes the symbols for *ḥ* and *ṇ*. In Kannaḍa and in Telugu, neither the linguistic tradition nor the modern colloquial evaluation recognizes any such phonemic difference; and in both these languages the value given for what is called the *dantya n* is that of a “point-contact” pre-alveolar or alveolar, except in the groups *ṇt* *ṇth*, *ḥd*, *ḥdh* where the *ḥ* may be regarded as a subsidiary member of the phoneme *n*. Among non-literary Dravidian speeches, Tuḷu (spoken in its native habitat, viz., South Canara) resembles in this respect Kannaḍa and Telugu. Nor does any of the other non-literary Dravidian speeches evidence the phonemic difference, so far as one can judge from the available accounts of the sounds of these speeches.

II

The “spread-contact” dental of Malayālam is produced by the spreading of the tip of the tongue (and the portion of the blade, immediately behind the tip) on the upper teeth and the roots of the teeth (Fig. 1).

The “point-contact” *ṇ* is produced by the contact of a considerably reduced area of the tip or the blade of the tongue on the alveolar region. (Fig. 2).

The fundamental difference between *ḥ* and *ṇ* both in phonation and in acoustic appeal is due to the “spread-contact” phonation of the former

1. The symbols used in this paper for the transliteration of unique Tam.—Mal. sounds are the following:—

- ḥ* the “spread-contact” dental nasal.
- ṇ* the “point-contact” alveolar nasal.
- t*, *d* the “point-contact” alveolar plosives.
- ɽ* the palato-cerebral trill.
- ḷ* the voiced retroflex continuant.
- u* the lip-normal back, closed vowel.

n is transliterated in this essay without any diacritic mark whatsoever, in illustrations or forms taken from languages in which there is *no* phonemic difference between *ḥ* and *ṇ*.

and the considerably reduced area of occlusion in the production of the latter.

Thus in the sound-stock of Malayālam there are two distinct series of homorganic sounds :—

1. The "spread-contact" plosives *t* (voiceless), *d* (voiced) and the "spread-contact" *ṇ* (homorganic with *t* and *d*).
2. The "point-contact" stops *ʈ* (voiceless), *ɖ* (voiced) and the corresponding nasal *ṇ*.



Fig. 1.
"Spread-contact" denti-alveolar

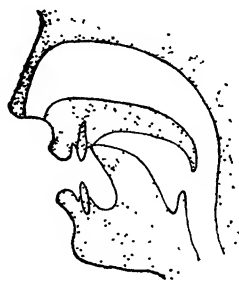


Fig. 2.
"Point-contact" alveolar.

III

The following pairs of words would illustrate the phonemic difference between the sounds under reference.

MALAYĀLAM

taṇṇē 'even by (or after) having given'.

taṇṇē 'alone', 'even self'.

eṇṇē 'even thus', 'even so', etc.

eṇṇē 'me' (accusative, with final vowel lengthened on account of semantic emphasis)

eṇṇāl 'but', etc.

eṇṇāl 'by me'.

muṇṇāl 'three days'.

muṇṇāl 'chief person'.

tiṇṇāṇ (Old Mal.) 'he ate'.

tiṇṇāṇ 'for eating'.

māṇṇan (from IA *manda*) 'dull-witted fellow'.

māṇṇan 'ruler', 'king'.

māṇṇyam (from OIA *māṇḍya*) 'sluggishness'

māṇṇyam (from OIA *māṇya*) 'land exempt from tax, given as a mark of honour'.

1. The word *annam* in Tamil grammars covers the entire region on the mouth-roof extending from the tooth-flesh to the soft palate.

So numerous are the instances of such a "confused" mixing-up of *ṇ* and *ṇ* in the Middle Tam. colloquial forms that one can safely infer that in the colloquials the difference between the two sounds had become obliterated.—In literary writings, however, the traditional differentiation of *symbols* has always been kept up.

3. On the other hand, in Malayālam, though the Ārya eḷuttə used only one *symbol* for denoting *ṇ* and *ṇ*, the difference in the sound-values was never lost sight of.

3. The old commentary in the fourteenth-century grammar *Līlātilakam* gives accurate descriptions of the two sounds and emphasises *what in modern linguistic terminology* may be called the *phonemic* difference between them:—

Bhāṣyāmimāvarthabhēdakau, yathā "kāṅga ṇāvil" "kāṇ kaṇāvil" ityādi . . . tasmād bhāṣyām anayōrarthabhēdassiddhaḥ.

Sthānabhēdopyasti—hakārasya dantaḥ sthānam—karaṇam tu jihvāyā vistārah—ṇakārasya mūrdhā—tatra jihvāgrasyōnnatiḥ—saṃskṛtē ētam bhēdamaprayōjakikṛtya dantasahitanāsikābhavatvamēvōktam.

athahsthitamētadarthabhēdāvasāyalla-ḥayōriva ṇa-ṇayōrbhāṣyām bhēdō-sīti.

V

The evaluation of Sanskrit *n* in Tamil

To-day, Sanskrit *n* is everywhere given the value of the "point-contact" alveolar *ṇ* of Tamil in the Tamil country, when Sanskrit texts are read or when Sanskrit words are used:—*ṇamaskāra*, *ṇāma*, *ṇiyama*, *svaṇṇa*, *yaṇṇa*, *vighṇa*, *anya*, *unmēṣa*, *anvaya*, *prāṇṇōti*, etc.

Old Tam. adaptations of Sanskrit words generally show (in the Mss. now available) the symbol for *ṇ* when the sound occurs initially or in the group *ṇd*, and the symbol for *ṇ* when the Sanskrit sound occurs in other positions. In other words, the Dravidian principle of the occurrence of *ṇ* and *ṇ* has been followed in the adaptation of Sanskrit *n*.

The *n* of Sanskrit words used in Middle Tam. inscriptions² is represented more or less in the same way as in Old Tamil when Tamil characters or vaṭṭeḷuttu symbols are used.

When, however, the granthākṣara script is used (for reproducing Sanskrit forms and passages containing sounds for which there are no

1. Modern phoneticians may not completely approve of these two illustrations as bringing out the phonemic difference in view of the fact that in actual utterance there are other differences also:—

Kāṅga ṇāvil 'see in the tongue';

Kāṇ kaṇāvil 'see in the dream';

The first difference is that while in the former there is a subsidiary accent on the *ā* of *ṇāvil*, in the latter the subsidiary accent falls also on the *a* of *kaṇāvil*; further, while in the former the *g* of *kāṅga* is completely voiced, the *k* of *kaṇāvil* in the latter is only partially voiced.

2. The "confusion" between the symbols for *ṇ* and *ṇ*, consequent upon the use of the "point-contact" alveolar value for *all n*-sounds (in the colloquials of Middle Tamil), also affects the spelling of the adaptations of Skt. words met with in these inscriptions.

symbols in Tamil script and in *vaṭṭeḷuttu*), the only symbol for *n* which the *granthāksara* script has and which in shape is the same as that used for Tam. *ñ* is employed in all positions to represent Sanskrit *n*.

VI

The evaluation of Skt. *n* in Kēraḷa.

Though a few divergences exist here, the general principles guiding the differentiation of the two values are (as shown below) fundamentally those regulating the occurrence of *ñ* and *n* in Old Tamil.

1. The value of a "spread-contact" *ñ* is given to Skt. *n* in the following contexts :—

- (i) in the initial positions, as in *hārāyaṇa*, *hiyama*, *hūti*, *hamaskāra*, etc. ;
- (ii) in the groups *ñt*, *ñth*, *ñd*, *ñdh*, as in *añta*, *grāñtha*, *hñnda*, *añdha*, etc. ;

(iii) in all consonant groups in which *n* forms the second member (of the group): *ghñ*, *gñ*, *tñ*, *phñ*, *mñ*, *śñ*, *ṣñ*, as in *vighñna*, *hagñna*, *yathñna*, *svapñna*, *himñna*, *praññna*, *śhēñna* etc. ;

(iv) in instances involving "composition" or "compounding," in which the second constituents are felt as "separate entities" :

(a) all compounds of *words* and *forms* in which the second member has initial *n*, as in *śrñhivāsa* ;

(b) compounds in which the final *-d* of the first constituent meets the *n-* of the second constituent, as in *tahñyana* (*tad* + *ñayana*) where the value *ññ* is given for the sandhi-produced group ;

(c) in prefixal "composition" those instances in which the second members (containing initial *n*) are felt as separate entities, as in *upañyana*, *anñhāsika*, *āñyana*, *durñaya*, *durñimitta*, etc. ;

(d) *nañ* compounds in which *a* is followed by words with initial *n-*, as in *añiti*, *añitya*, but not when *an-* is followed by the initial vowel of the following word, as in *anñavaśya*, *anñādi*, *anñavadhi*, etc.

2. The value of a "point-contact" alveolar *n* is given to Skt. *n* in the following contexts :—

(i) in internal medial positions whether the sound is short or long, as in *ḍāṇa*, *anēka*, *janāṇa*, *manuśya*, *anña*, *chinña*, *bhinña* etc. ;

(ii) in final positions, as in *rājañ*, *balavāñ*, etc. ;

(iii) in groups *ny*, *nv*, *nm* in which *n* is the first member, *nyāya*, *anyāya*, *anyā*, *anvēśaṇa*, *unmāda*, etc. ;

(iv) in those instances (involving prefixal "composition") in which the second members (containing initial *n-*) are not "felt" as separate entities, as in *viñśa*, *sannñha*, *unñati*, *viññayaka*, *sannñaddha*, *sannñipāta*, *unñāda* ;

Līlātilakam adverts to some of these peculiarities of the Kēraḷa evaluations of Skt. *n* through a Skt. couplet cited in the commentary on Sūtra 7 of the second Śilpa of the work :—

nakārasya nākāratvaṃ nakārēṇa yutasya ca halānyēṇa yutaṃ tadvat padādau ca sthitaṃ vinā.

Though this couplet does not envisage all the peculiarities pointed out above, it does indicate some of them. The commentary adds the following significant observations also in this connection :

asya nyāyasya cōlṣu vyabhicāradarśanāt,—a statement that goes to show that these Kēraḷa peculiarities were absent at that time in the Tamil evaluation of Skt.

One may roughly state that wherever the Skt. *n* is initial or is felt by the speech-consciousness as having the value of an initial in a separate entity, the "spread-contact" *ñ* is used ; and in other contexts (except in *ñt*, *ñth*, *ñdh* and *ñd*, of course) the value of a "point-contact" alveolar is given. Analogy and phonetic factors may also have played a prominent part in this process of differentiation.

The rules therefore ultimately resolve themselves into the fundamental principles guiding the evaluation of Skt. *n* in Old Tamil, the variations being local (perhaps owing to the influence of the Nambūdiris, the earliest Āryan settlers in Kēraḷa and the earliest custodians of Āryan learning in this part of India).

Līlātilakam adverts to the fact that the peculiarities in the evaluation of Skt. *n* are in no way inherent in Skt: *uccāraṇabhēdastu kākātāḷiyah—ēvaṃvidhavyavahāramūlamēva*.

VII

Sanskrit *n*

The phonemic difference¹ pointed out for Mal. and Old Tam. does not exist in Skt. or in any other stage of Indo-Āryan.

The precise character of the production of OIA *n* may have varied with different periods and different speech-areas.

1. Such a phonemic difference has also not been recorded for any Indo-European speech, though different varieties (classified according to the regions on the mouth-roof, and the portion of the tongue-blade involved in the contact) exist in different European languages today. JESPERSEN (*Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, p. 34) has noted the following varieties: what he calls 'post-dentals', produced on the back surface of the upper teeth, occurring in most Romance languages and Slav speeches; varieties, occurring in French, in which one variety is similar to that described above and the other is produced on the region covered by the teeth and the teeth-flesh; a slightly retracted sound occurring in North German and in Dutch, in which the region of articulation is exclusively the teeth-flesh; the English (and South German) alveolars; and the "cacuminals" appearing after *r* in Swedish words.

As for the precise nature of the original Indo-European sound, while JESPERSEN suggests that "Man greift wohl nicht feil in der Annahme dass diese Aussprache (i.e. the very first variety mentioned above) in unserm ganzen Sprachstamm die ursprüngliche gewesen ist," BRUGMANN (*Kurze Vergleichende Grammatik der IG.—Sprachen*, p. 34) finds it difficult to make any suggestion in this direction, as could be inferred from his statement: "In den älteren Sprachen ist die genauere Bestimmung der dentalen Laute nach diesen drei Unterabteilungen (i.e., interdental, post-dentals and alveolars) meist sehr schwächerig."

The Skt. grammatical treatises deal generally with the *ta-varga* as a homorganic group and have (so far as I know) not treated about the sound-value of *n* separately. So far as the point of articulation on the mouth-roof is concerned, while Pāṇini describes the group as “dantya”, some of the Prātiśākhya (Rg-Vēda Prātiś. and Taittiriya Prātiś.) regard the group as dantamūliya”. As for the portion of the tongue involved, the Taittiriya Prātiś. and the Śukla Yajuh Prātiś. refer to the “jihvāgra.” The Atharvavēda Prātiś. uses the expression “jihvāgram prastīṇam”.

It is difficult to make out from these descriptions whether and how far the varieties of phonation were of the “spread-contact” dental type or of the “point-contact” alveolar type.

The word “dantamūliya” is interpreted by Dr. S. K. CHATTERJI as meaning “alveolar”, and he makes the following observations regarding the sound-values of the OIA *ta-varga* at p. 243 of his “Origin and Development of the Bengali Language”—“*t, th, d, dh*, according to the evidence of the Prātiśākhya, were ‘dantamūliya’ or alveolar sounds (like *t* or *d* of English) and not interdental (like the Italian sounds) which they are now. *n, l* have always retained their alveolar sounds.”

Prof. WACKERNAGEL, on the other hand, objects to the interpretation of the word “dantamūliya” as “alveolar” (*Altindische Grammatik*, I, p. 177, §152):—“... die ai. Dentale, die nach R. Pr., 1, 19 (45), T. Pr., 2, 38, an der Zahnwurzel (*dantamūla*.) gesprochen wurden, also postdentale Laute waren, heute aber interdental gesprochen werden ... Der Ausdruck *dantamūliya* darf nicht auf alveolare Aussprache gedeutet werden, da R. Pr., 1, 20 *vartsya* ‘alveolar’ im Gegensatz von *dantamūliya* braucht.” It is difficult, however, to find out whether and to what extent *vartsa* differed from *dantamūla* and similarly *vartsa* itself from *barsva*.

I may also observe here that *no* inference¹ can be drawn regarding the actual sound-value of Skt. *n* (i. e. whether it was of the “spread-contact” dental type or of the “point-contact” alveolar type) from the adoption in the south Indian granthāksara script of a symbol for Skt. *n* which corresponds (in shape) to the Tamil symbol for the “spread-contact” *ṇ*, or from the statement of the grammar Nāṇṇūl (sūtra 150)² that *ṇ* (along with some other sounds) is peculiar to Tamil, while what is represented by the symbol for *ṇ* is common to Tamil and Sanskrit.

1. Nor do I attach any value to the view that the Nambūdiris’ evaluation of Skt. *n* in the west coast represents one genuine type of OIA pronunciation.

2. The Nāṇṇūl sūtra runs thus:—*ṇa-ṇa-la-e-ovvum uyirmeyyum uyiralaḥallā-c-cārbum tamīl, pira poduvē.*

It has to be noted that long before the time of Nāṇṇūl, the difference in the sound-values of *ṇ* and *ṇ* had become obliterated. What is contemplated here is only the symbolic differentiation between what is called *taṇṇagaram* ‘the *ṇ* that goes along with *t*, and *ṇ (ḍ) a ṇ ṇa-garam* ‘the *ṇ* that is associated with *ḍ (d)*, evaluated as *ṇ* to-day when short and intervocal.

I do not think that the precise sound-value of Skt. *n* need have been envisaged here. Since the symbol for Tamil *ṇ* is associated with *t*, and since the Skt. has also a sound *n* in *ta-varga*, the one has been likened to the other purely from the point of view of association; and since the "point-contact" alveolar *ṇ* of Tamil is associated with the unique alveolar stop of Tamil, this *ṇ* has been differentiated as "unique" in Tamil.

VIII

n in N I A

Hindi, Bengali, Gujerāṭi, Sindhi and Panjabi evaluate *n* as a point-contact pre-alveolar or alveolar. I have heard native speakers use only this value for *n* (except of course in the groups *nt*, *nth*, *nd*, and *ndh*,). Marāṭhi, however, gives a "spread-contact" dental value for *n*, which value is particularly conspicuous in stressed positions and in the phonation of long or doubled *nn*, though in medial unstressed positions and finally the value tends to be somewhat that of a "light contact" type.

INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWAD*

By

D. B. DISKALKAR

SOMANĀTHA PĀṬAṆA

No. 19]

(Date missing.)

[13th cent. A.D.

(Probably of the first half of the 14th cent. v.s.)

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a black marble image built up in the western wall of the Gauri *Kuṇḍa* in Somanātha Pāṭaṇa. The inscribed portion containing very beautiful letters measures 2½' in length and only 3" in breadth.

It is broken in its right hand side so that a portion at the beginning of each line is lost. The year when it was engraved is missing but the other details of the date viz. the month and the day are preserved.

The object of the inscription is not clear. Possibly the temple of a goddess was repaired by JAYATA, son of SOMASINHA. The mention of the names of GAṆḌA PARA BRĤASPATI, his wife Umādevī, who was the daughter of Gaṇḍa PARA VĪRABHADRA in the third line leads us to believe that the inscription belonged to about the middle of the fourteenth century of the Vikrama era. For Gaṇḍa Para Vīrabhadra is mentioned in the Verāval inscription of v.s. 1320 (*Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kathiawad*, p. 224) and in Nānāka's first praśasti at Kodinār of the same period (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, p. 103, v. 29). Gaṇḍa Para Br̥haspati and his wife Umādevī are mentioned in the Somanātha Pāṭaṇa (or Cintra) *praśasti* of v.s. 1343 (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 208 ff.). The Brahmā's temple at Puṣkara mentioned in the record deserves to be specially noted.

Text

- | | | |
|---|------------------|--------------------|
| 1...देव | 2 तथा भार्या महं | 3 महं गजसीहपुत्र |
| ...रत्नामूर्ति | मृदपालमुता महं | महं सोममीह मूर्तिः |
| | चउलादेवामूर्तिः | |
| 4 तथा भार्या महं | 5 नाय आहडपुत्र | 6 तथा भार्या नाय- |
| साहणी सुता महं | नाय तेजपाल | वीका ता नाय- |
| सीतादेवामूर्तिः | मूर्तिः | पाद्व मूर्तिः |
| 1 ... वर्षे ज्येष्ठ शुदि २ रवी आद्या गक्ति (:) श्रीदुःखान गौर्या (:) चिरकालाराधना- | | |
| वाससद्गुरु | | |
| 2 सुत पंडितविजयादित्योपदिष्टलब्धश्रीत्रिपुरसुंदर्या मंत्रस्य चिरकालं त्रिप्रकाराधन- | | |
| प्रसद्धा ? | | |

- 3 सोमसीहपुत्र महं जयतेन गंडश्रीपरवीरभद्रसुताराज्ञी उमादेव्या (:) पति (:) गंडश्रीपरबृहस्पति (:) बृहत्सुरषराजश्रीवाच्छिगसुत बृहत्सुरषराजश्री कान्हडदेव त्रयो (यः) प्रभुत्वद्रव्यस्य च सहाय्येन तथा धर्मसु.
- 4 सल नाय तेजपालसुत नाय. श्रीधरदेवयो (:) अमितद्रव्ये स्वकीयद्रव्येन समस्तसाधुमाहेश्वरलोकद्रव्यसहाय्येन च श्रीदेव्या (:) पादानां प्रासादद्रव्यस्य ब्रह्मणोपासितपुष्करतीर्थसहितस्य देवगणि...गुरुसाधुत
- 5 सोमसीहपुत्र महं जयतेन जीर्णोद्धारः कृतः जयतु जिनसुधांभसं भवद्वाग्भवश्री अथ सरभसमुद्यत्कामतत्वानुभावा तदनु परमधामध्यानसंलक्ष्मोक्षा रविशशिशिखिरूपा.....शक्तिः [॥ १ ॥]

SOMANĀTHA PĀṬANA

No. 20]

(Date missing.)

[13th cent.

This fragmentary inscription, originally found in Somanātha Pāṭana, is now preserved in the Junagadh Museum. The letters are very beautifully and almost correctly engraved. The inscribed portion, as far as this fragment is concerned, measures 13½" in length and 8¼" in breadth, but the original stone seems to be about double this preserved one. The left hand portion of the inscription is intact.

Unfortunately the preserved portion of the inscription does not give us much useful information. The names त्रैलोक्यराशि, धर्मराशि, and गंडपरबृहस्पति mentioned in the record show that it is a Lakulīṣa inscription like the preceding one and can be assigned to about v.s. 1343 to which the abovementioned Cintra praśasti of गंडपरबृहस्पति belongs. It may even be suggested that the letters धरो preserved in the 26th line of this inscription are a portion of the name धरणीधर of the poet who composed this inscription. In that case he is identical with the poet धरणीधर who composed the Cintra praśasti. The mention of the destruction of the city of Dhārā in l. 25 is important. What town is mentioned in l. 2 is not known.

Text

- | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | . | . | . | . | ककायां म | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| 2 | . | . | . | . | रपुरेऽस्मिन् श्र | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| 3 | . | . | . | . | क्षीरप्रवाहैरहो नै | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| 4 | . | . | . | . | लावण्यजलदेवता । राजा | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| 5 | . | . | . | . | तायाः कुलहिताभिनवता ला-सा- - | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| 6 | . | . | . | . | पेण वसंती पितृवेश्मनि । दिने दिने सा ववृ | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| 7 | . | . | . | . | सर्वतीर्थोवगाहनैरुग्रतपास्तदानीं । श्रीसोमना | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| 8 | . | . | . | . | वेत्रमित्रत्रैलोक्यराशेरथ धर्मराशिः । १५ शुभां सो | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| 9 | . | . | . | . | र्विवाहः सुमहान् गौरीशंकरयोरिव । १७ लक्ष्मी | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| 10 | . | . | . | . | दनोदितवेलं दर्शनाद्विदधता जलराशिं । धर्म | . | . | . | . | . | . |

- 11 . . . वसतिर्वसति स्म स^१ । २० रंभाद्यप्सरासादं भा-यो
 12 . . . लोक्यसंसारमसारमेनं त्रैलोक्यराशिः सुकृ
 13 . . . गत्यामत्यायतं निर्जितविजयं तं । विश्रामधामा
 14 . . . रः । २५ सौंदर्याकलितं मुधा धवलितं कीर्त्या किम
 15 . . . रि येन शिरिशप्रासादशृंगारितं । २६ क्षितेरधस्त
 16 . . . कूपस्तंभविभूषिताः । अगण्यपुण्यविभवपूर्णप्र
 17 . . . स्फुटमेक एव गंडोऽत्र धर्ममयमूर्तिरुदारकीर्तिः
 18 . . . प्रतनेष्वेषु पूजालिंगेषु जायते । ३१ कूपोऽत्र कारि
 19 . . . वृद्धय । श्रीविश्वनाथेन कृतप्रसादः प्रासादमास्याद
 20 . . . पी । ३४ दृष्टा (?) रसूर्यप्रासादपार्श्वे स्वादुजलान्वितां । यः
 21 . . . लोक्यराशिमालोक्य निजपूजापरायणं । सस्मार
 22 . . . शौ गंडोऽत्र विप्रवाञ्छितदातरि । दुःखं जलनिधे
 23 . . . क्यराशिना धर्मराशिर्यः संचितो महान् । मूर्त एव स जा
 24 . . . तं स्वयुरेण दत्तं । ४२ आर्यः सभार्यः कृतकार्य एष धी
 25 . . . पतेर्धाराध्वंसमहाप्रबंधमधुरोन्मील्यशो वैभ
 26 . . . धरो व्यलिखदखरटं [कि—] । जडो विल्हसूनुः
 27 . . . [पं] डितचंद्रकः स प्रशस्तिमलेखयत् । ४६ विश्वकं
 28 . . . हा महत्तरगंडश्रीपरबृहस्पतिप्रतिपत्तौ ॥ श्री ॥

SOMANĀTHA PĀṬAṆA

No. 21]

(Date missing.)

[13th century.

This inscription is engraved on a large black stone slab built up in the wall of the entrance gate of Somanātha Pāṭaṇa. Like most other inscriptions of the Caulukya period it is neatly engraved but a considerable portion of it is deplorably worn out in the middle. The inscribed portion measures 2'8" in height and 1'8" in length.

Owing to its bad state of preservation the record does not give us useful information. Its first three verses are devoted to the praise of the god Śiva under the name of Candreśvara. Then Viṣṇu in his boar incarnation is praised. In the eighth and ninth lines a king is mentioned, whose name is missing, but who seems to have defeated the king of Mālvā. In the thirteenth line an ascetic evidently of the Lakuliśa Pāśupata sect, named Vidyārāśi is mentioned, followed by the description of a *maṭha* of Khandeśvara. In the 16th line Ōṅkārarāśi and in the 18th line a town named Bhāilasvāmi is mentioned. The further two lines record the building of the fort of Vijāpur. The temples of Vaidyanātha, Karkeśvara and Karkeśvarī are next referred to. In the 28th line a fort and in the 29th line a *maṭha* is said to have been built. The 30th line records the laying out of a garden. In the 34th line a yearly grant of eight *drāmmas* and in the 36th line a yearly grant of sixteen *drāmmas* is said to have been made. In the 38th line the ascetic, Ōṅkārarāśi,

[illegible]

23	न । गवां	कोपि कारितः कर्केश्वरस्य प्रासादः
24	कर्केश्वर्याश्च	नां । धनं प्रदाय वैद्येशं स्वीचकार म
25	हामनाः । [१७]	राज्ञः...दीरिव संधिवादः प्र
26	सादः	प्रत्यहं सुफलया कलया
27	यं भाकलो	राहिणा प्रियतमस्य तपोभिः । शीर्णपण्णप
28	ख ? राशन	जातिन्यो यः प्राकारमकारयत् । तदंतर्देवदा
29	यं च चतुरश्व	वस्थितया समानं ॥ अकारयच्चास्मठं तदा
30	त्स तदाय	रूपां नानाविधद्रुमविभूषितभूमिमागां
31	यो वाटिकां	मुत्ससर्ज ॥ २३ स्वध्रेयोभिः समं धीमान्
32	देवदाय	॥ २४ श्रीदेवकोष्टिकायां मंडपिकायां वसाहि
33	कायां च ।	पंचमपिंजारपरीक्षिमाप्यकाराणां । पंच
34	कुले	स्य पालस्य पट्टको (कः) प्रतिवत्सरं द्रम्मानष्टाव
35	ष्टावकारय	प्रादा-पयिकमेकम् ॥ २८
36	कोष्टां च	प्रत्येकं प्रति वर्षं षोडशद्रम्माः ॥ २९ कौपीना
37	वरणः	तपः क्लिष्टेषु मिष्टान्नदः । वित्तत्यागवतो
38	हि पूर्वं	कौकारराशौ महान् ॥ ३० चकार पूर्णगणना—
39	च्छेदि ?	वयं गगनपरा किमसि साहसिनि ॥ ३१ गंड
40	श्रीवीरभद्रेश	गोष्टिकः कृतः ॥ ३२ शिष्यः श
41	तानंदकवे	प्रशस्तिममलामिमां ॥ ३३ चैत्र्यामष्टभिः ॥
42	[-] छिभिः	न्यहस्तमुरारेः पुरि राजक्रीयः चंद्रेश्वरं ॥
43	भ्रातरिदं ?	

SOMANĀTHA PĀṬAṆA

No. 22]

(Date missing.)

[13th century.

This inscription is engraved on a large black stone originally discovered in Somanātha Pāṭaṇa but at present preserved in the Watson Museum at Rajkot. The surface of the stone is finely polished and the characters are engraved very carefully and beautifully. A considerable portion of the inscribed stone in its right hand side is broken and lost. In its present condition it measures 1'2½" by 8½".

No connected information is obtained from this fragment. In its fifth line a RĀTHOḌA family and in the sixth line the holy place DEVAPĀṬANA, i.e. Somanātha Pāṭaṇa, where the inscription was found are mentioned. The word सिद्धनराधि[पति] mentioned in the eighth line evidently refers to the great Caulukya sovereign Siddharāja Jayasinha. The names Sohi, CHODAKA, and VĀCCHIGA occurring in the 9th, 15th and 18th lines respectively are evidently of the members of the family, possibly the Rāthoḍa family, which seems to be described in this inscription.

The name वाचिच्छ्र्ग is also mentioned in the inscription No. 19.

Text

- 1[तां] च कंदलयतान्मौलींदुलेखामृतैः । दत्वा.....
 2[मं] निःक्षयं । १ अगस्त्यचंद्रोपलशीतलायां दिशि प्रती-
 3स्मन्नभूत्कनकजः कुलभूः कलानां दोः केलिहेल्लिष-
 4तां गतानि ॥ ३ स्वर्णश्रियां विलसितेन शुचिः स एनां वा
 5रधिवासयति स्म विश्वं । ४ राठौडचूडामणिरप सेषद्वि ?
 6१५ सोमेशलिंगसमुपासनवासनामिः श्रीदेवपत्त
 7क्तमसौ बभार । ६ अथा द्वितीये भवतुः कलायां किला
 8तेनावदातेन वि(ती)र्णमसौ प्रसेदुषा सिद्धनराधि
 9सरणिः श्रेयसामेकमोकः श्रीमान् सोही ? समजनि
 10रसमयं यस्य वाचोपगूढाः । ९ स्वर्णदानं पणेनापि यशो
 11मत्वादम्भोनिधेर्मणिरिवाजनि मुक्तदोषः । ऊर्जस्वि
 12व दुग्धजलधिर्वेलावनच्छायया कुंभीन्द्रो मदकर्ममेन
 13पिमिमी ? महेशस्य गुणिनः सर्वाग्रशुद्धं यशः । १३ अस्मिन्म
 14भिः शत्रूणामुपहितफलाब्धिदिवधीः पुरावभांती
 15नापहतां गुणानां छोडाक इत्यभिधया सुधियां पुरो
 16नेकः । भवमाया त्रियामायां तेनायमकुतोभयः । १४
 17नीलकण्ठो हतः । येन प्रौढपरिच्छदेन बलिना तैस्तैरु
 18रितः सुकृतार्जनेषु श्रीद्रा(वा)च्छिगः समजनि पृतनस्तम्
 19कुर्वती कुटिलतामपि वीचिभंगैर्भागीरथी ऋजु
 20मुपास्ति । १८ आसीदसीममहिमा स हिमांशुकीर्तिः
 21कर्त्तितमृत्युमुखे विशंतः । १९ उद्दामानि यशांसि
 22तानि तटीषु धूर्जटिगिरेः स्नानानि गंगांबुभिश्चै

SŪTRĀPĀḌĀ

No. 23]

v.s. 1357.

[1301

This inscription is found in the sun temple, now in a bad condition, situated at a short distance to the south of the village Sūtrāpāḍā in the Pāṭaṇa Mahal of the Junagadh State. It measures 7"×9".

It records that (the temple of the sun?) was built by Vayajaladeva Buṭā in v.s. 1357. This Vayajaladeva was probably a Vājā king of Somanātha Pāṭaṇa.

Text

- 1 सं १३५७ वर्षे
 2ठ० वय
 3 जलदेव बु
 4 टाकेन का
 5 रापिता

ŚATRUÑJAYA HILL(?) (PALLITANA)

No. 24]

v. s. 1371

[20.1. 1315

The exact find spot of this inscription is not known. It is copied from the edition of प्राचीनगुर्जरकाव्यसंग्रह published in the Gaikwad Oriental Series. It is probable that the inscription was engraved on the pedestal of one of the images placed in one of the *Tunkas* on the famous Śatruñjaya Hill.

The inscription records that Saṅghapati Desala set up an image of *Rāṇaka Mahipāladeva* inside the temple of Ādinātha, on Monday, the fourteenth of the bright half of Māha in v.s. 1371.

Rāṇaka Mahipāladeva was probably the Cūdāsamā king also mentioned in the Mangrol inscription of v.s. 1375 and the Hathasni inscription v.s. 1387 published below. He might have been converted to Jainism. This is an instance of a royal image set up in his life time.

Text

संवत् १३७१ वर्षे माह सुदि १४ सोमे.....

रणकश्रीमहीपालदेवमूर्तिः संघपतिश्रीदेसलेन कारिता श्रीयुगादिदेवचैत्ये ॥

MANGROL

No. 25.]

v. s. 1375

[7.1. 1319

This inscription is found in the famous Soḍhaḍi vāv in Mangrol. The inscribed portion measures 7½ feet by 9 inches.

It records that Soḍhala of the Moḍha community caused the well to be made on Sunday the 15th of the bright half of Pauṣa in v.s. 1375 (7.1.) during the reign of Raul Mahipāladeva, who must have belonged to the Cūdāsamā family of Junagadh. Watson thought that he was possibly a Gohel chief as the title Rāval is a Gohel one (Cf Kathiawad Gaz. p. 543). But it may be said that the title Rāval is applied to the Cūdāsamā kings also—Cf. the Osa inscription of v.s. 1435 and the Uparkot inscription of v.s. 1507 published below.

Text

- 1 सं० १३७५ वर्षे पौष शुदि १५ रवौ राउल श्रीमहिपालदेवराज्ये
- 2 मोढझाती बली ? सोढलेन आत्मश्रेयोर्थे अ. बापी कारापिता ॥

RAVAL

No. 26]

v.s. 1375

[1318-19

This inscribed stone is fixed in the eastern wall of the town Rāval in the Nawanagar State. It is 20 miles from Porbandar.

The inscription refers to the reign of Rāṇā Jaitapāla, who was governing the Bhūtābilī (i.e. Ghumli) maṇḍala in v.s. 1375. In his time Jye (Jethvā ?) Alapa, son of Vijala caused a well to be dug in the village Rāvali at the cost of 1044 *drammas*.

Text

- 1 संवत् १३७५ वर्षे अयेह सौ
- 2 राष्ट्रे देशे श्रीभूताबिल्यां मंड
- 3 लकरणे [सौ ?...राज] कुले राणश्री
- 4 जइतपाल [भूपालस्य] राज्ये राव
- 5 लिग्रामे ज्ये० रा०...लभ्यां श्री ज्ये०
- 6 वा० वीजलसुत वा०...आलणकुला
- 7 धारश्रेयसे आत्मसह मातापि
- 8 तापुण्यहेतोर्वापी कारापिता तां
- 9 तासार ? श्री...रण द्र १०२४
- 10 श्री.....वखामी...
- 11 निते ॥ युक्त.....गणाधि
- 12 पति क्षेत्रस्य.....
- 13
- 14

HĀTASNI

No. 27]

v. s. 1386.

[3.7. 1329

This inscription was originally found in Hātasni, a small capital town of a separate tribute paying state, on the bank of the Śetrunji river in the Gohelvād prānt. It is at present preserved in the Barton Museum at Bhavnagar. The stone is broken into four pieces but nothing important has been lost. The inscribed portion, which, however is in a good condition, measures 1'6" by 1'.

This inscription was once published in the *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XV p. 360.

The record opens with a verse in praise of Bhārati i.e. the goddess of learning. Then is given an account of a royal family of the lunar race. In that family was born a king named *Śaṅgāra* (i.e. Khengār) in whose family was born *Yaśodhavalā*. He was married to *Priyamaladevi* born of the solar race. They had three sons—Malla, Maṇḍala and Meliga.

From the fifth verse description is given of another royal family named VĀKHALA belonging to MEHAR race, in which a chief named NĀGĀRJUNA was born. He was an ally of MAṆḌALIKA. Nāgārjuna's son was MAHĀNANDA, who by his wife Rūpā, daughter of MAṆḌALARĀJA had a son named THEPAKA. King MAHIŚA had appointed THEPAKA to rule over TĀLA-DHVAJA (i.e. Talājā in Bhāvanagar state.) THEPAKA had four sons. He wished to dig a well named Thepāvāpī after him, just as his uncle in *Junagadh* had dug a well named Sangavāpī after him, and instructed KUNTA-RĀJA born in the family of Vallāditya and descended from Sūrya-Vikala, to act accordingly. As instructed by the Meher chief he caused a well to be dug on Monday, the seventh day of the bright half of = Āṣāḍha in v.s. 13[8]6, the Sarivatsara being Bhāva.

The connection of the family of Jasadhavala, with the family of Thepaka seems to be that Thepaka's mother Rūpā was the daughter of Maṇḍala or Maṇḍalika who was son of Yaśodhavala. The kings Maṇḍlika (v. s. 1316-1362) and Mahiṣa (i.e. Mahipāla) (1364-1387) mentioned in the record are most probably Cūḍāsamā kings of Junagadh, the latter being the son of the former. It may be noted that inscriptions of Mahipāla of v.s. 1371 and 1375 are published above. The Mehera family of Talājā seems to be an old one and the Mehera chief Jagamāla and Raṇasirīha mentioned in the Timāṇā plates of v.s. 1264 (I. A. XI. 337) and the Mahuva (Timāṇā) inscription of v.s. 1272 (No 4 above) seem to be the ancestors of Thepaka. For Timāṇā is only five miles from Talājā.

Text

- 1 ओं सिद्धिः । विरंचिवदनावसा देवी जयतु भारती । यस्याः प्रसादमासाद्य मूढोऽपि विबुधायते [॥ *] १
- 2 श्रीसौवंशो भुवि सुप्रसिद्धः क्षमाभृता² मंडनमादिजानां । तेषां कुले पुण्यकृतां वरिष्ठः³ खंगारनामा
- 3 नृपति⁴ बभूव [॥] २ जसधवल्लुनामा तस्य वंशेऽथ जज्ञे सकलगुणनिधानं रूप-विख्यातकीर्तिः प्रियम्
- 4 ल इति देवी रूपतो यं विवाह्य विजयसुभटपुत्रै⁵ सूर्यवंशप्रमूता [॥ *] ३ यशोधवल-देवस्य सुपुत्रे
- 5 तनयान् वरान् बलीव कल्पवृक्षस्य मल्लमंडलमेलिगान् [॥ *] ४ अत्रान्तरे⁶ वाषलराजवंशे कंङ्क
- 6 लोमडलनिर्जितारिः । ⁷नागार्जुनो नाम बभूव वीरः श्रीमंडलीकस्य सहायकारी [॥ *] सुतस्तस्य म
- 7 हानंदः संजानो धरणीतले येन कौ जातसारेण जहयुः पूर्वजा मुदा [॥ *] ६ सुता मंग(ड)लराजस्य
- 8 रूपा रूपमनोहरा या जज्ञे ठेपकं वीरं...यं स्वामिवत्सलं [॥ *] ७ अपि वाचस्पतिर्मूकः के वयं तद्गु
- 9 णस्तवे दत्तानां येन दानानां संख्या⁸ कर्तुं न⁹ शक्यते [॥] ८ कुलेन शौर्येण नयेन कान्यां प्रजा
- 10 भिरामो भुवि मेहरोऽथ तालध्वजे विप्रजनाभिरामे महीशभूषेन नियोजितश्रीः
- 11 [॥ *] ९ राज्यं प्रकुर्वन्तस्तस्य चतुर्भिस्तनयैः समं । धर्मबुद्धिरियं जाता ठेपकस्य महात्मनः [॥ *] १० कार
- 12 यामि महावार्पी सर्वजंतुनृपापही [॥ *] अगाधे निजले देशे कूनराजं ततोऽब्रवीत् [॥ *] ११ बल्ल
- 13 दित्यकुले सूर्यवीरकलस्यान्वयोद्भव...मे वाक्यं शृणु धर्ममयं हितं [॥ *] १२ यथा
- 14 मम पितृव्येन जीर्णदुर्गनिवासी [ना] कारिता संगवापीति ठेपावार्पी प्रकार्य [॥ *] १३ मे-
- 15 हरेण समादिष्टो धर्मबुद्धिः स कौ नरः । कारयामास सहसा वार्पी जलमनोहरां

1. सोम 2. भृता 3. खंगार 4. नृपतिर्बभूव 5. पुत्रैः 6. बाखल
7. नागार्जुन 8. कर्तुं 9. शक्यते

- 16 [॥*] १४ अर्ष^{११}[ड] मायुर्लभतां मेहेरो द्विजवल्लभः सहितः पुत्रपौत्रैश्च परिवारजनैः
समं [॥* १५]
17 संवत् १३८६ वर्षे ॥ भावे संवत्सरे पूर्णे आषाढे षडशीतिके सप्तम्यां सोमवारेण
18 वापीयं पूर्ण[तां] गता ॥ १६ श्रीप्रभासि (?)—वास्तव्यसूत्रवाचासुतसांढाकेन
कारापिता [१*]

DIV

No. 28]

v.s. 1393

[14.11. 1336

This inscription was found near a well in the compound of a Jain *derāsār* in Div, a small island in the south of Kathiawad. A considerable portion of it is pitifully worn out but fortunately the dated portion is in tact. The inscribed portion measures 2' in length and 1' 4" in breadth. The characters are beautifully engraved.

From the first to the tenth verse the portion of the inscription is mostly lost except for a few letters in the first line. The record opens with the word *Arham*, which together with the word *Saṅgha* in the concluding portion of the inscription lead us to suppose that it is a Jain inscription. The word गोपीवर meaning Krishna that remains of the opening verse probably used to denote the Jaina mythological conversion of Neminath with Krishna in the first line expressive of the praise of Krishna (Gopīvara) deserves to be specially marked. The few letters that are visible from the eleventh to the thirteenth verse seem to record thus. There was a viceroy named Devapāla in the Pāḡvāta family. He had five sons. The name of the third son only viz. Munja is visible in the record. His son was Jhanjhaṇa, who had four sons Sajjana, Bhīma, Sānjaṇa and Bilhaṇa.

The names of two ministers, Pralpalika and Jhaṭacchilpa are further seen. After them the name of a minister named Mundhā is given. His son was Soma. Then from the further portion it is seen that a woman named Lalitādevī was the wife of a minister named Śelaṇa. They had four sons. An account is further given of Soma. His wife was named Śringāradevī. From her he had four sons and a daughter. Two of the sons were named Kelha and Hāra. A third one was named Ālhāda. He seems to have defeated the king of KOTINAGAR i.e. modern Kodinar. No connected information can be obtained from the further portion which is too much worn out. In the concluding portion of the record the date is given, viz, the tenth day of the bright half of Māgasar of v.s. 1393, and the name Paṇḍita Sarvajña of the poet who composed the record. From the word Saṅgha preserved in the last line it seems that the object of the record was pertaining to a Jain monastery.

Text

1 ॥ ७१० ॥ अर्ह ॥ यो गोपीवरमावहे मि.....गेयः मे दशावतारा.....

[The portion from the second to the ninth line is hopelessly worn out.]

- 10स्य तस्य गुरुवाम-मात्मनः मागानु.राभिन्न-षु वेद.षु । वं
- 11र्यस्तथाऽसौ वंशः प्राग्वाटनामा जगति विजयते शारदाश्रीनिवासः ॥ ११ अस्मि-
न्वंशे भुवनविदिते शुद्धपक्षद्वयेपि.त्पद्रि
- 12हविर्नैव सत्यप्रचारश्चित्रं नित्यं वसति विशदे चांबुधेर्नाम सेतुः ॥ १२ ॥ विश्वजंतुपरि
[पालन] सज्जो देवपाल.पति
- 13कल्यानः ॥ १३ तस्य...तनया विनयाढ्या पांडवा इव तु पंच बभूवुः । कौरवः
द्विमधिकं...धुर्ये ततु चित्रमजन [॥ १४]...भि
- 14तह । मुंजभिधानः सचिवस्तृतीयो निजान्वयालंकरणं बभूव ॥ १५ झंझण-
प्रणवमानसपूतः प्रश्नकर्मविषयेऽभव.
- 15॥ १६ सज्जनो भीमनामा तु तथा सांगणविल्हणौ । चत्वारस्तनया जाताः
सदयामलमंत्रिणः ॥ १७ प्रत्नलीकझटच्छिप्यौ [मंत्रिणौ].....
- 16देपुत्र्यां जातो मुधा (जा ?) भिधेन सचिवेन । सोमः सकलकलावान् पुत्रो
वृत्तेन संपूर्णः ॥ १९ स्नातो मंत्रमयांभसा.
- 17 दोईडासिलताहृत्तारिनिवहस्कंधोच्छलच्छोणितांभोभिर्गाम[भि]षिच्य पूजनमधद्विष्णोः
पदांभोरुहे । स्वीचक्रे धरणीं.....
- 18तः श्री सोममंजीश्वरः ॥ २० ललितादेव्यास्तनयाश्चत्वारः पेतनस्य सचिवस्य ।
सन्नित्याऽमित [सत्वाः] सामाया राजधर्मा [स्ते] ॥ २१.....
- 19देवगुरुकमाणां बिभर्ति यो भक्तिभरं महान्तं ॥ २२ ततोऽभवद्वारमुपारतोपि
सोमाभिधानः सचिवः... । मुमोच न स्वर्गपथं...च भूयुः
- 20धर्मघु । पुत्रश्चिरायुरनिशं विजयो विनयी=नयी ॥ २४ शृंगारदेव्यां तनयानसूत मंत्री
सधन्यश्चतुरः [सुवीरान्] पुत्रीं तथैकां किलशा.....
- 21 क्ता ॥ २५ ज्ये...श्रेष्ठो नंदतादारवींदु । षष्ठ्यातः केल्हमंत्रिश्चिरायुहाराख्यातः पुण्यभूमि-
र्दयाद्रिः ॥ २६ यन्मध्या...रपीश्वरप्रियः सुधि...मभिः
- 22 यानयादि... ॥ २७ जाह्नवीव सती वृत्तिः पुनर्गति भुवनत्रयं । तद्गुण्णा विजयते दयैव
सहोदरी ॥ २८ संतोषः मुमतिश्च सर्वरुजितपीयूषमेमया
- 23 द्योतीप्रभा...सोमसचिवो यस्यात्मजोऽयं=जयी । आल्हादः सुकृती कृती कलिकरिप्रच्वंस-
पंचाननः २९ येन कोटिन्नगरेऽदिगताःरत्र न
- 24 गरे च भ.....मारा ॥ ३० स नाकं सद्गतिं तीर्त्वा मुक्त्वा गोपेश्वरं स्थिति । यत्कारित
विमानेऽधात् जीयादाल्हाद एष सः ॥ ३१ यमुपान्ते जनवि [णु] परी...तात्
- 25 सारघ
- 26 मत्सारा
- 27 या ॥ ३५ य

The year in which the record was incised is lost. The inscription refers itself to the reign of a king named Mahīpāla, probably of the Cūḍāsamā family of Junagadh. Now there were at least three kings bearing the name Mahīpāla who ruled in the family. The first ruled from v. s. 1364-1387, the second from 1452 to 1456 and third from 1506 to 1527. I think the King Mahīpāla in this inscription was probably the first of the three. The object of the inscription seems to record the building of a temple, probably of Neminātha by Vayarasimha together with his wife and children. The Jain preceptor's name at whose hand, the consecration ceremony was performed is probably Muni-simha.

Text

- 1 ॥ ॐ ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीधृति
- 2 ॥ नमः श्रीनेमिनाथाय ज
- 3 ॥ वर्षे फाल्गुन शुदि ५ गुरौ । श्री
- 4 ॥ तिलकमहाराजश्रीमहीपाल.
- 5 ॥ वयरसीहभार्या फाऊ ? सुत सा
- 6 ॥ सुत सा० साईओसा० मेला । मेला...
- 7 ॥ ज सुता रूडी गांगी प्रभृति
- 8 ॥ नाथप्रासाद (:) कारित (:) । प्रति.....
- 9 ॥ द्रसूरितत्पट्टे श्रीमुनिसिंह.....
- 10 ॥कल्याणत्रय.....

AMRELI

No 31]

DATE MISSING

[?

This fragmentary inscription was found in the town Amreli. The right hand portion only of the record is intact but that on the remaining three sides is broken away. In its present condition it measures 6" by 5½". The letters are very beautifully engraved.

The fragment gives no useful information. In the 7th line, the word Saurāṣṭra and in the 8th line the names Visaladeva and Duṅgarsiha are seen. It may be noted that there was a Gohela king named Duṅgarsi, successor of Mokheraji, an ancestor of the Maharaja of Bhavnagar.

Text

- 1 ॥ यं विश-दीन.....
- 2 ॥ नागण्यपुण्योदयसमु
- 3 ॥ राज...नायकवरसंघ
- 4 ॥ निखिलधर्मकर्मकर्म
- 5 ॥ रं गत देवराज श्रीसर्वज्ञश
- 6 ॥ रीणागण्यभक्तिभक्ति प्रथाश्च
- 7 ॥ इव भास्करभास्करः श्रीसौरा
- 8 ॥ वीसलदेव श्रीदुंगरसीह भां

- 9 ॥ ननिकरं परिकरितोऽमंदा
10 ॥ ...ति जनद्रव्य

MANGROL

No. 32.]

v.s. 1402.

[10-5-1346.

This inscription is incised on the pedestal of the caturvīṣṭati jinapaṭṭa in Māngrol.

It records that during the reign of king Khengār, his minister Jhājhā, belonging to the Osvāl community of Ambarnagar (Jaipur? in Rajputana), caused to be made at Girnar a Caturvīṣṭati Paṭṭa on Wednesday, the 5th of the dark half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1402.

The king Khengār in the record was the Cūḍāsama king of Junagadh, who was afterwards, as the Muhammedan historians state, defeated by Muhammad Tughlak, the emperor of Delhi in H. S. 750 (about v.s. 1406). His fortress of Girnar was reduced and he was forced to pay a tribute to the Emperor (*Bombay Gazetteer*, History of Gujarat p. 231).

Text

- 1 सं १४०२ वर्षे वैशाखवदि ५ बुधे उसवालज्ञातीय अंबरनगरवास्तव्य वटसीयकशापायां
पूर्वपुरुषसांहणी नागुप्रभृतीनां स
- 2 हलपुत्राणामात्मपूर्वजानां श्रेयसे श्रीगिरनारमहातीर्थे श्रीखंगारविजयराज्ये राजश्रीज्ञाज्ञा-
प्रतिपत्ता [साहा पदमसी]
- 3 ...चतुर्विंशतिपट्टः कारितः...सूरिभिः श्री...प्रभसूरिभिः । श्री ।

KHERALI

No. 33]

[5-2-1351 ?

This inscription is built up in the northern wall of a well situated in the east of the village Kherālī at a distance of four miles to the west of Wadhwan. Owing to its bad state of preservation it cannot be fully deciphered. The inscribed portion measures 3' by 1'.

The first part of the inscription seems to record the digging of a well by the minister Karaṇa of the Paramāra king Jagaddeva who was ruling at Brahmapura.

The second part gives the name Vejaladevi wife of the Paramāra king Jagaddeva, who was son of Maṅgaladeva.

About the Āṣāḍhādi Vikrama Samvat used in inscriptions see *Indian Paleography* by G. H. OJHA, p. 170, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII, p. 241.

Text

- 1 [श्री] स्वस्ति श्रीर्जयो मंगलाभ्युदयश्च । श्रीः । ब्र [ह्य] पुरे । परमार मुकुटयशाः
श्रीजगदेव
- 2 परमार [तस्य विजयः] परमारः स जयति भुवि । श्री राजा परमारः ॥ १ ॥ श्रीरामकर्मा-
धिकारी । कृतपुण्यप्रभा [वः]
- 3 —भीवि. . . [वंश] तिलकः स जयति मंत्री स कर [णः] करणः ॥ २ ॥ अविमुक्तपद
[प्राप्ति]—समये [परमा] र श्री [जगदे]

- 4 व...सातगुण्य...भटा-मटाकसुतेन श्रीयंत्रिणा करणमंत्रिणा वापिका कापि करिता ॥
स्वस्ति श्रीनृप
- 5 विक्रमार्कसमयातीत संवत् [१३] आषाढादि १९ एकोनविंशतितमे वर्षे विकृतनाम्नि
संवत्सरे उत्त
- 6 रायणे वसंतकृतौ महामांगल्यफाल्गुनमासे शुक्लपक्षे अष्टम्यां तिथौ शनिदिने मृगशरन
- 7 क्षेत्रे आयुष्मान् नाम्नि योगे बवकरणे मिथुनस्थि [ते] चंद्रे शेषग्रहा यथास्थाने कन्या-
लभवहमाने एवं
- 8 शुभग्रहविलोकितकल्याणमय्यां वेलायां परमारश्रीमं [गल] देवसुत परमारश्री जगद्देव-
भार्या कुं [ठामला]
- 9 नंददायिन्या बाई श्री वेजलदेव्या...स्येव प्रभावः अरिराजलक्ष्मीस्वयंवरगतवति.....
परमारश्री.....
- 10 ...बाई श्री सोनलदेपुत्र...श्रीराणकीति..... [अतपाल] वंशे महामंत्री मटाभार्या
साध्वी.....
- 11 त्मज मंत्रिकरणभार्या [या] नंददायिन्या=बाई पाली...न्यं....निगम...लक्षपूजा...त्यष-
क्षालाया.....
- 12 ...कारिता । सर्वेषु दानेष्वपि जल...संदलति...ति यशः श्रीहरेः कृपया संशोभिनः...
वापी रचिता...

SOMANĀTHA PĀTAN

No. 34]

v.s. 1423.

[13-1-1367.

This record is engraved on the pedestal of the Sarasvatī image placed in the north-west corner of the new temple of Somanātha built by Ahilyābāi Holkar in Pātan. The inscribed portion measures 6" × 5".

It records that the image (of Sarasvatī) was set up by Purushottama, son of Rājagaṇa of the Somaparā community on the 12th day of the bright half of Māgha in v.s. 1423. It may be noted that the denomination Soma-parā of the community was known as early as the 14th century A.D.

Text

- 1 संवत् १४२३ वष माघ सु
- 2 दी १२ सोमपराज्ञाती
- 3 राजगणसुत
- 4 पुरुषोत्तमेन मूर्ति कारा
- 5 पिता ।

SOMANĀTH PĀTAN

No. 35]

v.s. 1432.

[9-3-1376.

This inscription is engraved on a stone pillar standing near a Masjid to the south of Verawal gate in Somanāth Pāṭana. Below the inscribed portion is engraved the indecent figure expressive of an ass-curse. The inscription measures 1'. 6" × 1'. 3".

It opens with the date, Friday, the first day of the dark half of Phālguna of v.s. 1432 and refers to the reign of the Vājā king Bharama. The object of the record is not clear but it seems that a grant of money was made by all the masons of the place to build a temple.

The king Bharama in this record is probably identical with the king of the same name mentioned in the Dhāmlej inscription of v.s. 1437 published below.

Text

- 1 संवत् १४३२ वर्षे फाग [ण]
- 2 वदि १ शुके अद्य [वा] जा
- 3 श्री भरम राये आंमड
- 4 पुंजा समस्तपुत्रधारा
- 5 णां दानं प्रसादे मुक्त [म्]
- 6 व्यापारे साहय ? कृत ॥

THAN

No. 36.]

v.s. 1432.

[28-4-1376

This inscription is engraved on a stone fixed in a platform near the sun-temple on the Kandola hillock near Thān. The inscribed portion measures 3 ft. in length and $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in breadth. The language is very corrupt so that the meaning of the record is not quite clear.

It seems to record that the sun temple was built by Siha, son of Būṭaḍa Lākhā, on Monday the ninth of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1432. In the concluding portion the Mahārāja of Kandolā (?) seems to have been referred to.

Text

- 1 [उं नमो श्री सू] यी संवत् १४३२ वर्षे वैसाख सुदि ९ सोमे
- 2 बूटड लापौआ पुत्र सीह कारापितं लुकी उघडनी दतं काठी सग
- 3 डोगरि पालीताण काठीविणा सुंकरनु (?) देव कंडोळ माहाराज सी

(To be continued.)

A NOTE ON THE KĀYASTHAS

By

P. V. KANE, Bombay.

A good deal has been written on this subject and heated controversies have raged as to the origin and the status of *Kāyasthas* in mediaeval and modern Hindu society. The writer of this note has no axe to grind and his own inclination is that it is high time that in all matters, particularly in the application of modern Hindu law, not only the *Kāyasthas*, but all Hindus were treated as *dvijas*. Even the High Courts are not unanimous on the position of *Kāyasthas*. Parties to litigations are interested in opposite theories and the result is that courts often give contradictory decisions. In the following paper an attempt is made to bring together a few pieces of information culled from ancient literature, *smṛtis*, *nibandhas* and inscriptions.

The Calcutta High Court held in *Bholanath v. Emperor*¹ that the *Kāyasthas* of Bengal were as a rule to be treated as *Sūdras*. But in *Asita Mohan v. Nirode Mohan*² the Privy Council left the question whether the *Kāyasthas* were *Sūdras* open. On the other hand in *Tulsi Ram v. Bihari Lal*³ and in *Ishwari Prasad v. Rai Hari Prasad*⁴ the Allahabad and Patna High Courts respectively held that the *Kāyasthas* were not *Sūdras* but were *dvijas* (probably *Kṣatriyas*).

The word *Kāyastha* does not occur in the ancient *Dharmasūtras* of Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana or Vasiṣṭha, nor in the *Manusmṛti*. In the *Viṣṇudharmasūtra*⁵ (which is comparatively a later *sūtra*) a public document (*rājasākṣika lekhyā*) is a document written in the royal court or office by a *Kāyastha* appointed by the king and attested by the hand of the superintendent of that office (VII. 3). These words suggest that the *Kāyastha* was only an officer, but there is nothing in them about *Kāyasthas* being a caste. Yājñavalkya I. 332 says⁶ 'the king should protect the subjects from the harassment of *cāṭas* (rogues), thieves, bad characters, desperadoes and the like and particularly of *Kāyasthas*'. The comment of Viśvarupa (as printed)

1. 51 Cal 488 (where the Calcutta High Court went so far as to hold that a marriage of a *Kāyastha* male with a Dom female was valid).

2. L. R. 47 I. A. 140 (at p. 145), on appeal against the decision in 20 Calcutta Weekly Notes 901 where the High Court of Calcutta had held that Bengal *Kāyasthas* were *Sūdras*.

3. 12 All. 328.

4. 6 Patna 506; vide also 7 Patna 245.

5. राजाधिकरणे तन्निगुक्तकायस्थकृतं तदध्यक्षकरचिह्नितं राजसाक्षिकम् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र VII. 3.

6. चाटतस्करदुर्वृत्तमहासाहसिकादिभिः । पीड्यमानाः प्रजा रक्षेत्कायस्थैश्च विशेषतः ॥ याज्ञवल्क्य-स्मृति I. 332 (336 in the मितक्षरा).

is partly corrupt here. He says 'Kāyasthas are *rāga* (?) and others ; some say they are scribes'. The *Mitākṣarā* says that the Kāyasthas are accountants and scribes, they are the favourites of the king and very cunning ! Aparārka explains Kāyasthas as 'officers who are in charge of the (collection of) taxes'. So Yājñavalkya and his early commentators do not describe the Kāyasthas as a caste, but rather as officials of the king. Uśanas¹ (*Ānandāśrama* ed.) is not clear about the origin of Kāyasthas, but as he mentions the Kāyastha among the forty castes that he describes, it must be supposed that he treated the Kāyasthas as a caste. Uśanas (35) refers to them in the most uncomplimentary terms by saying that the first letters of *Kāka* (crow), *Yama* and *Sthapati* (carpenter) were taken together to form the word Kāyastha, which indicates the embodiment respectively of the greed, the cruelty and the paring (characteristics of the three). In the *Vedavyāsa-smṛti*² (*Ānandāśrama* ed.) the Kāyasthas are mentioned as a subdivision of *śūdras* (I. 10-11) along with potters, barbers and others. So in the opinion of these two *smṛtis* the Kāyasthas formed a caste.

Bṛhaspati³ quoted in the *Smṛticandrikā* and other digests speaks of the *gaṇaka* and *lekhaka* as two persons who were to be associated with the Judge in a Court of justice, who were both to be proficient in grammar and lexicography, expert in calculations and in various modes of writing (alphabets). The *Smṛticandrikā* explains that both *gaṇaka* and *lekhaka* were to be *dvijas*. The same *Smṛtikāra*⁴ as quoted by Aparārka (p. 600) says that the *gaṇaka* was to calculate (or count) the money and the *lekhaka* was to write the judicial decision or proceeding. So Bṛhaspati at least regards the *lekhaka* as an official only.

In accordance with this rule of Bṛhaspati we find in the trial scene of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* (IX Act) a *śreṣṭhin* and a *kāyastha* associated as assessors or jurors with the judge. It is most probable that Kāyastha here means the *lekhaka* of Bṛhaspati, since the judge asks these two to write down the first part of the trial⁵ and the Kāyastha replies 'it is written'. In the *Mudrārākṣasa* also one of the characters is the *Kāyastha* Śakaṭa-dāsa, about whom Cāṇakya is made to say 'that he is a Kāyastha matters little.'⁶

1. काकाळौत्यं यमात्कौर्यं स्थपतेरथ कृन्तनम् । आद्यक्षराणि संयुह्य कायस्थ इति निर्दिशेत् ॥ औशनसस्मृति V. 35.
2. वर्धकी नापितो गोप आशापः कुम्भकारकः ॥ वणिक् किरातकायस्थमालाकारकुटुम्बिनः । एते चान्ये च बहवः शूद्रा भिन्नाः स्वकर्मभिः ॥ वेदव्यासस्मृति V. 10-11.
3. तथा राज्ञा गणकलेखकावपि कर्तव्यावित्याह बृहस्पतिः । शब्दाभिधानतत्त्वज्ञौ गणनाकुशलौ शुची । नानालिपिज्ञौ कर्तव्यौ राज्ञा गणकलेखकौ ॥ इति । स्मृतिचंद्रिका (ed. by GHARPURE) व्यवहार.
4. गणको गणयेदर्थं लिखेन्न्यायं च लेखकः । बृहस्पति in अपराक 600.
5. भोः श्रेष्ठिकायस्थौ न मयेति व्यवहारपदं प्रथममभिलिख्यताम् । मृच्छकटिक IX.
6. कायस्थ इति लघ्वी मात्रा । मुद्राराक्षस I.

From the above we may say that in the first centuries of the Christian era the Kāyastha was a mere scribe though in some parts of the country (as shown by Uśanas and Vedavyāsa) the Kāyasthas also formed a caste.

In the Harṣacarita King Harṣa is presented with a fresh golden seal by the village akṣapaṭalika (keeper of records) surrounded by all the *karaṇins*¹ (officials). Here there is no mention of a Kāyastha, but only of *Karaṇin* i.e., *Karaṇika*. This word *Karaṇika* occurs frequently in the inscriptions as denoting the *lekhaka* of copperplate or stone charters e.g. *E. I.* vol. 20 p. 37, 40 (there is a *karaṇika* Svāmīdatta in the Nālandā stone Inscription of Yaśovarmadeva); *E. I.* VIII p. 158 (grant of Govindacandra's son dated Vikrama 1203, *likhitam... Karaṇika-thakkura-srī vivikena-iti*); *E. I.* vol. 12 p. 10 at p. 17. In the *Śukranītisāra* (chap. 2. vv. 120-121),² which is a late work, it is said that the king should appoint six officials in a village one of whom is a *lekhaka* (the modern *kulkarni*). So even here the *lekhaka* is an official and no indication is given as to his caste.

Though numerous officers are mentioned in the inscriptions of the first five or six centuries of the Christian era the Kāyastha is hardly ever one of them. One of the earliest inscriptions where the word Kāyastha occurs is the Kanaswa Inscription of Śivagaṇa dated in Mālava era 795 (i.e. 738-39 A.D.) where the Kāyastha was Raupaka, son of Gomika (*I. A.* Vol. 19 p. 56 at p. 59). Vide *E. I.* Vol. XI p. 149 (Naraspatam plates of Vira-hasta dated Śake 967 where the Sandhivigrahi Dhavala is described as Grāma-Śāsana Kāyastha), *I. A.* Vol. VI p. 192 (grant of Mūlarāja dated Saṃvat 1043), *E. I.* Vol. 10 at p. 79 (Balera plates of Mūlarāja I dated Saṃvat 1051 where the *lekhaka* is Kāyastha Kāñcana) for other early references to Kāyastha.

BÜHLER in *E. I.* vol. II p. 254 says about *Lajūka* (occurring in the 4th pillar Edict of Aśoka) that '*Lajūka* (*Lajjūka*) was an old name of the writer caste which is later called *divira* (*dabir*) or *Kāyastha*'. When scholars whose reputation deservedly ranks very high indulge in conjectures or speculations, great harm is done. What they only put forward as a hypothesis or mere conjecture is often seized upon by subsequent and less famous writers as an irrefutable proposition. The great scholar's brief dictum, quoted above, can be challenged at least in three respects. There is hardly any evidence to show that the *Lajūkas* in Aśoka's edict formed a caste. Probably they were no more than officers of the Imperial Maurya Government. Further the word literally means 'rope-holder' i.e. a survey officer. In the Kuru-dhamma Jātaka we have a '*rajjuka*' or '*rajjugāhaka ammacca*' (vide FICK's work 'Social

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1. तत्रस्थस्य चास्य ग्रामाक्षपटलिकः सकलकरणपरिकरः 'करोतु देवो दिवसग्रहणमधैवा-
बन्ध्यशासनः शासनानाम् इत्यभिधाय वृषाङ्कामभिनवघटितां हाटकमयीं मुद्रामुपनिन्ये । हर्ष-
चरित VII 2nd para. करणिन् or करणिक means a 'writer of documents, a clerk'.
 2. साहसाधिपतिं चैव ग्रामनेतारमेव च । भागहारं तृतीयं तु लेखकं च चतुर्थकम् ॥ शुल्कग्राहं
पञ्चमं च प्रतिहारं तथैव च । षट्कमेतन्नियोक्तव्यं ग्रामे ग्रामे पुरे पुरे ॥ शुक्नीतिसार अ.
2. 120-121.

organization &c.' and translated by MAITRA pp. 148-149). Divira was not a special caste in ancient times. The word corresponds to Sanskrit *lipikara* (the formation of which is taught by Pāṇini III. 2. 21),¹ which according to Amara means only *lekhaka*. In the Gupta Inscription No. 27 (Khch plate of Mahārāja Jayanātha dated Gupta Samvat 177) there is a grant of an agrahāra village made by the king for increase of his own merit to Sarva-vāḍha, a *divira* of the *Śāsātaneya* (gotra?), to his son Gaṅga who was a *bhāgavata* and to the latter's two sons. Gifts as agrahāra were made in ancient India only to brāhmaṇas (and not to any other caste). So the donee though described as *divira* must have been a brāhmaṇa. Similarly in a grant of the Valabhi King Śīlāditya I dated Gupta-Valabhi Samvat 290 there is a 'chief of *diviras* by name Candrabhaṭṭi, who was a minister for peace and war' (I. A. Vol. 19 p. 239). If we consider the name only, it looks very probable that this man was a brāhmaṇa. Vide also E. I. vol. XI. p. 174 at p. 180 for the word *divirapati* prefixed to *Vatrabhaṭṭi*. These considerations make it very doubtful whether *divira* was a caste (as asserted by BÜHLER). In the third place, there is very little evidence to show that the caste of *diviras*, even if it once existed, was identical with the caste of Kāyasthas. On the other hand the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (VIII 131) mentions them separately 'courtesan, Kāyastha, *divira* and the merchant, being all deceitful by nature, are superior to a poisoned arrow in that they have been trained under a teacher's advice.' That a brāhmaṇa held the position of a Kāyastha is vouchsafed by the same work (VIII. 2383) 'About that time (i.e. in the reign of Jayasinha 1128-1149 A.D.) there died by strangulation that rogue of a Kāyastha, the brāhmaṇa Śivaratha who had been a great intriguer'. The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (IV. 175) speaks of *grāma-Kāyasthas* (village scribes). This only shows that in the village organization there was a scribe, just as *Śukranūṭisāra* stated there should be one and just as in modern times we have *kulkarnis* in the Deccan, the latter being generally brāhmaṇas. The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* is very bitter against the Kāyasthas and handles them very severely (vide V. 180-184).

Therefore it would be more in accordance with the evidence to say that a Kāyastha was originally an official entrusted with state or public writing work, that he generally abused his office and got rich thereby, that the office was held sometimes at least even by brāhmaṇas and that in some territories it might have been held by a separate caste. There are analogous instances of this kind. In Bengal there is a caste of Vaidyas, while there is no such caste in the Deccan where vaidyas (physicians) are found among several castes including brāhmaṇas.

1. Vārtika ३ यवनालिप्याम् on Pāṇini iv.1.49 shows that in Kātyāyana's day (about 300 B.C.) *Yavana-lipi* was well-known as *Yavanānī* (Mahābhāṣya, ed. by KIELHORN vol. II. p. 220).

MISCELLANEA

A SHORT NOTE ON THE LOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THREE PROBABLE STAGES IN THE EVOLUTION OF COMPOUNDS IN THE P.I.E.¹ TONGUE.

In my paper "The Double-Accented Vedic Compounds" (*Madras University Journal*, 1936, pp. 85-6) I pointed out that there should have been two phases of the karmadhāraya compound formation---the determinative phase and the descriptive phase in the pre-ethnic period. I am now inclined to think that it is worth while to subject these two phases to a logical analysis, on the lines indicated below.

The determinative karmadhāraya stage may be denoted as the *crude* substance---attribute stage when a thorough grasp of the *relational concept* could not have been reflected in the speech of the P.I.E. Community. It was at this period the P.I.E. compounds like **épi-dhə to* (Skt. *āpi-hita-ś*) and **āpo-qiti-ś* (Skt. *āpa-citi-ś*) should have been formed.

Subsequently, the P.I.E. community should have come to grip with the *relational concept* and the descriptive karmadhāraya phase in their speech indicates a progress in their thought also, synchronous with the progress in their speech. This stage, from a strictly logical point of view, may be called the two-termed-relational stage.

The stage of the epithetised compound-formation (through mainly the transmutation of the descriptive karmadhāraya compounds) indicates yet another probable stage in the progress of the thought of the P.I.E. community, which again may conveniently be called the three-termed-relational stage, from a purely logical point of view.

The above brief logical analysis may help us to realise the mutual interdependence of thought and speech even in the far distant prehistoric times and may also go a long way to justify the attitude of some of the modern psychologists who look upon thought as being typically little more than invisible and inaudible speech-activity.²

Madras.

G. R. SANKARAN

ABHILAṢĪTĀRTHACINTĀMAṆI AND ŚILPARATNA

In my article 'Abhilaṣītārthacintāmaṇi and Silparatna' published in the *New Indian Antiquary* Vol. I, No. 8, I have clearly shown that *SR* (Silparatna) and *MSR* (a manuscript added to the Silparatna) have borrowed profusely from *AC* (Abhilaṣītārthacintāmaṇi). In support of that view I wish to cite here one more instance.

The late Mr. T. A. GOPINATHARAO has quoted, on text page 117 of the 2nd volume of his work *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, a passage of 26 lines from *MSR* which describes the icon of Mahādeva. This extract is completely identical with the one in *AC*—(3-1-759-772) which is also of the same length and describes the image of the same deity. Both the passages help each other in restoring the corrupt readings, filling up the lacunae from *AC* and making the passage perfectly intelligible on the whole.

Poona.

G. H. KHARE.

¹ Primitive Indo-European.

² Cf. *The Elements of Speech* by James Milton O' NEILL and Andrew Thomas WEAVER. Longmans Green & Co., 1933. p. 3.

THE ABHILAṢITĀRTHA-CINTĀMAṆI AND THE ŚILPARATNA

In Vol. I, No. 8, pp. 529-533 of the *NIA*, Sri G. H. KHARE points out, on the basis of the sections on iconography, the fact that the *Śilparatna* (SR) of Śrīkumāra (TSS edn.) is indebted to the *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* (AC) or *Mānasollāsa* of Cālukya Someśvara of Kalyān, compiled in A.D. 1129. He says: "As a result of my labour I found that out of the 45 descriptions of images which occur in the AC, 35 coincide with those found in SR...." p. 529. "So we must conclude that it is Śrīkumāra who has borrowed from AC..." p. 531. And Sri KHARE has also drawn attention to 'the one advantage which we can have from the above comparison', namely, the restoration of 'superior readings'.

I may be permitted to mention in this connection that as early as December 1933, I wrote an article entitled Some Sanskrit Texts on Painting in the *IHQ* (IX 4, pp. 898-911). There I dealt with, besides other texts, these two texts, the AC and the SR, and on the basis of the sections on painting in the two, not only stated the indebtedness of Śrīkumāra to Someśvara but reconstructed also some of the corrupt passages in the text of the SR as offered in its TSS edn. on the basis of the corresponding passages of the AC. See pp. 904-907, *IHQ*, IX. 4. I stated there, in addition, that Someśvara's AC was the source of Basava's *Śivalattvaratnākara* as well.

The knowledge of Someśvara as the source of Śrīkumāra and the reconstructions of the corrupt passages in the latter on the basis of the former enable us to understand and translate the painting-chapter in the SR in a very much less defective manner than Dr. COOMARASWAMI was able to in the *Sir Austosh Memorial Volume*, Part I, pp. 49-61.

Madras.

V. RAGHAVAN

BHĀVASANĠGRAHA AN ANONYMOUS TREATISE ON HOROSCOPY
COMPOSED AFTER A.D. 1587

The Government MSS. collection at the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona contains a rare MS¹ of an astrological work named *Bhāvasanṅgraha*. It is a work on horoscopy and deals with results of the combination of two or three planets in a horoscope. The description of the MS. is as follows:—

Size 12 in by 5½ in.; 14 lines to a page; 38 letters to a line; country-paper; Devanāgarī characters, old in appearance; hand-writing, clear, legible and uniform; complete.

The contents of the work are:—राशिस्वरूपं fol. 1; राशिस्वरूपप्रयोजनं fol. 2; वर्षप्रवेशशुभाशुभफल 4^b; राशिबल 6^a; मेषदशफल; मुंथाफल fol. 12^a-14^a; अरिष्टभंगविचार 16^a-16^b; राजयोगाः 16^b-18^a; राजयोगभंग 18^a-18^b; ज्ञानिनिर्णय 18^b; बलिष्टग्रहलक्षण 21^b; सामान्यभावविचार 22^a-22^b; तनुभावविचार 23^a-24^b; धनभावविचार 24^b; तृतीयभावविचार: चतुर्थभावविचार: 28^b-29^b; पंचमभावविचार: 29^b-31^b; षष्ठमभावविचार: 31^b-33^b; सप्तमभावविचार: 33^b-35^a; अष्टमभावविचार: 35^a-37^b; नवमभावविचार: 37^a-39^a; दशमभावविचार: 39^a-40^b; एकादशभावविचार: 40^b-42^a; व्ययभावविचार: 42^a-43^a; etc. Then begin the daśas of different planets such as the चंद्रदशा, भौमदशा, भृगुदशा and so on.

It will be seen from the contents that the main portion dealt with is the द्वादश भाव विचार or explanation of the results of the existence of planets in the twelve respective places in a horoscope.

¹ MS. No. 493 of 1892-95.

The work does not contain the name of the author. From the list of authorities quoted, however, it appears that the author must have been a learned man. In the work he has consulted about thirty-two authorities, a list of which is given below :—

- 1 उक्तं च 23^a
- 2 उत्तरतंत्र 26^a, 28^a
- 3 केशवार्क 3^a
- 4 चण्डेश्वरेण 24^b, 27^a, 33^b, 37^b, 38^b etc.
- 5 चूडामणौ 40^a
- 6 जीर्णताजिक 21^a, 23^b, 26^a, 27^b etc.
- 7 ताजिकतिलक 31^b, 38^b.
- 8 ताजिकभूषण 12^b, 15^b, 18^a, 29^a, 43^a
- 9 ताजकरत्नमाला 5^b
- 10 ताजिकसार 12^b, 15^b, 23^a, 30^a
- 11 तेजसिंह 24^a, 25^b, 27^b, 28^b
- 12 त्रैलोक्य प्रकाश 4^a
- 13 दीपिकायां 4^a
- 14 दैवज्ञालंकृतौ 16^a
- 15 मणित्थ 15^a, 17^b, 18^a, 24^b, 26^b etc.
- 16 मुक्तावल्यां 4^b
- 17 याज्ञवल्क्य 3^b
- 18 यादवः 7^a, 11^b, 18^b, 24^a, 27^a, 28^b 8^b etc.
- 19 रत्नावल्यां 6^a
- 20 वर्षतंत्र 18^b, 25^a, 25^b, 26^a, 27^b etc. composed in A. D. 1587¹
- 21 वसंतराज 3^a
- 22 वामनताजिक 1^b; वामनेन 25^a, 30^a, 34^a
- 23 विष्णुयामल 4^b
- 24 शौनकः 3^a
- 25 संज्ञातंत्र 5^b, 12^b, 21^b, 22^a, 33^a
- 26 सत्याचार्यमतं 22^a
- 27 समरसिंह 5^b, 6^a, 12^b, 23^b
- 28 समरसिंहटीकायां 6^b
- 29 सुधाकरे 22^b
- 30 हायनसिंधौ 29^a, 34^b
- 31 हिल्लाज 24^a, 25^b, 27^b, 28^b
- 32 हिल्लाजदीपिकायां 15^b.

In the above list there are a few works whose dates are known. Among these there is one work viz., *Varṣatantra* (No. 20) which enables us to get one terminus

1 See S. B. DIXIT : *Bhāratiya Jyotiḥśāstra* (1896) p. 275.

for the date of the present work. The *Varṣatantra* was composed by Nilakaṇṭha in Śaka 1509, i.e. in A.D. 1587. I have been able to identify (from a MS. of *Varṣatantra* No. 440 of 1895-98 fol. 39 Vol. 10) one verse quoted in the *Bhāvasaṃgraha* from the *Varṣatantra*. The verse read as under :—

Fol. 25-a

विनाशियो जन्मनि वीतगोद्रे जीवो यदा लम्पतीत्यशाली ।

तदा धनामिः सकलेऽपि वपे कूरेशराफे धनधान्यहानिः ॥ १ ॥

It, therefore, naturally follows that the author of *Bhāvasaṃgraha* has quoted the above verse from Nilakaṇṭha's *Varṣatantra* which was composed in Śaka 1509 or A.D. 1587 and this fact leads us to conclude that the present work viz., *Bhāvasaṃgraha* was composed sometime after A.D. 1587.

Poona.

M. M. PATKAR.

A NEW SENDRAKA GRANT OF ŚAKA 577.

Recently during my visit to Dhulia, through the good offices of Mr. B. V. BHAT, B.A., LL.B., pleader, the Secretary of the Rajwade Samshodhana Mandala, Dhulia, and Mr. G. R. PADALKAR of Chalisgaon (East Khandesh), I secured for decipherment one copper-plate grant for which kindness I thank both these gentlemen heartily.

The charter consists of two plates woven into a circular ring, contains on their three sides in all 28 lines of writing in characters which we may call the prototype of the Kanarese script and the language is Sanskrit prose.

The details of the date as given in the record are Śaka 577, the cyclic year Ānanda and the third day of the bright half of the month of Māgha. According to the common Southern system of reckoning, the cyclic year Ānanda falls in the current Śaka year 577; but in the absence of more data, I am unable to verify the details.

The record belongs to the well-known Sendraka family of which three members are mentioned here, viz. Bhānuśakti, his son Ādityaśakti and his son Nikumbhallaśakti. In all the records that have come to light hitherto, the name of the last member was spelt as Nikumbhallaśakti i.e., with a short *a* in *bha* and we were unable to split the word rightly. But here the *a* of *bhā* is clearly long and we can easily split the word into Nikumbha and Allaśakti meaning Allaśakti of Nikumbha. In the Kasare grant¹ we actually get the name Allaśakti. This last-named king Nikumbhallaśakti, while camping near a lake in the vicinity of the austerity-grove at Kāyavatāra, with a view to gain merit for himself as well as his parents, granted the village Sustihākholi, lying to the South of the hill Bāruvāna and included in the Nāndipuradvārī district, to a brāhmaṇa Bhogika, the son of Nannaswāmi, of the Ātreya gotra and the resident of the village Prāk-taṅgarā. The grant was written by one Mātṛdatta, with the consent of Devadinna, the minister for peace and war, for which he was instructed by the generalissimo Vāsava. Both Devadinna and Vāsava figure in these very capacities in the Bagumra² and the Kasare grants.

I am unable at present to identify either the village granted to the brāhmaṇa or the village of his residence: but I can say something about Kāyavatāra and Nāndipuradvārī. The former is referred to in another grant found at Nausāri³, which is later in date and issued by a Gurjara king Jayabhata III. The editor of

¹ An unpublished grant in the possession of the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona.

² *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, p. 268.

³ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIII, p. 71.

the grant was inclined to look upon "Kāyāvatāra" as the Sanskrit name of Kāvī¹ (Jambusar-Broach). Dr. A. S. ALTEKAR of Benares, in his monograph on the *History of Some important Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad* by oversight assumes the place-name to be "Kāvyāvatāra" instead of "Kāyāvatāra" and opines that this Kāvyāvatāra is the same as ancient Kāpikā or modern Kāvī². But both of these scholars seem to be in the wrong. Kāyāvatāra must be identified with the modern Kārwan near Dabhoi in the Baroda state. For this is the very place that was sanctified by the residence of Lakuliśa, the pioneer exponent of a Śaiva sect. The name is referred to in the Ekalingaji inscription under the name Kāyāvarohaṇa, in the *Contra prasasti* and *Vāvurpurāna* under the more simplified form Kārohaṇa, in *Lingapurāna* under its variant Kāyāvatāra and in the local *māhātmya* of Kārwan under the corrupted form Kāyāvirohaṇa.³ But as Kāyāvatāra and Kāyāvarohaṇa mean one and the same thing, Kāyāvatāra cannot be any other place than Kārwan. It is interesting to note that there is also a very large and holy tank at this place as stated in the present record.⁴ The place name Nāndipurādvarī occurs in the Jethwai plates⁵ of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa queen Śīlamahādevī which is dated in Śaka 708. The editor of the grant has left this place unidentified; but I think that it should be identified with the modern Nandurbār (West Khandesh) which seems to be a place of great antiquity.

By comparing this record with the Bagumra, Kalwan (Mundakheḍe)⁶ and Kāsare grants, we come to know that the former does not supply us with any new information beyond what is already stated above. But as the latter are the only three grants of the Sindraka family that have come to light up to now, and this is the fourth one, it has got its own importance as such.

Poona.

G. H. KHARE

A NOTE ON CAUTHAI : ITS MEANING AND LEGALITY

In the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. VII, Part I, pp. 94-107, Mr. R. N. SALETOR, M. A., has written an exhaustive note on *The Significance of Cauthai in Marāṭha History*. His conclusion that "the term *Cauthai* cannot be interpreted to mean only a military levy, but it must be remembered that it was also a well-known civil charge recovered from several sources of State interference" (p. 107), receives support from a quarter which has been till now outside the circle of sources utilized by writers on Marāṭha history. I am referring to the Kannaḍa sources for Marāṭha history which are being edited and translated by me.⁷ One of the Kannaḍa writers who has written a good deal about the Marāṭhas is Kavi Linganna. In his work called *Keladinṛparijayam*, while describing the will which the Emperor Aurangzeb made soon after the latter's Wakinkera campaign, Linganna says the following :—That the Mugal Emperor as a mark of favour to Śāhu, the grandson of Śivāji, wrote a *caudāi fīrmān* to the effect that Śāhu was fully entitled to collect one part out of the four parts of the wealth (i.e., taxes in money) from the territory which was his own; and that this *caudāyi* was thenceforward to be the legal levy which the Marāṭhas could always demand from their subjects.

¹ *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XIII, p. 71.

² P. 18.

³ *Arch. Sur. of India*, 1906-07, p. 179.

⁴ *Ibid* and *Baroda Gazetteer*, p. 19, 551.

⁵ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXII, p. 98.

⁶ *Annual Report of the B. I. S. Mandala*, S. 1834, p. 169.

⁷ I drew the attention of scholars to these in my note on "The Value of Kannaḍa Sources for the History of the Marāṭhas, the Bijapur and Mughal Sultans" published in *The Sardesai Commemoration Volume*, pp. 187-196. (Bombay, 1938).

(.....āreyar-ereyanāda Sivājiya putranāda Sambājiya putranāda Sāhu-rājange tūn-āḷva deśa-koṣaṅgaḷol tanage barpa-arthadoḷ catur-aṁśadoḷ-ondubhāga-dhanamaṁ kombudendu caudājiya peramānam baresi kodaltad-ādiyūg-āreyarge caudājiya-arthamaṁ komba paddhatiḷ ādudu-intu niyāma.¹)

Linganna's narrative, as shown elsewhere by me,² is of much value of Marāṭha history. He lived in A.D. 1750 but completed his work between the years A.D. 1763 and 1799. The above statement from the *Kelādirpavijayam* is doubly important:—Firstly, it confirms the conclusion arrived at by Mr. R. N. SALETORÉ concerning the civil nature of the term *cauthāi*; and, secondly, it affirms that it was the Emperor Aurangzeb who legalized the exaction of the *cauthai* in the Marāṭha dominions of king Sāhu. What the Emperor Aurangzeb in his last moments, out of affection for Sāhu, had legalized, his son and successor the Emperor Bahadūr Shah confirmed and continued. This explains why King Sāhu received the *cauthai* as "a person", as Dr. SURENDRANATH SEN puts it,³ or why that Marāṭha ruler "begged it from the Moghul Emperor Bahadur Shah", as Mr. SALETORÉ asserts (p. 99).

Poona.

B. A. SALETORÉ.

MADHUSŪDANĀNANDA

On p. 427, AUFRECHT'S *C. C.* mentions among the works of the celebrated Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, a work called 'Rājñām pratibodha'. On p. 503, *ibid.*, the work is referred to by a single MS of it. In his article on Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, his life and works, in the *ABORI*, VIII, ii. p. 158, Mr. P. C. DIVANJI took 'Rājñām pratibodha' as a work of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī on Arthaśāstra. The only MS of it noted by AUFRECHT being in the BORI, Mr. S. N. TADPATRIKAR submitted in the same volume of the *ABORI*, pp. 331-4, the results of his examination of the MS. He revealed that the work was not on Arthaśāstra, that it was 'stray notes on different topics', that in the first of its two parts, the work criticized the five makāras and that the colophon to the latter part professed the name 'Rājñām pratibodha'; that the author was a pupil of one Akhaṇḍānanda and was certainly the celebrated Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. Continuing his study of this subject, Mr. DIVANJI examined the BORI MS. of the 'Rājñām pratibodha' and described the work in his contribution in the *ABORI*, IX, pp. 313-323. From the extracts given by him from the MS. we are able to see that the work is in two sections in the main, the first section having two parts. The first section deals with the 5 Makāras. The colophons call the author Madhusūdanānanda Sarasvatī, pupil of Akhaṇḍānanda; and as Mr. DIVANJI says this author is different from the celebrated Madhusūdana Sarasvatī.

On p. 321 of the *ABORI*, IX, Mr. DIVANJI extracts two passages from the MS. in the first of which, he says 'there is *perhaps* a reference to the raids of the Peshwas' forces. . . . in the 18th century' and in the second of which there is reference to 'the rule of the Peshwas in Mchārāstra'. From these two passages, Mr. DIVANJI concludes that Madhusūdanānanda 'could not have flourished earlier than the middle of the 18th cent.', and hence he was different from the renowned Madhusūdana Sarasvatī.

Mr. DIVANJI notes that the second of the two passages is interpolated at the top of p. 43 of the MS. Is it not likely that the first passage also is an interpolation? For it seems to me that though Madhusūdanānanda was certainly different

¹ Linganna, *Kelādirpavijayam*, p. 165. (Ed. R. SHAMA SASTRY. University of Mysore Oriental Library Publications, Kannada Series, No. 9, Mysore, 1921).

² See my *Marāṭha Dominion in Karnāṭaka* to be out soon.

³ SEN, *Military System of the Marathas*, p. 41 cited by Mr. SALETORÉ.

from Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, he was so not because he was later but because he was earlier.

On p. 320, *ABORI*, IX, Mr. DIVANJI extracts the colophons and on the next page, a verse mentioning the residence of the author. The residence is Ratnādri on the Ratnagaṅgā to the north of the Tapatī. And we also learn that one Akhaṇḍānanda was his Guru. We know of the Akhaṇḍānanda who wrote the *Pañcapādikā-vivaraṇa-tattva-dīpana* and who was, according to the colophons, the pupil of Akhaṇḍānubhūti and according to the introductory verses, pupil of Anandagiri. (Benares Skt. Series, 1902.) In his preliminary salutation to Anandagiri¹ at the opening of the 5th Varṇaka in the *Tattvadīpana*, Akhaṇḍānanda mentions Ratnācala as the place of Anandagiri. This Ratnācala and this Akhaṇḍānanda appear to be identical with the Ratnādri and Akhaṇḍānanda mentioned by Madhusūdanānanda. Anandagiri is assigned to the middle or the latter half of the 13th century and his pupil's pupil, Madhusūdanānanda might have written about the beginning of the 14th century.

Madras.

V. RAGHAVAN.

SĀYAṆA AND THE TEXT OF R̥GVEDA SAMHITĀ

In the introduction to the second volume of the Edition of R̥gveda with Sāyaṇa's commentary published at Poona by the Vaidika Saṁsodhana Maṇḍala, it is stated that the traditional recitation of the Saṁhitā and the padapāṭha has been followed and that there can be no differences with regard to them. While reviewing the volume in the *Journal of the Bombay branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XIII, 1937, Prof. H. D. VELANKAR has objected to the above statement. He thinks that variant readings in the text of the R̥gveda Saṁhitā are possible and that they can be determined from some sources, the most important among them being Sāyaṇa's commentary itself. In view of the fact that Sāyaṇa's Saṁhitā text differs sometimes from the present Saṁhitā, he says, "it cannot always be maintained that he (Sāyaṇa) adopted the different readings of the R̥gveda text in his Bhāṣya through negligence and carelessness, this possibility is not wholly excluded". I find it difficult to share his view. I do not see any reason for the possibility of variant readings. I think that the Saṁhitā and pada text of the R̥gveda have come down to us unchanged by means of recitation by learned Brahmans and there is no possibility of the existence of different readings at the time of Sāyaṇa. Different readings are likely to occur in MSS.; but that is not the case with traditional recitation. If there were different readings in Sāyaṇa's time, why are they not found anywhere at present, and why have not any more different readings occurred since then? We ought to have found a number of different readings, in view of the most distant date of the origin of R̥gveda, if we deem them as a possibility. The fact, however, is that there is only one different reading in the whole of the R̥gveda : मध्नोः or माध्नोः (7.43.1).

It may be argued that the Recension of R̥gveda Saṁhitā, on which Sāyaṇa commented, may be different from the present Śākala recension, and this is why variants are visible in Sāyaṇa's Saṁhitā. If this is a fact, the Saṁhitā of that recension ought to have come down to us like the commentary. Oral tradition as well as written MSS. of the Saṁhitā would have preserved this recension of the Saṁhitā. This was not an impossibility as Sāyaṇa's date is not so distant when

¹ I have assumed that the several names mentioned by Akhaṇḍānanda, namely, Bodhaprthivdhara, Anandaśaila and Bodhaśaila refer only to Anandagiri otherwise known also as Anandajñānagiri. But I must add here that on the *Prapañcasāra* ascribed to Saṅkara, there is a gloss by a Nārāyaṇa who describes himself as the pupil of an Anandaśaila. See *Madras Triennial Catalogue*, R. Nos. 3451 and 3765.

compared to that of the origin of the R̥gveda. The Brāhmaṇas of the recensions other than the Śākala are still found in various parts of India; but the texts of their recensions are nowhere available. If Sāyaṇa had commented on a recension other than the Śākala, we would expect him to mention the same at the beginning of his commentary. It seems improbable that Sāyaṇa commented on a recension which was little known and not on that which was spread and was popular all over India. The MSS. of Sāyaṇa's commentary are found in all parts of India, a fact which leads us to think that the commentary was of that recension which was spread over all parts of the country. The only recension of the R̥gveda which has come down to us is the Śākala recension. The other four recensions mentioned in the Caranavyūha (Bāskala, Āśvalāyana, Śāṅkhāyana and Māṇḍukeya) were formed, as far as our present knowledge goes, simply by excluding certain hymns, and there is no chance of different readings among them. Therefore it is no use arguing that Sāyaṇa might have commented on another recension of the R̥gveda.

In defence of his statement, Prof. VELANKAR has pointed out some variant readings in the second volume, i.e., Maṇḍalas 2 to 5. Out of them seven are real variants in his opinion.¹ He himself admits two readings arising through oversight.² Once we admit the possibility of variants caused by oversight, there is no reason to deny the same in other cases. I must here say that the writer has not quoted all the instances in the volume where Sāyaṇa differs from the Samhitā text. I shall deal in this paper with instances not dealt with by Prof. VELANKAR. In order to stress my point, I must quote a few readings from some other Maṇḍalas too. I have divided all the variants in four classes. First I shall quote variants read differently by Sāyaṇa. Thus Sāyaṇa reads: प्रत्यक्ष for प्रत्यक्षम् 2-5-1, जन्मः इव for जन्माऽइव 2-6-7, अर्वाक् for अर्वाङ् 3-4-11, इषे for इषः³ 3-12-5, त्वा for त्वाम् 4-31-7, वाचः for वाचम् 6-21-11, पुरुहूत for पुरुहूतम् 6-23-8, मर्त्येषु for मर्त्येषु 6-66-1, विप्राः for विप्रा 7-66-8, देवा for देवौ 7-70-4, जारे इव for जारऽइव 7-76-3, स्वपां अवोभिः for स्वपाः महोभिः 7-88-4, सन्यसे for सन्यसे 8-24-26, अयं for अर्यः 8-34-10. Are we to gather from this that there existed a good number of variants in Sāyaṇa's time? If we examine all these variants as well as the seven variants of similar nature referred to above, it will be clear that they are only the result of negligence and not of a different recension. Some of the above readings have arisen on account of different solutions of the *Sandhis* in the Samhitā. This may not necessarily prove the existence of a different recension. In two cases the stanzas have त्वाम् and देवौ while Sāyaṇa reads त्वा and देवा and explains as त्वाम् and देवौ respectively. It is also very possible in some cases that Sāyaṇa might have purposely adopted different readings for the sake of interpretation, e.g. विप्राः for विप्रा⁴ 7-66-8, जारे इव for जारऽइव 7-76-3, अर्यं for अर्यः 8-34-10.

¹ वधुः for शुचिः 2-1 14, त्मना for त्वया 2-7-3. अदर्दः for अर्दधः 2-38-4, अवि-वेनन् for अविवेनम् 4-24-6, सर्वा for शर्वा 4-28-3, अग्नेः for अग्ने 5-7-10, मर्त्येव for मर्त्याय 5-86-5.

² हस्तेव for हस्ताविब 2-39-5, उत for उत् 2-42-2.

³ See MAX MÜLLER and Bombay editions. In the Poona edition इषः is adopted on the basis of two MSS. while all others read इषे.

⁴ Sāyaṇa might have purposely taken विप्राः since the Anukramaṇi attributes this stanza to Ādityas. The word विप्रा would, however, suit well to the meaning of the stanza if we understand मित्रावरुणौ by that word in the light of the next stanza.

Secondly, I quote cases where Sāyaṇa divides the words in the Samhitā in a different way : यात् श्रेष्ठाभिः for यात्श्रेष्ठाभिः 3-53-21, रेणुःकारः for रेणुःकरः 6-28-4. (This is evident from the explanation of the word by Sāyaṇa) वक्षः सुह्रमाः for वक्षःसु ह्रमाः 7-56-13, जनिमा निसत्तः for जनिमानि सत्तः 7-42-2, उरुक्षयाय for उरु क्षयाय 7-6-11, वाज्यस्य for वाजी अस्य 7-90-2, स्ववसे for सु अवसे 7-90-7. These cases cannot be called variant readings in the strict sense of the term. They do not go to prove that Sāyaṇa's text was different from the genuine Samhitā; on the other hand they show that Sāyaṇa had the same text before him and that he read the words differently either for the sake of interpretation or by mistake in course of writing his commentary. These cases exclude the possibility of Sāyaṇa's having used a different recension. In a different recension words would be changed; here they are not changed but divided differently.

Thirdly, there is a good number of cases where Sāyaṇa introduces words not found in the Samhitā and explains them. Thus he takes : अङ्घ्रिः 2-35-13, आ (गतम्) 2-39-3, ते 3-43-2, नः 3-53-16, यन् 7-70-1, वि (उच्छ, उच्छन्ती) 7-77-4; 81-1; 4; सूरयः 7-92-4, युवम् 7-93-2.

Now what do these instances show? Since these words are foreign to the Samhitā and are explained by him we are obliged to conclude that they are taken as *Pratīkas* i.e. words forming part of the Samhitā. But the metre of the Samhitā does not admit of the introduction of any foreign words and consequently these cases support the conclusion drawn above that the so-called variants revealed by Sāyaṇa's commentary are due to some negligence on Sāyaṇa's part and not due to the existence of a different recension current in his time.

Lastly some words in the Samhitā are neither reproduced nor explained in the commentary : e.g. ः 2-16-7; 6-46-2, आशुभिः 2-16-3, पदम् 3-5-6, तस्य 6-47-13. If we propose to find out Sāyaṇa's Samhitā text from his commentary, we shall perhaps have to say that these words were not included in his Samhitā, a conclusion which is evidently impossible. Sometimes Sāyaṇa does not reproduce the word in the Samhitā but gives its regular grammatical form and then explains it. This does not mean that Sāyaṇa's Samhitā contained the regular form and not the original word in the Samhitā. Sāyaṇa also frequently omits *padapūranas*, such as हि, नु etc.

From the facts stated above, I come to the conclusion that Sāyaṇa's Samhitā text did not differ from the text of the Samhitā as preserved at present and that the variant readings of different types in his commentary appear to be the result either of negligence on his part or, to a certain extent, of an intentional change for the sake of interpretation.¹

Poona.

C. G. KASHIKAR.

¹ One statement would, perhaps, seem to be in favour of the argument put forth by Prof. VELANKAR. In the commentary on 8.96.14 Sāyaṇa writes : केचिदिष्यामि वो मरुत इति पठन्ति. Some read मरुतः instead of वृषणः. However, I do not think that such a variant prevailed in the recitation of the Vaidikas of his time, since it is nowhere found at present. There were many commentators on the Rgveda before Sāyaṇa, and I think some at least of them, known to Sāyaṇa, might have read मरुतः instead of वृषणः.

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(VOLUME I)

[This Index has been kindly prepared by Professor R. D. LADDU, M.A., at the request of the Editors. In its compilation Prof. LADDU received substantial and intelligent help from his wife and pupil Sm. Sarojini LADDU, B.A., and his two other pupils, Mr. D. G. BHAVE, B.A., and Mr. D. V. GARGE, B.A. The Editors take this opportunity of thanking them all for their disinterested help to all scholars.

—S. M. K.]

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